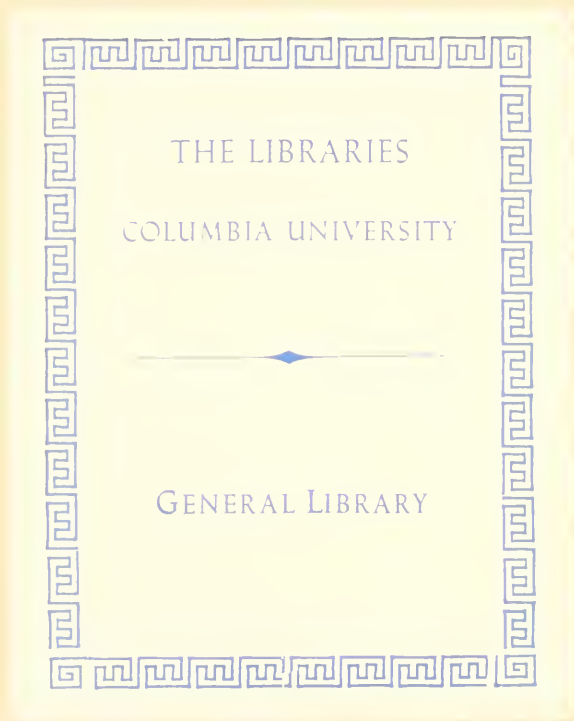




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A  
HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS,  
AND OF

*The Highland Clans,*

By JAMES BROWNE, LL.D., ADVOCATE.



A

# HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS

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*The Highland Clans,*

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JAMES BROWNE, Esq., LL.D., ADVOCATE.

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OF

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*James, Earl of Derby.*

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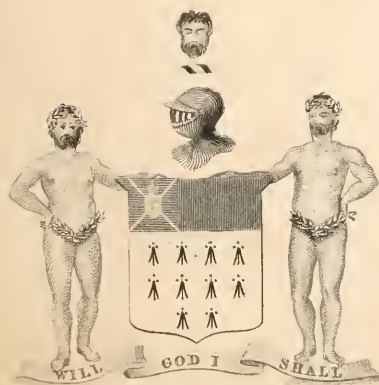
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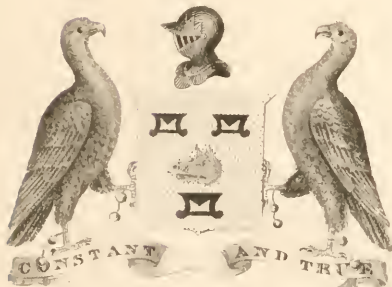




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*Macgillivray.*



*Macgillivray.*



*Macgillivray.*



# HISTORY OF THE HIGHLANDS.

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## CHAPTER I.

Warlike attitude of Great Britain and France—Prince Charles Stuart resolves to proceed to Scotland—Secrecy of his preparations—Departure of the Expedition—Naval Action—Other occurrences at Sea—Charles arrives off the Long Island—Lands in Eriska—Interview between him and Macdonald of Boisdale—Arrives in Lochnagual—Interview with young Clanranald, who is sent on a mission to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod—Kinlochmoidart, Dr Cameron, and others, visit the Prince—Charles lands at Borodale—His reception there—Character of Cameron, younger of Lochiel—His interview with the Prince—Charles resolves to raise his Standard at Glenfinnin—Arrives at Kinlochmoidart—Commencement of hostilities—Arrival of Charles and the Camerons at Glenfinnin—Raises his Standard—Joined by the Macdonalds of Keppoch.

FROM mere auxiliaries in the war of the Austrian succession, Great Britain and France at last entered the field as principals; and in the spring of seventeen hundred and forty-five, both parties were prepared to decide their respective differences by force of arms. The Jacobites, who looked upon war as the harbinger to a speedy realization of their wishes and their hopes, awaited the result with anxiety; though, from the policy of France, it was not difficult to perceive, that the issue, whether favourable or unfavourable to France, would in reality neither advance nor retard the long looked for restoration. France, if defeated in the field, almost on her own frontiers, would require all her forces to protect herself; and could not, therefore, be expected to make a diversion on the shores of Britain. And, on the other hand, if successful in the campaign about to open in Flanders, she was likely to accomplish the objects for which the war had been undertaken, without continuing an expensive and dubious struggle in support of the Stuarts.

Charles Edward Stuart, the aspirant to the British throne, seems to have viewed matters much in the same light on receiving intelligence of the victory obtained by the French over the allies at Fontenoy.\* In writing to one of his father's agents at Paris,† who had sent him infor-

\* This battle was fought on the 11th May, 1745.

† Letter to Colonel O'Bryan, 16th June, 1745, Appendix, No. I.

mation of the battle, Charles observes that it was not easy to form an opinion as to whether the result would "prove good or bad" for his affairs. He had, however, taken his resolution to go to Scotland, though unaccompanied even by a single company of soldiers; and the event which had just occurred made him determine to put that resolution into immediate execution. At Fontenoy, the British troops maintained by their bravery the national reputation, but they were obliged to yield to numbers; yet, to use the words of a French historian, "they left the field of battle without tumult, without confusion, and were defeated with honour."\* The flower of the British army was, however, destroyed; and as Great Britain had been almost drained of troops, Charles considered the conjuncture as favourable, and made such preparations for his departure as the shortness of the time would allow.

The French government was apprized of Charles's intentions, and though the French ministers were not disposed openly to sanction an enterprise which they were not at the time in a condition to support, they secretly favoured a design, which, whatever might be its result, would operate as a diversion in favour of France. Accordingly, Lord Clare, (afterwards Marshal Thomond) then a lieutenant-general in the French service, was pitched upon to open a negotiation with two merchants of Irish extraction, named Ruttledge and Walsh, who had made some money by trading to the West Indies. They had, since the war, been concerned in privateering; and with the view of extending their operations, had lately obtained from the French government a grant of the *Elizabeth*, an old man-of-war of sixty-six guns, and they had purchased a small frigate of sixteen guns named the *Doutelle*, both of which ships were in the course of being fitted out for a cruize in the north seas. Lord Clare having introduced Charles to Ruttledge and Walsh, explained the prince's design, and proposed that they should lend him their ships. This proposal was at once acceded to by the owners, who also offered to supply the prince with money and such arms as they could procure, in fulfilment of which offer they afterwards placed in his hands the sum of three thousand eight hundred pounds.

While the preparations for the expedition were going on, Charles resided at Navarre, a seat of the duke of Bouillon, and occupied himself in hunting, fishing, and shooting. A few persons only in his own confidence were aware of his intentions; and so desirous was he of concealing his movements from his father's agents at Paris, that he gave out, shortly before his departure, that he intended to visit the monastery of La Trappe, in the vicinity of Rouen, and would return to Paris in a few days.† The prince ordered the few followers who were to accompany him to assemble at Nantes, near the mouth of the Loire; and the better

\* *Lettres et Memoires du Marechal de Saxe*, Paris, 1794.

† Letter to Colonel O'Bryan, 20th June, 1745, Appendix, No. II. See also Sempil's letter to the Chevalier, Appendix, No. III.

to conceal their design, they arrived there singly, took up their residence in different parts of the town, and when they met on the streets did not seem to recognise one another.\*

When informed that every thing was in readiness for his departure, Charles went to Nantes in disguise, and having descended the Loire in a fishing boat on the twentieth of June, (O. S.) seventeen hundred and forty-five, embarked on the twenty-first on board the *Doutelle* at St Nazaire, whence he proceeded on the following day to Belleisle, where he was joined on the fourth of July by the *Elizabeth*, which had on board one hundred marines raised by Lord Clare, about two thousand muskets, and five or six hundred French broad-swords. The persons who accompanied Charles were the marquis of Tullibardine,† elder brother of James, duke of Athole, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been tutor to Charles; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; George Kelly, a clergyman, who had been confined in the Tower for being concerned in the bishop of Rochester's plot; Æneas or Angus Macdonald, a banker in Paris, brother to Kinlochmoidart; and O'Sullivan, an officer in the service of France. There were also some persons of inferior note, among whom were one Buchanan, who had been employed as a messenger to Rome by Cardinal Tencin, and Duncan Cameron, formerly a servant of old Lochiel at Boulogne, who was hired for the expedition, for the purpose, as he informs us, of descreying the "Long Isle."‡

The expedition sailed from Belleisle on the fifth of July with a fair wind, which continued favourable till the eighth, when a dead calm ensued. On the following day, when in the latitude of  $47^{\circ} 57'$  north, and thirty-nine leagues west from the meridian of the Lizard, a sail was descried to windward, which proved to be the *Lion*, a British man-of-war of sixty guns, commanded by Captain Brett. When the *Lion* hove in sight, the prince, for better accommodation, was preparing to go on board the *Elizabeth*; but he laid aside his design on the appearance of the *Lion*, which happening at the time it did, was considered a lucky circumstance by his friends. While the *Lion* was bearing down on the French ships, *M. D'Oe*, or *D'Eau*, the captain of the *Elizabeth*, went on board the *Doutelle*, where a council of war was immediately held, at which it was determined, if possible, to avoid an action; but if an action became inevitable, that the *Elizabeth* should receive the first broadside, and should thereupon endeavour to board her adversary. While this conference lasted, both ships kept running before the wind; but the *Lion* being a fast sailing vessel soon neared the *Elizabeth*, and, when within

\* Forbes Papers, or Jacobite Memoirs of the Rebellion of 1745, edited by Mr R. Chambers, p. 2.

† He was styled Duke of Athole by the Jacobites, from being the oldest son of the preceding duke. The marquis had been attainted for the share he took in the insurrection of 1715; and the title and estates were, in consequence of his attainder, now enjoyed by his immediate younger brother.

‡ Forbes Papers, note, p. 1.



nearly a mile of her, hove to for the purpose of reconnoitring the French ships and preparing for action. Judging an action now unavoidable, Captain D'Oe proposed to Walsh, one of the proprietors of the two vessels, and who acted as commander of the *Doutelle*, that while the *Elizabeth* and *Lion* were engaged, the *Doutelle* should assist the *Elizabeth* by playing upon the *Lion* at a distance; but Walsh declined to interfere in any shape. The Captain of the *Elizabeth* thereupon drew his sword, and taking leave, went back to his ship, with his drawn sword in his hand, to prepare for action.\*

Captain D'Oe had scarcely reached the *Elizabeth* when the *Lion* was observed to bear down upon her.† Contrary to the plan laid down on board the *Doutelle*, the *Elizabeth* gave the first broadside, which was instantly returned by the *Lion*; and before the *Elizabeth* could get her other side to bear upon her opponent, the latter tacked about and poured in another broadside into the *Elizabeth*, which raked her fore and aft, and killed a great number of her men, including the captain and his brother, the second in command. Notwithstanding this untoward beginning, the *Elizabeth* maintained the fight nearly five hours, when night put an end to one of the most bloody and obstinate naval actions which had ever taken place between two single ships. Both vessels were a complete wreck, and not being able to pursue each other or renew the action, they parted as if by mutual consent. The prince, in the *Doutelle*, viewed the battle with great anxiety, and, it is said, importuned the captain to assist the *Elizabeth*, but Walsh positively refused to engage, and intimated to the prince, that if he continued his solicitations, he would order him down to the cabin.‡

After the action was over, Captain Walsh bore up to the *Elizabeth* to ascertain the state of matters, and was informed by a lieutenant, of the severe loss she had sustained in officers and men, and the crippled state she was in. He, however, offered to pursue the voyage if supplied with a main-mast and some rigging, but Walsh had no spare materials; and after intimating that he would endeavour to finish the voyage himself, and advising the commander of the *Elizabeth* to return to France, both ships parted, the *Elizabeth* on her way back to France, and the *Doutelle* on her voyage to the Western Highlands.§

On the eleventh of July a sail was discovered, which gave chase to the *Doutelle*; but being a swift-sailing vessel she outran her pursuer. She encountered a rough sea and tempestuous weather on the fifteenth and sixteenth, after which the weather became fine till the midnight of the twentieth, when a violent storm arose. She stood out the gale,

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Cameron, Old Lochiel's servant, is made to say, (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 7.) that the *Elizabeth* bore down upon the *Lion*; but this must be incorrect, as the *Lion* was to windward. The Kirkconnel MS., which is here followed, is certainly correct on this point.

‡ Kirkconnel MS. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 7.

§ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 8.

however, and on the twenty-second came within sight of land, which was discovered to be the southern extremity of Long Island, a name by which, from their appearing at a distance, and in a particular direction, to form one island, the islands of Lewis, the Uists, Barra, and others, are distinguished. On approaching the land, a large ship, which appeared to be an English man-of-war, was descried between the Doutelle and the island. On perceiving this vessel, Walsh changed the course of the Doutelle, and stretching along the east side of Barra, reached the strait between South Uist and Eriska, the largest of a cluster of little rocky islands that lie off South Uist. When near the land, Duncan Cameron, before mentioned, was sent on shore in the long-boat to bring off a proper pilot, and having accidentally met the piper of Macneil of Barra, with whom Cameron was acquainted, he took him on board. In the strait alluded to, the Doutelle cast anchor on the twenty-third of July, having been eighteen days at sea.\*

Accompanied by his attendants, the prince immediately landed in Eriska, and was conducted to the house of Angus Macdonald, the tacksman, or principal tenant thereof and of the small islands adjoining. To anticipate that prying curiosity and speculation which the inhabitants of the western isles always display on the arrival of strangers, the prince's companions represented him as a young Irish priest, a species of visiter by no means uncommon in these islands, whither priests from the opposite coast of Ireland had been long accustomed to resort, for the purpose of giving the islanders that religious instruction and consolation of which, by the change in the national religion, they had been almost debarred from receiving from the hands of native priests. From the tacksman of Eriska, the party learned, that Macdonald, chief of Clanranald, and Macdonald of Boisdale, his brother, were upon the island of South Uist, and that young Clanranald, the son of the chief, was at Moidart upon the mainland. As Boisdale was understood to have great influence with his brother, a messenger was immediately despatched to South Uist, requesting his attendance on board the Doutelle.

Charles and his companions passed the night in the house of the tacksman, but the accommodation was very indifferent. They had not a sufficiency of beds, but the prince, regardless of his own ease, declined to occupy one.† Next morning they returned to the ship. Boisdale soon thereafter made his appearance. As his brother, Clanranald, was un-

\* Kirkconnel MS. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 9.

† Charles is said to have taken particular care of Sir Thomas Sheridan on this occasion. He "went to examine his bed, and to see that the sheets were well aired. The landlord observing him to search the bed so narrowly, and at the same time hearing him declare he would sit up all night, called out to him, and said, that it was so good a bed, and the sheets were so good, that a prince needed not be ashamed to lie on them. The prince not being accustomed to such fires in the middle of the room, and there being no other chimney than a hole in the roof, was almost choked, and was obliged to go often to the door for fresh air. This at last made the landlord, Angus Macdonald, call out, 'What a plague is the matter with that fellow, that he can neither sit nor stand still, and neither keep within nor without doors?'"—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 11.

fit, from age and bad health, to be of any essential service, Charles was anxious to secure the assistance of Boisdale, by whose means he expected that the clan would be induced to rise in his support. Boisdale had, however, already made up his mind upon the subject, and the result of the interview was extremely discouraging to Charles. At first, the prince proposed that Boisdale should accompany him to the mainland, and endeavour to engage his nephew to take up arms; but Boisdale decidedly declined the proposal, and even declared that he would do every thing in his power to prevent his brother and nephew from engaging in an enterprise which he considered desperate. Baffled in his first attempt, Charles next proposed to despatch Boisdale with a message to Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat and the Laird of Macleod, who had extensive possessions in the island of Skye, requesting their assistance; but Boisdale informed the prince that such a mission would be useless, as he had seen Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod very lately,—that they had stated to him the probability that the prince would arrive, but that if he came without a body of regular troops, they were determined not to join him, and were of opinion that no other person would. Boisdale added, that he was instructed by these gentlemen to mention their resolution to the prince in case he should meet him on his arrival, and to advise him, should he come unprovided with troops, to return directly to France.

Charles was sadly perplexed at Boisdale's obduracy, but he endeavoured to soften him by representing his affairs in the most favourable light; but the highlander was inflexible. While this prolonged altercation was going on, two vessels appeared making for the strait in which the *Doutelle* lay, a circumstance which induced her commander to weigh anchor and stand in for the mainland. Boisdale, still pressed by the prince, remained on board till the ship had advanced several miles in her course, when he entered his boat, and left Charles to ruminate over his disappointment. The *Doutelle* continued her course during the night, and next morning cast anchor in the bay of Lochnanuagh, which partly divides the countries of Moidart and Arisaig.\* On approaching the strait, the marquis of Tullibardine, when about to retire below to dinner, observed an eagle hovering over the frigate, which he looked upon as a happy augury, but afraid of being taxed by his companions with superstition, he at first took no notice of the circumstance. On coming upon deck after dinner, he saw the eagle still hovering above the vessel and following her in her course. No longer able to restrain himself, he directed the attention of Charles and his suite to the royal bird, and thereafter turning to the prince, thus addressed him: "Sir, I hope this is an excellent omen, and promises good things to us. The king of birds is come to welcome your royal highness upon your arrival in Scotland."

\* Home's Works, vol. ii. p. 427. Kirkcormick MS.



Though foiled in his attempt upon Boisdale, the young adventurer resolved to repeat the same experiment upon his nephew, and accordingly he immediately sent a boat on shore with a letter to young Clanranald; Æneas Macdonald also went on shore to bring off Kinlochmoidart, his brother. Kinlochmoidart came on board immediately, and after a short interview with the Prince, was despatched with letters to Lochiel, the duke of Perth, Murray of Broughton and others.\*

Next day young Clanranald, accompanied by his kinsmen, Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale, Æneas Macdonald of Dalily and the author of a journal and memoirs of the expedition,† came to Forsy, a small village opposite to the Doutelle's anchorage ground. They called for the ship's boat, and were immediately carried on board. The feelings of the party on getting upon deck are thus described by the writer alluded to. "Our hearts were overjoyed to find ourselves so near our long-wished-for P—ce; we found a large tent erected with poles on the ship's deck, covered and well furnished with variety of wines and spirits. As we entered this pavilion we were most cheerfully welcom'd by the duke of Athole, to whom some of us had been known in the year seventeen hundred and fifteen. While the Duke was talking with us, Clanranald was a-missing, and had, as we understood, been called into the P—ce's cabin, nor did we look for the honour of seeing His R. H. at least for that night."‡

Of the conversation which took place between the Prince and young Clanranald during the three hours they were closeted together, no account was ever given; but it is probable that if the latter stated any objections against the enterprise, they had been overcome before he rejoined his companions, as no allusion is made by the writer just quoted, to any unwillingness on the part of the young chieftain to join the Prince. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who mentions the refusal of Boisdale, says, that young Clanranald frankly offered his services to the Prince,§ a statement which, from the ardent and romantic attachment for the Stuarts with which that young chieftain was inspired, seems to approximate nearer the truth than that of Home who classes Kinlochmoidart and young Clanranald together, as joining in a positive refusal to take up arms.||

According to Home, young Clanranald and Kinlochmoidart came on board together, and were addressed, with great emotion, by Charles, who had been almost reduced to despair by his interview with Boisdale.

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 479.

‡ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 479.

§ Kirkconnel MS.

|| It is certain that Kinlochmoidart was not present. He is not even alluded to by the author of the Journal and Memoirs, one of the persons who accompanied young Clanranald on board. Kinlochmoidart, having agreed to join the Prince, had been despatched the previous evening with letters to Lochiel and others, (Kirkconnel MS.) The fact of Kinlochmoidart being "the first who joined the royal cause in 1745," is mentioned in an account of the family of Kinlochmoidart, among the Stuart Papers, drawn up by his brother John, and transmitted by his other brother, Æneas, to Rome, to be laid before the Chevalier de St George. Vide Appendix.

After using all the arguments he could for taking up arms, he conjured them to assist their countryman, their Prince, in his utmost need. Though well inclined and warmly attached to the cause, the gentlemen in question are said to have positively refused, and to have told the Prince, one after another, that to take up arms in their present unprepared state, without concert or support, would bring down certain destruction on their own heads. Charles persisted, argued, and implored, but without effect. During this conversation the parties walked backwards and forwards upon the deck, and were closely eyed by a Highlander who stood near them armed at all points, as was then the fashion of the country. He was a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, and had come off to the ship to inquire for news, not knowing who was on board. When he gathered from their discourse that the stranger was prince Charles, and heard his chief and his brother refuse to take up arms in his behalf, his colour went and came, his eyes sparkled, he shifted his place and grasped his sword. Charles observing his demeanour, stopped short, and turning towards him, put this interrogatory. "Will not you assist me?" "I will! I will!" exclaimed Ranauld; "though no other man in the Highlands should draw a sword I am ready to die for you." Charles, delighted with the young man's answer, evinced his gratitude by a profusion of thanks and acknowledgments, extolled his champion to the skies, and said he only wished that all the Highlanders were like him. Stung with the Prince's observation, which could be regarded only as a reproach, and smitten by the example set by the heroic youth, the two Macdonalds instantly declared that they would unsheath their swords in support of the claims of the house of Stuart, and would use their utmost endeavours to rouse their countrymen to arms.\*

After the interview with the Prince, Clanranald returned to his friends, who had, during the conference, been regaling themselves in the pavilion. In about half an hour thereafter the Prince entered the tent and took his seat without appearing to notice any of the company. His appearance, and the scene which followed, are thus described by an eyewitness. "There entered the tent a tall youth of a most agreeable aspect, in a plain black coat with a plain shirt, not very clean, and a cambric stock fixed with a plain silver buckle, a fair round wig out of the buckle, a plain hat with a canvas string having one end fixed to one of his coat buttons; he had black stockings, and brass buckles in his shoes. At his first appearance I found my heart swell to my very throat. We were immediately told by one Obrian, a churchman, that this youth was also an English clergyman, who had long been possessed with a desire to see and converse with Highlanders.

"When this youth entered, Obrian forbid any of those who were sitting to rise; he saluted none of us, and we only made a low bow at

a distance. I chanced to be one of those who were standing when he came in, and he took his seat near me, but immediately started up again and caused me to sit down by him upon a chest. I at this time taking him only to be a passenger or some clergyman, presumed to speak to him with too much familiarity, yet still retained some suspicion he might be one of more note than he was said to be. He asked me if I was not cold in that habit, (*viz.* the Highland garb,) I answered I was so habituated to it that I should rather be so (feel cold) if I was to change my dress for any other. At this he laughed heartily, and next inquired how I lay with it at night, which I explained to him. He said that by wrapping myself so close in my plaid I would be unprepared for any sudden defence in the case of a surprise. I answered that in such times of danger, or during the war, we had a different method of using the plaid, that with one spring I could start to my feet with drawn sword and cocked pistol in my hand, without being the least encumbered with my bed-clothes. Several such questions he put to me; then rising quickly from his seat he calls for a dram, when the same person whispered me a second time to pledge the stranger but not to drink to him, by which seasonable hint I was confirmed in my suspicion who he was. Having taken a glass of wine in his hand, he drank to us all round, and soon after left us."\*

Having thus secured the support of young Clanranald, Charles selected him to execute the commission which his uncle, Boisdale, had refused to undertake. Accordingly, on the twenty-second of July the young chieftain, attended by Allan Macdonald a younger brother of Kinlochmoidart, was despatched with letters from the Prince, to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, to solicit the aid of their services. These powerful chieftains, who could raise nearly two thousand men between them, had promised to join the Prince if he brought a foreign force along with him, but when they found that he had come without troops, they considered themselves released from their engagements, and refused to join in an enterprise which they considered desperate.†

During young Clanranald's absence, Donald Macdonald of Scot-house, Dr Archibald Cameron on the part of his brother Donald Cameron, younger of Lochiel, and Hugh Macdonald, brother to the laird of Morar, came on board the *Doutelle*. The latter, on his way home from Edinburgh, had met Kinlochmoidart crossing the water of Lochy, and had been informed by him of the arrival of the Prince.‡ In ex-

\* Journal and Memoirs, Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 480-1.

† "I must (says Maxwell of Kirkconnel) do that justice to the memory of Sir Alexander Macdonald, to say he was not guilty of breach of promise by refusing to join the Prince, for he had never promised to join, but upon a condition that was never performed. I am far from excusing what he did afterwards, though I impute it rather to weakness than villany; but he is not to be classed with such as were under the strongest engagements to join the Prince, if he came over with a single footman, and not only refused but excited all their wit and strength against him."

‡ The following dialogue, as detailed in a conversation between Hugh Macdonald

pectation of seeing the Prince, he went to Kinlochmoidart's house, where he found Æneas Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, who told him that he might see the Prince the following day if he pleased, but cautioned him not to accost him as such, as the Prince passed for a French abbé with the crew of the vessel, who were ignorant of his rank. Next day the two Macdonalds went on board; and Charles, being informed of the name and character of his visitor, invited him down to the cabin. In a conversation which ensued, Hugh Macdonald expressed his fears as to the result of the expedition if persevered in, and hinted that, as he had brought no forces along with him, the most eligible course the Prince could pursue, was to return to France, and wait a more favourable opportunity. Charles remarked that he did not wish to be indebted for the restoration of his father to foreigners, but to his own friends; that he had now put it in their power to have the glory of doing so, and that as to returning to France without making an attempt, foreigners should never have to say that he had thrown himself upon his friends, that they had turned their backs upon him, and that he had been forced to retire for shelter to foreign lands. He concluded by observing, that if he could get only six stout trusty fellows to join him, he would choose rather to skulk with them among the mountains of Scotland than return to France. Dr Cameron also urged Charles to return, and told him that Lochiel had made up his mind not to join; but Charles returned the same answer he had given to Hugh Macdonald. On the return from Skye of young Clanranald and Allan Macdonald, who brought back an absolute refusal from Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, the whole party on board, including even Sir Thomas Sheridan, by whose advice the Prince generally acted, importuned him to desist, chiefly on the ground that the refusal of two such influential and powerful chieftains would prevent others, who were well disposed to the cause, from joining; but Charles was immovable, and though without a single supporter, persisted in his resolution.\*

Charles remained on board the *Doutelle* till the twenty-fifth of July, the interval between which day and that of his arrival in Lochnanuagh,

and Bishop Forbes at Leith, June 15th, 1750, took place between Hugh Macdonald and Kinlochmoidart at meeting. "Kinlochmoidart first asked Hugh, 'What news?' 'No news at all have I,' said Hugh. 'Then,' said Kinlochmoidart, 'I'll give you news; you'll see the Prince this night at my house.' 'What Prince do you mean?' said Mr Hugh. 'Prince Charles,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'You are certainly joking,' said Mr Hugh, 'I cannot believe you.' Upon this Kinlochmoidart assured him of the truth of it. 'Then,' said Mr Hugh, 'what number of men has he brought along with him?' 'Only seven,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'What stock of money and arms has he brought with him then?' said Mr Hugh. 'A very small stock of either,' said Kinlochmoidart. 'What generals or officers fit for commanding are with him?' said Mr Hugh. 'None at all,' replied Kinlochmoidart. Mr Hugh said he did not like the expedition at all, and was afraid of the consequences. 'I cannot help it,' said Kinlochmoidart, 'if the matter go wrong, then I'll certainly be hanged, for I am engaged already. I have no time to spare just now, as I am going with a message from the Prince to the duke of Perth.' They then took leave and parted."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, note, p. 18.

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 481. Note to *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 18. Perhaps, if the



was spent in despatching letters and receiving communications from his friends, and in consultations with his companions and the adherents who visited him, as to the means to be adopted for raising the clans who were favourably disposed. During the same interval, all the arms, ammunition and stores were landed; and every thing being in readiness for his reception on shore, Charles, accompanied by his suite, landed at Borodale, a farm belonging to Clanranald, and took up his abode in the house of Angus Macdonald, the tenant of the farm, who received him and his companions with a hearty welcome.\* By orders of young Clanranald, Macdonald of Genalladale and another gentleman of the clan, had collected about a hundred of their men to serve as a body-guard to the Prince, all of whom were hospitably entertained at Borodale.

No situation could have been any where selected more suitable for the circumstances and designs of Charles than the abode he had chosen. Besides being one of the most remote and inaccessible places in the western Highlands of Scotland, it was surrounded on all sides by the territories of the most devoted adherents of the house of Stuart, by the descendants of the heroes of Kilsyth and Killierankie, in whose breasts the spirit of revenge had taken deep root, for the cruelties which had followed the short-lived insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, and the affronts to which they had been subjected under the disarming act. Thesemountaineers had long sighed for an opportunity of retaliation, and they were soon to imagine that the time for vengeance had arrived.

As soon as the landing of Charles was known, the whole neighbourhood was in motion, and repaired, "without distinction of age or sex,"† to the house of Borodale, to see a man with whose success they considered the glory and happiness of their country to be inseparably associated. To gratify his warm-hearted and generous visitors, and to attain a full view of the assembled group, Charles seated himself in a conspicuous part of the room where a repast had been laid out for him and his friends. Here, amid the congregated spectators who feasted their eyes with the sight of the lineal descendant of a race of kings, endeared to them by many ennobling and even sorrowful recollections, the Prince partook of the fare provided by his kind host, with a cheerfulness which banished all reflection of the past or care for the future. At the conclusion of the repast, Charles drank the grace-drink in English, which, of course, was understood only by a few of the persons present. The guest,

statement of Drummond of Bochaldu be correct, that Kelly was the adviser of the expedition to Scotland, he should be excepted from those who are said to have given the prince the advice here alluded to. Writing to Edgar, the Secretary to the Chevalier de St George, on 4th July, 1747, Drummond says, that Kelly had the "folly" to tell Dr Cameron, Lochiel's brother, "that he had advised the prince to go to Scotland in the manner he had done, and therefore he had a merit with him which could never be forgot, since the reputation he had acquired was owing to his advice."—*Stuart Papers*.

\* Mr Macdonald of Glenalladale has erected a pillar on the spot where Charles first set his foot, surmounted by a bust of the Prince.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 482.

to whom we are indebted for this account, says, that when his turn came to propose a toast, wishing to distinguish himself, he gave "the king's health" in Gaelic in an audible voice,—“Deoch slaint an Rìgh.” When the prince was informed that his father's health had been drunk, he requested the gentleman who had proposed it to pronounce the words again in Gaelic, that he might repeat them himself. This being done, Charles repeated the words, and understanding that the proposer was skilful in Gaelic, the prince intimated to him that he would henceforth take instructions from him in that language. The same individual, afterwards, by desire, gave also the healths of the prince, and his brother “the duke,” in Gaelic.\* Such condescension and familiarity on the part of Charles were highly gratifying to the feelings of all present, and were better calculated to secure the affections of the unsophisticated people, into whose arms he had thrown himself, than all the pomp and circumstance of regal splendour.

Though the extreme rashness of young Clanranald, and his friends, in thus exposing themselves to almost inevitable destruction, be quite inexcusable on the score of sober reason, yet it is impossible not to admire the daring intrepidity of the men, who, at the call of a friendless and unprotected youth, could commit themselves in a struggle with the government even before they had ascertained that a single clan, except their own, would join. Their devotedness to the cause of the Stuarts did not blind them, however, to the dangers they were about to expose themselves by declaring for the prince; but having now thrown away the scabbard, they resolved to cling to the cause which a feeling of fidelity prompted them to espouse, reckless of the consequences. “All may judge (says a gentleman of the clan,) how hazardous an enterprise we were now engaged in, being for some time quite alone; but we resolved, notwithstanding, to follow our prince, and risk our fate with his.”†

Charles, before landing, had despatched messengers to several of the chiefs who were favourably disposed. From Borodale he again sent off fresh messengers to all the chiefs from whom he expected assistance, requiring their attendance. Some of his friends, aware of his arrival, had, it is said, already held a meeting to consult as to the course they should pursue; at which Macdonald of Keppoch had given his opinion, that as the prince had risked his person, and generously thrown himself into the hands of his friends, they were bound, in duty at least, to raise men instantly for the protection of his person, whatever might be the consequences;‡ but it does not appear that any such resolution was at that time adopted.

The person pitched upon to visit Lochiel on this occasion, was Macdonald, younger of Seothouse, who succeeded in inducing that chief to visit the prince at Borodale, but he went with a determination not to take up arms. On his way to Borodale he called at the house of his

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 482.

† Ibid.

‡ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 17.

brother, John Cameron of Fassefern, who, on being told the object of his journey, advised Lochiel not to proceed, as he was afraid that the prince would prevail upon him to forego his resolution.\* Lochiel, firm in his determination, as he imagined, told his brother that his reasons for declining to join the prince were too strong to be overcome, and pursued his journey.

Donald Cameron of Lochiel, on whose final determination the question of a civil war was now to depend, (for it seems to be universally admitted, that if Lochiel had declined to take up arms the other chiefs would have also refused,) though called young Lochiel by the Highlanders, from his father being still alive, was rather advanced in life. His father, for the share he had taken in the insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, was attainted and in exile. In consequence of the attainder, young Lochiel had succeeded to the family-estates upon the death of his grandfather, Sir Ewen Cameron in seventeen hundred and nineteen. Sir Ewen had served with distinction under Montrose and Dundee, and his son, and grandson, had inherited from the old warrior a devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, which no change of circumstances had been ever able to eradicate. The Chevalier de St George, sensible of the inflexible integrity of the young chief, and of the great influence which he enjoyed among his countrymen on account of the uprightness of his character, and as being at the head of one of the most powerful of the clans; had opened a correspondence with him, and had invested him with full and ample powers to negotiate with his friends in Scotland, on the subject of his restoration:† knowing the confidence which was

\* "It is no less certain, though not so generally known, that Lochiel left his own house, determined (as he thought) not to take arms. In his way to Borodale he called at the house of his brother, John Cameron of Fassefern who came out immediately, and asked what was the matter that had brought him there at so early an hour? Lochiel told him that the prince was landed at Borodale, and had sent for him. Fassefern asked what troops the prince had brought with him? what money? what arms? Lochiel answered, that he believed that the prince had brought with him neither troops, nor money, nor arms; and, therefore, he was resolved not to be concerned in the affair, and would do his utmost to prevent Charles from making a rash attempt. Fassefern approved his brother's sentiments, and applauded his resolution; advising him, at the same time, not to go any farther on his way to Borodale, but to come into the house, and impart his mind to the prince by letter. 'No,' said Lochiel, 'I ought at least to wait upon him, and give my reasons for declining to join him, which admit of no reply.' —'Brother,' said Fassefern, 'I know you better than you know yourself. If this prince once sets his eyes upon you he will make you do whatever he pleases.' Fassefern, in the year 1781, repeated the conversation between him and his brother to the author of this History."—*Home's Works*, vol. iii. Note, p. 7.

† The following tribute to the memory of Lochiel, who died in 1748, appeared in the *Scots Magazine* of that year.

#### ON THE DEATH OF LOCHIEL.

Dead is LOCHIEL, the terror of whose arms  
So lately shook this island with alarms!  
Be just, ye Whigs; and tho' the Tories mourn,  
Lament a *Scotsman* in a foreign urn;  
Who, born a chieftain, thought the right of birth  
The source of all authority on earth.

so deservedly reposed in him, he was consulted on all occasions by the Jacobites in the Highlands, and, as has been elsewhere observed,\* was one of the seven who in the year seventeen hundred and forty, signed the bond of association to restore the Chevalier. Upon the failure of the expedition of seventeen hundred and forty-three, young Lochiel had urged the prince to continue his exertions to get another fitted out; but he was averse to any attempts being made without foreign assistance, and cautioned the prince accordingly.†

Among the chiefs who were summoned to Borodale, Lochiel was the first to appear, and immediately a private interview ensued between him and the prince. Charles began the conversation by remarking, that he meant to be quite candid, and to conceal nothing; he then proceeded to reprobate in very severe terms, the conduct of the French ministry, who, he averred, had long amused him with fair promises, and had at last deceived him. He admitted that he had but a small quantity of arms, and very little money; that he had left France without concerting any thing, or even taking leave of the French court,—that he had, however, before leaving France, written letters to the French king and his ministers, acquainting them of the expedition, and soliciting succours, which he was persuaded, notwithstanding their late conduct, they would send as soon as they saw that he really had a party in Scotland,—that he had appointed Earl Marischal his agent at the court of France,—and that he depended much upon the zeal and abilities of that nobleman, who would himself superintend the embarkation of the succours he was soliciting.

While Lochiel admitted the engagements which he and other chiefs had come under to support the cause, he observed that they were bind-

Mistaken as he was, the man was just,  
Firm to his word, and faithful to his trust;  
He bade not others go, himself to stay,  
As is the pretty, prudent, modern way;  
But, like a warrior, bravely drew the sword,  
And rear'd his target for his native lord.  
Humane he was, protect'd countries tell;  
So rude an host was never rul'd so well.  
Fatal to him, and to the cause he lov'd,  
Was the rash tumult which his folly mov'd;  
Compell'd for that to seek a foreign shore,  
And ne'er beheld his mother country more!  
Compell'd, by hard necessity, to bear,  
In *Gallia's* bands, a mercenary spear!  
But heav'n, in pity to his honest heart,  
Resolv'd to snatch him from so poor a part.  
To cure at once his spirit and his mind,  
With exile wretched, and with error blind,  
The mighty mandate unto death was given,  
And good LOCHIEL is now a Whig in heaven.

*Edinburgh, December, 1748.*

\* Vol. II. p. 404.

† See letter from Lochiel under the signature of "Dan," Appendix, No. IV. The authorship of this letter has been determined by a *comparatio literarum*, though from the letter ascribed to Secretary Murray, in Appendix to vol. II. No. XXXV. it would appear as if Lochiel was known by a different name.



ing only in the event of the stipulated aid being furnished ; and as his royal highness had come over without such support, they were released from the engagements they had contracted. He therefore reiterated the resolution which he had already intimated, by means of his brother, not to join in the present hopeless attempt, and advised his royal highness to return to France and await a more favourable opportunity. Charles, on the other hand, maintained, that an opportunity more favourable than the present might never occur again,—that, with the exception of a very few newly raised regiments, all the British troops were occupied abroad. He represented, that the regular troops now in the kingdom were insufficient to withstand the body of Highlanders his friends could bring into the field ; and he stated his belief, that if in the outset he obtained an advantage over the government forces, the country in general would declare in his favour, and his friends abroad would at once aid him,—that every thing, in fact, now depended upon the Highlanders,—and that to accomplish the restoration of his father, it was only necessary that they should instantly declare themselves and begin the war.

These arguments, which, as the result has shown, were more plausible than solid, had no effect upon Lochiel, who continued to resist all the entreaties of Charles to induce him to alter his resolution. Finding the prince utterly averse to the proposal made to him to return to France, Lochiel entreated him to be more moderate in his views. He then suggested, that Charles should send his attendants back to France ; that he himself should remain concealed in the country ; that a report should be circulated that he also had returned to France, and that the court of France should be made acquainted with the state of matters, and informed that his friends would be ready to take up arms upon the first notice of a landing, but that nothing could be done without foreign support. And in the meantime, Lochiel undertook to guarantee the personal safety of the prince. Charles, however, rejected this proposal also, and told Lochiel, that the court of France would never be convinced that he had a considerable party in Scotland, till there was an actual insurrection, without which he was afraid they would not venture their troops.

As a last shift, Lochiel suggested, that Charles should remain at Borodale till he and other friends should hold a meeting, and concert what was best to be done. With an impatience which spurned delay, Charles would not even listen to the proposal, and declared his firm determination to take the field, how small soever the number of his attendants might be. “ In a few days,” said he, “ with the few friends that I have, I will erect the royal standard, and proclaim to the people of Britain, that Charles Stuart is come over to claim the crown of his ancestors—to win it, or to perish in the attempt : Lochiel, whom my father has often told me, was our firmest friend, may stay at home, and from the newspapers, learn the fate of his prince.” This appeal was irresistible. “ No !” exclaimed Lochiel, “ I’ll share the fate of my prince ; and

so shall every man over whom nature or fortune has given me any power.”\*

Having extorted an acquiescence from Lochiel, who, impelled by a mistaken but chivalrous sense of honour, thus yielded to the prince's entreaties in spite of his own better judgment, Charles resolved to raise his standard at Glenfinnin on the nineteenth of August. In pursuance with this resolution, he despatched letters from Borodale on the sixth, to the different chiefs who were favourably disposed; informing them of his intention, and requiring the presence of them and their followers at Glenfinnin on the day appointed, or as soon thereafter as possible. Lochiel, at the same time, returned to his own house, whence he despatched messengers to the leading gentlemen of his clan to raise their men, and to hold themselves in readiness to march with him to Glenfinnin.†

After sending off his messengers, Charles left Borodale for the house of Kinlochmoidart, about seven miles from Borodale, whither he and his suite had been invited by the proprietor to spend a few days, while the preparations for the appointed meeting were going on. Charles and his party went by sea, and their baggage and some artillery were forwarded by the same conveyance; but the body-guard, which had been provided by Clanranald, proceeded by land along the heads of two intervening bays. While at the hospitable mansion of his friend, Charles expressed his sense of the services of Kinlochmoidart in the warmest terms, offered him a colonel's commission in a regiment of horse-dragoons, and promised him a peerage.‡

During Charles's stay at Kinlochmoidart, the arming of the Highlanders went on with extraordinary alacrity; and several days before the prince's departure for Glenfinnin, detached parties of armed Highlanders were to be seen perambulating the country in different directions. Though three weeks had elapsed since the arrival of the prince, yet so effectually had his arrival been concealed from the officers of the government in the Highlands, that it was not until they received intelligence of these movements, that they began even to suspect his arrival. Alarmed by reports which reached him for the safety of Fort William, around which Lochiel and Keppoch were assembling their men, the governor of Fort Augustus despatched, on the sixteenth of August, two companies of the second battalion of the Scots Royals, under the command of Captain (afterwards General) Scott, to reinforce that garrison; but they did not reach their destination, having been taken prisoners by a

\* Home's works, vol. iii. p. 4. et seq. Kirkconnel MS.

† Mr Home is evidently mistaken in saying “that young Clanranald undertook to go to the isle of Skye, and inform Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod of the rendezvous, and solicit them to join.” Clanranald had returned from Skye before the resolution to meet at Glenfinnin had been adopted, and it does not appear that Clanranald went a second time to Skye.

‡ As an inducement to favour his restoration, the Chevalier de St George promised to ennoble a considerable number of his friends. Patents of nobility were accordingly made out and signed in favour of all the Jacobite chiefs and other leading supporters of the cause. See letter from the Chevalier to the prince, 7th Nov., 1747, in the Appendix.

party of Lochiel's and Keppoch's men. As this occurrence may be regarded as the commencement of hostilities, and as it is strongly characteristic of the ardour with which the Highlanders took the field at the command of their chiefs, the details of it may not here be considered as out of place.

At the period in question, as well as at the time of the previous insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, the country between Fort William and Inverness was inhabited altogether by disaffected clans; to overawe whom chiefly, the chain of forts, named Fort William, Fort Augustus and Fort George, which reach across the Highlands from the east to the west sea, was placed. In the centre of these, or almost equidistant between Fort William and Fort George, stands Fort Augustus, the distance between which and Fort William is twenty-eight miles. To keep up a regular communication between the garrisons of the two last mentioned forts, a road was made by orders of the government along the sides of the mountains which skirt the narrow lakes, which now form part of the bed of the Caledonian canal. It was along this road that the detachment in question marched. That they might reach Fort William the same day—there being no place on the road where so many men could have taken up their quarters during night—they left Fort Augustus early in the morning of the sixteenth of August, and met with no interruption till they arrived at High Bridge, within eight miles of Fort William. This bridge, which consists of one arch of great height, is built across the river Spean,—a mountain-torrent confined between high and steep banks. On approaching the bridge the ears of the party were saluted by the sound of a bagpipe,—a circumstance which could excite little surprise in the Highlands; but when they observed a body of Highlanders on the other side of the bridge with swords and firelocks in their hands, the party became alarmed.

The Highlanders who had posted themselves at the bridge, were of Keppoch's clan, and were under the command of Macdonald of Tiern-drieck; and though they did not consist of more than eleven or twelve persons, yet by leaping and skipping about, moving from place to place, and extending their plaids between one another to give themselves a formidable appearance, they impressed Captain Scott with an idea that they were a pretty numerous body. He therefore halted his men, and sent forward a sergeant with his own servant towards the bridge to reconnoitre; but when they came near the bridge they were seized and carried across by two nimble Highlanders, who unexpectedly darted upon them. Seeing the fate of his messengers, knowing that he was in a disaffected district, and ignorant of the strength of the Highlanders, Captain Scott deemed it more advisable to retreat than risk an encounter. He, therefore, ordered his men to face about, and return by the road they had come. Tiern-drieck had for some time observed the march of these troops, and had sent expresses to Lochiel and Keppoch, whose houses were within three or four miles of High Bridge, announ-

cing their advance, and demanding assistance. Expecting immediate aid and not wishing to display his weakness, which, from the openness of the ground near the bridge, would have been easily discernible, he did not follow Scott immediately, but kept at a distance till the troops had passed the west end of Loch-Lochie, and were upon the narrow road between the lake and the mountain. The Highlanders thereupon made their appearance, and ascending the craggy eminences which overhang the road, and, sheltering themselves among the rocks and trees, began to fire down upon the retreating party, who, in place of returning the fire, accelerated their pace.

Before this fire had been opened, bands of Highlanders were proceeding in the direction of the bridge to assist in the attack. Upon hearing the report of the fire-arms, these hastened to the place whence the firing proceeded, and in a short time a considerable body joined the party under Tierndrieck. Captain Scott continued his march rapidly along the loch, and when he reached the east end he observed some Highlanders on a hill at the west end of Loch Oich, where they had assembled apparently for the purpose of intercepting him on his retreat. Disliking the appearance of this body, which stood in the direct way of his retreat, Scott resolved to throw himself for protection into Invergarry castle, the seat of Macdonell of Glengary, and accordingly crossed the isthmus between the two lakes. This movement, however, only rendered his situation more embarrassing, as he had not marched far when he perceived another body of Highlanders, the Macdonells of Glengary coming down the opposite hill to attack him. In this dilemma he formed his men into a hollow square, and proceeded on his march. Meanwhile, Tierndrieck having been reinforced by a party of Keppoch's men, headed by the chief, hastened the pursuit, and soon came up with the fugitives. To spare the effusion of blood, Keppoch advanced alone to Scott's party, required them to surrender, and offered them quarters; but assured them, that, in case of resistance, they would be cut to pieces. Fatigued with a long march, and surrounded on all sides by increasing bodies of Highlanders, Captain Scott, who had been wounded, and had had two of his men killed, accepted the terms offered, and surrendered. This affair was scarcely over, when Lochiel arrived on the spot with a party of Camerons, and took charge of the prisoners, whom he carried to his own house at Achmacarie. The result of this singular rencounter, in which the Highlanders did not lose a single man, was hailed by them as the harbinger of certain success, and they required no farther inducement to prosecute the war thus auspiciously begun, as they imagined.\*

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 12.—Kirkconnel MS.—Tour in the Highlands. Lond., 1819. Lord President Forbes, in a letter to Sir Alexander Macdonald, 19th August, 1745, thus alludes to this affair, "This success, supposing it to be true, I am afraid will elevate too much, and be the occasion of farther folly. Two companies of the Royals made prisoners, sounds pretty well, and will surely be passed for a notable achievement." —*Home's Works*, vol. iii. p. 299.



Charles, to whom it may be supposed intelligence of this affair was instantly sent, left Kinlochmoidart on the eighteenth of August, on which day he went by water to the seat of Alexander Macdonald of Glenalladale, on the side of Loch Shiel, where he was joined by Gordon of Glenbucket, who brought with him Captain Sweetenham, an English officer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken prisoner by a party of Keppoch's men while on his way to Fort William to inspect that fortress. The prince passed the night at Glenalladale, and with his attendants, who amounted to about twenty-five persons, proceeded about six o'clock next morning in three boats for Glenfinnin, and landed within a few hours at the east end of Loch Shiel, where the little river Finnin falls into the lake.

Glenfinnin, the place appointed for the rendezvous, is a narrow vale bounded on both sides by high and rocky mountains, between which the river Finnin runs. This glen forms the inlet from Moidart into Lochaber, and at its gorge is about fifteen miles west from Fort William. On landing, the prince was received by the laird of Morar at the head of one hundred and fifty men, with whom he marched to Glenfinnin, where they arrived about eleven o'clock. Charles, of course, expected to find a large "gathering of the clans" in the vale awaiting his approach; but, to his great surprise, not a human being was to be seen throughout the whole extent of the lonely glen, except the solitary inhabitants of the few huts which formed the hamlet. Chagrined and disappointed, Charles entered one of these hovels to ruminate over the supposed causes which might have retarded the assembling of his friends. After waiting about two hours in anxious suspense, he was relieved from his solicitude by the distant sound of a bagpipe, which occasionally broke upon his ear, and by its gradual increase, it soon became evident that a party was coming in the direction of the glen. While all eyes were turned towards the point whence the sound proceeded, a dark mass was seen overtopping the hill and descending its side. This was the clan Cameron, amounting to between seven and eight hundred men, with Lochiel, their chief, at their head. They advanced in two columns, of three men deep each, with the prisoners who were taken in the late scuffle between the lines.

If in the state of suspense in which he was kept after entering Glenfinnin, the spirits of Charles suffered a temporary depression, they soon recovered their wonted buoyancy when he beheld the gallant band which now stood before him. Without waiting, therefore, for the other clans who were expected to join, the prince at once resolved to raise his standard and to declare open war against "the elector of Hanover," as George the Second was called, "and his adherents."\* The marquis of Tullibardine, to whom, from his rank, was allotted the honour of unfurling the standard, took his station on a small knoll in the centre of the

\* Kirkcounell MS.

vale, where, supported by two men, he displayed the banner, and proclaimed the Chevalier de St George as king before the assembled host, who rent the air with their acclamations. The flag used upon this occasion was of silk, of a white, blue, and red texture, but without any motto. After proclamation, a commission of the following tenor from the Chevalier de St George, appointing his son Prince Charles regent of these kingdoms, was read by the marquis of Tullibardine.

“JAMES R.

“Whereas we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas on account of the present situation of this country it will be absolutely impossible for us to be present in person at the first setting up of our royal standard, and even some time after; we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint our dearest son, Charles Prince of Wales to be sole regent of our kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all our other dominions during our absence. It is our will and intention that our said dearest son should enjoy and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient constitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our royal person, and acting by our authority. And we hereby revoke all commissions of regency granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And lastly, we hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions that may be herein contained; declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual style and forms. Given under our sign manual and privy signet at our court at Rome, the twenty-third day of December, seventeen hundred and forty-three, in the forty-third year of our reign. J. R.”

The reading of this commission was succeeded by the following manifesto, of same date.

“James VIII. by the Grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

“Having always borne the most constant affection to our ancient kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our royal origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of; we cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable bur-



dens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible to us when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

“We see a nation always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour. In consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary ; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

“To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them ; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned where no foreign invasion could be apprehended, and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequences of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them ; neither is it less manifest that such a remedy can ever be obtained but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal heart such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

“We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end ; which the Divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually by enabling our good subjects in England to shake off the yoke, under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the cheerful and hearty concurrence of our Scots subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work ; but that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we in this public manner think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

“We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons, and other crimes hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves. From the benefit of which pardon we except none, but such as shall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose us, or those who shall appear or endeavour to appear in arms for our service.

“We farther declare that we will with all convenient speed call a free parliament ; that by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions which

have been the consequences of the pretended union ; that so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

“ We likewise promise upon our royal word to protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conform to the laws of the land.

“ All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first parliament ; in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full possession of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve the poor, and establish the general welfare and tranquillity of the nation. In all such matters we are fully resolved to act always by the advice of our parliaments, and to value none of our titles so much as that of *common father of our people*, which we shall ever show ourselves to be by our constant endeavours to promote the quiet and happiness of all our subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and maintain the fishery and linen manufactures of the nation, which we are sensible may be of such advantage to it, and which we hope are works reserved for us to accomplish.

“ As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of our just rights and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to reward them according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, our full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, whether of the sea or land, provided that upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against our forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty, in which case we shall pay them all the arrears that shall be at that time due to them from the usurper ; we shall grant to the officers the same commissions they shall then bear, if not higher ; and to all soldiers and sailors a gratification of a whole year's pay for their forwardness in promoting our service.

“ We farther promise and declare, that the vassals of such as shall without regard to our present declaration, obstinately persist in their rebellion, and thereby forfeit all pretensions to our royal clemency, shall be delivered from all servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have grants and charters of their lands to be held immediately of the crown, provided they, upon the publication of this our royal declaration, declare openly for us, and join heartily in the cause of their country.

“ And having thus declared our gracious intentions to our loving subjects, we do hereby require and command them to be assisting to us in the recovery of our rights, and of their own liberties ; and that all our subjects from the age of sixteen to sixty, do, upon the setting up of our royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as

shall first appear for us in their respective shires ; and also to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

"We also strictly command all receivers, collectors, or other persons who may be seized of any sum or sums of money levied in the name or for the use of the usurper, to retain such sum or sums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service; whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, &c.

"Lastly, we do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration, at the market crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty."

After this manifesto had been read, the marquis of Tullibardine returned to the prince's quarters with the standard under an escort of fifty Camerons. In about an hour after the conclusion of this ceremony, Macdonald of Keppoch joined the prince with three hundred of his men ; and in the evening some gentlemen of the name of Macleod, displeased with the conduct of their chief, arrived at Glenfinnin, proffered their services to the prince, and offered to return to Skye, and raise all the men they could in support of his cause. On arriving at Glenfinnin, Macdonald of Tierndrieck, presented the prince with an excellent horse which he had taken from Captain Scott. The animated appearance of the glen, which now resounded with the martial strains of the pibroch, contrasted strongly with the solitary gloom which pervaded when the prince entered it. Instead of the small party which joined him in the morning, Charles found himself within a few hours thereafter at the head of a body of about twelve hundred brave and resolute men, warmly attached to his person and cause, and ready and willing to hazard their lives in his service. Charles was exceedingly delighted at the appearance of his little army, and it has been observed that at no other time did he look more cheerful or display a greater buoyancy of spirits.\*

Of the many singular circumstances attending this extraordinary insurrection, the utter ignorance in which the personage in whose name it was undertaken was kept, is not the least. Charles had indeed written his father on the eve of his departure from France, acquainting him with the resolution he had taken, but before his letter reached Rome, the prince was actually at the head of his army. The object of Charles in concealing his design from the Chevalier is obvious. He was aware that his father would have opposed such a rash attempt, and might pro-

bably have applied to the court of France to prevent his departure ; and having taken his resolution, he was determined not to put it in jeopardy by too timely an announcement of his intentions. Whatever opinion may *now* be formed of the prudence of an undertaking, which, had it succeeded, would have been considered as one of the boldest strokes of political wisdom, there can be but one sentiment as to the conduct of the prince, in thus withholding from his parent all knowledge of the design he had formed for accomplishing the object of his daring ambition. Though under the corrupt influence of a few interested persons, whom he kept about his person,\* he still retained a sufficient portion of filial respect to prevent him from violating the declared injunctions of his father ; and as no opposition short of actual violence could have induced him to forego his resolution of going to Scotland, he avoided the disagreeable alternative of disregarding the commands which his father would have laid upon him by taking the course he did.

When the Chevalier de St George received the prince's letter, which informed him, that he was to proceed instantly to Scotland, he was greatly surprised and agitated;† but as the step had been taken, he became reconciled to it, and even could not help applauding the courage of the prince in entering upon the enterprise. Writing to the duke of Ormond, on the eleventh of August, the Chevalier says, "I have now by me your letters of the fourteenth July, and of the twenty-seventh, which last came by the courier, which brought me an account of the resolution the prince had taken, and executed without consulting me, for he was very sure I would not have approved it, tho' I cannot but say, that the courage and sentiments he shows on this occasion, will always do him honor."‡ Again in writing to his agent, Sempil, same day, he observes, "What takes me up wholly at present, is the resolution the prince has taken and executed, without my knowledge. . . . The question now is to look forward, and not to blame what is past. It is true, I never should have advised the prince to have taken such a step, but since it is taken it must be supported, and whatever be the event, it will certainly turn much to the prince's personal honor, nay, even something may be said to justify what he has done. The usage he met with in France, and the dread of a peace, were no doubt strong motives to push him on a rash undertaking, than to sit still ; and who knows but what has happened, may, in some measure, force the court of France out of shame to support him, while otherwise perhaps they had continued to neglect him, and then have abandoned him at last. . . . The prince's example will, I hope, animate our friends in England ; he has ventured generously for them, and if they abandon him, they themselves, and indeed our country, will be ruined."§

\* See extract Letter from the Chevalier to O'Bryan, 16 August, 1745, in the Appendix.

† Writing to O'Bryan, he says, (11 August, 1745) "*Je vous avoue que ma surprise et mon agitation étoient grandes en apprenant cette nouvelle.*"—*Stuart Papers*.

‡ *Stuart Papers*.

§ *Ibid*.



It had always been the opinion of the Chevalier—an opinion which experience has shown was well founded—that no attempt on Scotland could possibly succeed, unless accompanied by a simultaneous landing in England, and he now saw the necessity of enforcing this consideration more strongly than ever upon the court of France. In the letter which Charles had sent him, he desired his father to write to the king of France, and Cardinal Tencin, to urge them for support. The Chevalier, however, did not confine himself to the king and to the cardinal, but addressed himself also to the Marechal de Noailles, and the whole of the French ministers.\* Alluding to the necessity of supporting the prince by a descent on England, the Chevalier says in the letter to Ormond, from which a quotation has already been made; “Enfin, since the step is taken, it is certainly incumbent on all of us to do our best to support it, and I am very sure nothing will be wanting on your side for that effect. My darkness, my anxiety, and the multiplicity of my reflections on this occasion, are so great that I shall not pretend to enlarge on this subject at present. In the mean time, I now write to Lord Marischal by the way of Paris, and write also directly to the king of France, and all the ministers, for without a landing in England is soon made, humanly speaking, it will be impossible for the prince to succeed.” He repeats almost the same observations in his letter to Sempil, also referred to: “I know not particularly the grounds he (the prince) goes upon, but I am afraid there is little room to hope he will succeed, except he be vigorously supported by the court of France; and, therefore, we must all of us in our different spheres leave nothing undone for that effect. I now write myself to the king of France and all the ministers, and we must be all of us more than ever solely and wholly intent on the great object.”

But the Chevalier, in his anxiety to procure early succours for the prince, did not confine himself to words. To pay off the debts which Charles had contracted before his departure, he immediately remitted a sum of two hundred thousand francs to O'Bryan, his chief agent at Paris, and placed another sum of fifty thousand francs in the hands of Waters, junior, his banker at Paris, at the disposal of O'Bryan, to meet instant contingencies.† He afterwards remitted to Waters, through Belloni, his banker at Rome, eighty thousand Roman crowns, and promised another remittance of eight-and-twenty thousand in a few weeks, which, he said, would exhaust his treasury.

\* See the letter to the king of France, Appendix, No. V. Those letters, ten in number, all bear the date of 11th August, 1745.

† “J'ai, (says the Chevalier to O'Bryan, 16th, Aug. 1745,) envoyé la semaine passée 200,000 Francs à Paris pour payer ce que le Prince avait emprunté avant que de partir, et j'espère en cas de besoin pouvoir lever quelque argent sur quelques petits fonds qui me restent icy, et sur les pierreries du Prince même, mais tout cela n'ira pas fort loin, et à moins que la France ne la secours largement, je ne sçai ce que arrivera.”—*Stuart Papers*.

<http://stores.ebay.com/Ancestry-Found>

In his letter to the king of France, the Chevalier informed him that he had learned with great astonishment the departure of the prince for Scotland; that knowing well that he would never have approved of such a step, he had taken and put his resolution into effect without consulting him; but that being done, he was obliged in sincerity to confess that he could not but admire the conduct of the prince in entering upon the enterprise, which, he was certain, would make a great and favourable impression upon the minds of his adherents. He stated, however, his conviction, that without the aid of a foreign force it was utterly impossible for the prince to succeed, and he entreated his majesty to furnish the necessary assistance. He reminded him that the prince had been invited by him into France, and although a year and a half had since elapsed, that he certainly had not forgot the object which brought his son thither; and that a crisis had now arrived, when the smallest delay on the part of his majesty might be attended with danger to the success of the brave attempt which the prince had made, and that he might now, at little risk and at a small expense, finish the work which the prince was about to commence. As to himself personally, the Chevalier informed Louis that he had formerly intimated to him that he intended to resign his rights to the prince; and that his intentions were still the same, with this difference however, that while he formerly considered that such a step would be advantageous for his family, it had now become indispensably necessary for his own honour, on account of his infirmities, as he considered that he should act rashly, and be guilty of bad faith towards his subjects, if he pretended to take upon himself the cares of government, when he was incapable of any fatigue either of body or of mind, and consequently unable to discharge the duties of a sovereign. These sentiments, of the sincerity of which no doubt can be entertained, do great honour to James, who, if we may judge by his letters, is entitled to stand in a higher station in the moral and intellectual scale than has been hitherto assigned him.

The proceedings of government to suppress the insurrection are now to engage the reader's attention.



## CHAPTER II.

Apathy of the Government—Proclamation by the Lords of the Regency—Intelligence of the Prince's arrival received at Edinburgh—Conduct of Macleod of Macleod—Contradictory reports at Edinburgh—Preparations of Sir John Cope—Leaves Edinburgh for Stirling—Marches to the North—Arrives at Dalwhinnie—Holds a Council of War—Resolves to march to Inverness—Counter proclamation of Prince Charles—Marches from Glenfinnin—Crosses Corriearrack—Flight of Cope to Inverness—March of Charles to the South—Enters Athole—Arrives at Perth—Joined by Lord George Murray and others—Preparations made by Charles at Perth—Proceedings and alarm at Edinburgh—Association of Volunteers formed—Municipal intrigues.

No event was less expected on the part of the government than the landing of Charles Edward. A flying report had, indeed, been spread in the Highlands in the beginning of summer, that the prince was to come over in the course of that season; but no person, not in the secret of his design, could have imagined that Charles had any intention to risk his person without being accompanied by a sufficient body of troops, and no disposition appeared on the part of France to assist him.

The report alluded to was first communicated in a letter from a gentleman of consideration in the Highlands to Lord-president Forbes, who, on the second of July, showed it to Sir John Cope, the commander in chief in Scotland. Little credit was, however, attached to the report, either by the writer of the letter or by the president. Cope, though equally incredulous, considered it his duty to communicate the report to the marquis of Tweeddale, the secretary of state for Scotland; and to provide against any contingency that might occur, he proposed that the forts of Scotland should be well provided, and that arms should be transmitted for the use of the well-affected clans. In an answer which the marquis wrote upon the ninth, he ordered Cope to keep a strict watch upon the north, but informed him, that, as the measures he proposed were considered by the lords of the regency acting in behalf of the king during his majesty's absence in Hanover, as likely to create alarm, they had declined to enter into them.\*

But the lords of the regency were soon aroused from their supineness by advices from abroad that the French court was meditating an

\* Cope's Trial, p. 105.

invasion of Great Britain, and that the eldest son of the pretender had left Nantes in a French man-of-war, and, according to some accounts, was actually landed in Scotland. On the thirtieth of July, the marquis of Tweeddale wrote Sir John Cope, communicating to him the news which had just been received, and despatched letters of same date also to Lord Milton, the justice-clerk,\* and to the lord-advocate, with similar intelligence, and enjoining them to keep a strict look out,—to concert what was proper to be done in the event of a landing,—and to give the necessary orders for making the strictest inquiry into the truth of the intelligence,—and to transmit to the marquis, from time to time, such information as they were able to collect. The lords-justices, however, without waiting for a return to these letters, issued, on the sixth of August, the following proclamation.

“Whereas, by an act of parliament made in the seventeenth year of his majesty’s reign, it was enacted, that if the eldest, or any other son or sons of the person who pretended to be the prince of Wales in the lifetime of the late King James II. and since his death assumed the name and title of James III. king of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should, after the 1st day of May, in the year 1744, land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, or should be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with an intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, he and they respectively should, by virtue of the said act, stand and be adjudged attainted of high treason to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And whereas we have received information that the eldest son of the said pretender did lately embark in France in order to land in some part of his majesty’s kingdoms, we, being moved with just indignation at so daring an attempt, and desirous that the said act may be carried effectually into execution, have thought it fit, by advice of his majesty’s privy-council, and do hereby in his majesty’s name, command and require all his majesty’s officers, civil and military, and all other his majesty’s loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the said son of the pretender, whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, or shall be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, in order to his being brought to justice; and to give notice thereof immediately, when he shall be so seized and secured, to one of his majesty’s principal secretaries of state. And to the intent that all due encouragement be given to so important a service, we do hereby further, in his majesty’s name, promise a reward of thirty thousand pounds to such person or persons who shall so seize

and secure the said son of the said pretender, so as that he may be brought to justice; and his majesty's high-treasurer or the commissioners of his majesty's treasury for the time being, is, and are hereby required, to make payment thereof accordingly. And if any of the persons who have adhered to or assisted, or who shall adhere to or assist the said pretender or his said son, shall seize and secure him the said son as aforesaid, he or they, who shall so seize and secure him, shall have his majesty's gracious pardon, and shall also receive the said reward, to be paid in manner aforesaid."

The express sent by the marquis of Tweeddale reached Edinburgh on the third of August, but the advices which had been received in London had preceded it. The lord-president, in a letter written the day before to Mr Pelham, \* mentions the alarm which, in a state of profound tranquillity, these advices had created. The report, however, of the prince's intended visit was discredited by the president, who considered the "young gentleman's game" to be then "very desperate" in Scotland, the president not being to learn that there was "the least apparatus for his reception, even amongst the few Highlanders who were expected to be in his interest." As, however, where there was so much at stake, the president wisely judged that no report respecting the prince's movements, however improbable, was to be disregarded, and he accordingly resolved to make his accustomed journey to the north a little earlier than usual, to the end that, though, as he himself observes, his "fighting days" were over, he might give countenance to the friends of government, and prevent the seduction of the unwary, should the report turn out well-founded. On the eighth of August, the lord-president wrote the marquis of Tweeddale, stating that the lord-advocate and Sir John Cope had informed him of the advices which had been received from abroad, but expressing his disbelief of the report, which he considered "highly improbable." "I consider the report as improbable, (he observes,) because I am confident that young man cannot with reason expect to be joined by any considerable force in the Highlands. Some loose lawless men of desperate fortunes may indeed resort to him; but I am persuaded that none of the Highland gentlemen, who have ought to lose, will, after the experience with which the year seventeen hundred and fifteen furnished them, think proper to risque their fortunes on an attempt which to them must appear desperate; especially as so many considerable families amongst themselves have lately uttered their sentiments; unless the undertaking is supported by an arm'd power from abroad, or seconded by an invasion on some other part of his majesty's dominions."† To provide against any emergency which might arise in the north, his lordship proposed first, that a sufficient number of arms should be lodged in the forts in the Highlands, with directions by whom, and to whom they might be

\* Culloden Papers, p. 203. † Ibid. p. 204.

delivered out,—a proposal the same in substance as that made by Sir John Cope; and secondly, that money or credit should be lodged in the hands of confidential persons in the north, for the use of the public service. This last-mentioned measure he considered the more necessary, as it could not be expected, as he observed, that private individuals would come forward with money, when they recollected that several gentlemen, who, from the want of money in the year seventeen hundred and fifteen, had advanced large sums out of their pockets for the public service, had not even been repaid, far less rewarded by the government.

The lord-president, though a man of sound judgment, and gifted with a considerable portion of political foresight, was, from entire ignorance of the character of Charles, completely deceived in his speculations; and Lord Tweeddale, probably misled by the president, on whose personal knowledge of the state of the Highlands he placed great reliance, adopted the same views. In an answer to the president's letter which the marquis wrote on the seventeenth of August, he thus expresses himself: "I own I have never been alarmed with the reports of the pretender's son's landing in Scotland. I consider it as a rash and desperate attempt, that can have no other consequence than the ruin of those concerned in it."\*

On the same day, however, on which the president's letter to Lord Tweeddale was written, all doubts of the arrival and landing of the prince were removed at Edinburgh, by an express from Lord Milton, the justice-clerk, then at Roseneath, to Sir John Cope, enclosing a letter dated the fifth, which he had received on the seventh from Mr Campbell of Stonefield, sheriff of Argyle, in which was contained a copy of a letter received by the latter from Mr Campbell of Aird, factor to the duke of Argyle in Mull and Morvern, announcing the landing of the prince in Arisaig, and stating that some of the Macdonalds were already up in arms, and that other Highlanders were preparing to follow their example.

This news was confirmed next day, by another express from the laird of Macleod to the lord-president, dated the third of August.† This letter he immediately communicated to the commander-in-chief. Mr Home—who, though he alludes to 'this letter, does not mention the name of the writer, either because he may have been unaware of it, or wished to conceal it—states that it was written by the same gentleman who had formerly given the president information of the prince's design of coming to the Highlands. If so, Macleod was guilty of a base and dishonourable act, as he had certainly promised to join the prince, if supported by a foreign force. He might, at the time he is supposed to have communicated the information of the prince's intention, have been probably apprized of Charles's resolution to throw



himself into the arms of the Highlanders ; but if aware of such intention, his conduct is still more inexcusable. If, from a pure and discontented motive, he wished, by thus giving early notice of danger, to save his country from the horrors of a civil war, and preserve his friends from ruin, his conduct must be considered patriotic and praiseworthy ; but his previous conduct, as a partizan of the exiled family, negatives such a presumption. But Macleod himself appears to have been conscious that he was playing a double part, and he thus cunningly puts the president on his guard not to disclose the name of his informant : “ As it can be of no use to the public, to know whence you have this information, it is, I fancy, needless to mention either of us, (himself and Sir Alexander Macdonald,) but this we leave in your own breast, as you are a much better judge of what is, or is not, proper to be done. I’ve wrote to no other ; and as our friendship and confidence in you is without reserve, so we doubt not of your supplying our defects properly.”\* He mentions the visit of young Clanranald, but avoids any allusion to its object ; and observes that he had given him and Sir Alexander Macdonald all possible assurances of his prudence.†

This intelligence, which at first was withheld from the public, was shortly followed by the arrival of the Gazette, containing the proclamation for the apprehension of the prince. Nothing was now talked off at Edinburgh but the threatened invasion. In the state of ignorance in which the public were still kept, the most contradictory reports were circulated. A rumour of the departure of Charles from France had indeed been stated in the Edinburgh Evening Courant a few days before, and the same paper had also, on the back of this report, stated, upon the alleged information of a foreign journal, that the prince had actually landed in the Highlands, and was to be supported by thirty thousand men and ten ships of war ; but neither of these statements appears to have excited any sensation, being generally discredited. Now, however, every person firmly believed that the prince had arrived. One day it was confidently asserted that he had landed in the western Highlands with ten thousand French troops. Next day it was affirmed with equal confidence that he had landed without troops ; but that wherever he came the Highlanders to a man had joined him. On the other hand, the Jacobites, who were in the secret of the arrival, anxious to conceal the fact till Charles should be ready to take the field, industriously circulated a report that he was still in France, and had not the least intention of coming over. To divert the public attention, they had recourse to the weapons of ridicule. In their conversation they represented the preparations of the commander-in-chief in a ludicrous light ; and to make him contemptible in the eyes of the public, sent him

\* Culloden Papers, p. 204.

† The author of the Journal and Memoirs, printed among the Lockhart Papers, (vol. ii. p. 441,) says that a report prevailed, that Macleod transmitted the letter, which the prince had sent him by young Clanranald, to Craigie, the lord-advocate.

anonymous letters containing most absurd articles of intelligence, which they afterwards circulated with scurrilous comments.\*

In the present crisis Sir John Cope acted with more wisdom than has been usually ascribed to him, and certainly with more energy than his superiors. Not wishing, however, to trust entirely to his own judgment, he consulted lord-president Forbes, and the lord-advocate and solicitor-general, the law-officers of the crown, upon the course to be adopted under existing circumstances. No man was better acquainted with every thing appertaining to the Highlands than Forbes; and in fixing upon him as an adviser, Cope showed a laudable desire to avail himself of the best advice and information within his reach. At the period now in question, the insurrection was in a state of mere inception; and, according to the opinions of those best qualified to judge, there was little probability that it would assume a formidable character. At all events, sound policy dictated that the threatened insurrection should be checked in its bud, and as its progress could only be stopped by the presence of a body of troops, Cope proposed, and his proposal received the approbation of the three public functionaries before named, to march to the Highlands with such troops as he could collect. The number of regular troops in Scotland did not, it is true, amount to three thousand men,† and some of them were newly raised; but there can be little doubt that, by a timely and judicious disposition of about two-thirds of this force in the disaffected districts, the embers of rebellion might have been extinguished. The unfortunate result of Cope's expedition detracts in no respect from the design he thus formed, though the propriety of his subsequent measures may well indeed be questioned.

Having formed his resolution, the commander-in-chief sent expresses to the secretary of state for Scotland on the ninth and tenth of August, announcing his intention of marching to the Highlands. In pursuance of this resolution he ordered a camp to be formed at Stirling, and required all the officers who were absent from their regiments, to repair to their respective posts. About the same time he directed the lord-president to take the command of the companies raised in the north for Lord Loudon's Highland regiment, and notified the appointment to the officers of the regiment commanding in that quarter. As there was no bread in the country through which he intended to march, he bought

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 18.

† There were three foot regiments, viz. Guise's, the 6th, stationed at Aberdeen,—Murray's, the 46th, scattered among the garrisons in the Highlands,—and Lascelle's, the 47th, at Edinburgh. Also two companies of the Scots Royals, (which surrendered to Keppoch's Highlanders,)—two of Lord Sempil's regiment stationed at Cupar-in-Fife, —two of the Scots Fusileers at Glasgow,—three of Lord John Murray's regiment at Crieff,—five of Lee's regiment, the 44th, in the west of Scotland, (the remaining five being in Berwick,)—besides several companies, almost complete, of Lord Loudon's Highland regiment. Besides these, there were two regiments of dragoons, those of Gardiner and Hamilton.



up all the biscuit which the bakers of Edinburgh and Leith had on hand, and set all the bakers there, as well as those of Perth and Stirling, to work night and day to prepare a quantity of bread sufficient to support his army for twenty-one days.\*

On receipt of Cope's letters, the marquis of Tweeddale laid them before the lords of the treasury, who approved of the conduct of the commander-in-chief, and particularly of his resolution of marching into the Highlands with such troops as he could assemble. The secretary notified the approbation of their lordships in a letter to Cope; and so satisfied were they with his plan, that when they understood that the march had been delayed only for a day or two, they sent down an express to him, with positive orders to begin his march to the north instantly. Their lordships seem not to have been aware of the causes which retarded his march, not the least of which was the want of money, a credit for which did not arrive till the seventeenth of August; notwithstanding, Cope had made the demand as early as the third of that month.† The order to march reached Edinburgh on the nineteenth of August, on which day Cope, accompanied by the earl of Loudon and several officers, set off for Stirling, where he arrived in the evening. Thus, by a singular coincidence, Charles and his opponent placed themselves at the head of their respective armies on the same day.

The force which Cope found upon his arrival at Stirling, and which had been collected for his expedition, consisted of twenty-five companies of foot, amounting altogether to fourteen hundred men, and some of Gardiner's dragoons. Leaving the dragoons, which could be of no use in a campaign among the mountains, behind him, Cope began his march towards the north on the twentieth, carrying along with him four field-pieces, (one and a half pounders,) as many cohorns, and a thousand stand of spare arms for the use of such of the well affected Highlanders as might join him. He carried also with him a considerable number of black cattle for the use of the army. Only a part, however, of the bread which had been ordered had arrived; but so anxious was Cope to obey his instructions, that he began his march with the limited supply he had received, after giving orders to forward the remainder as soon as it should arrive at Stirling.‡

Cope halted on the twenty-first at Crieff. He was here visited by the duke of Athole, and his younger brother, Lord George Murray, the latter of whom, doubtless, little imagined he was to act the conspicuous part he afterwards did, as commander of the prince's army. The duke attended in consequence of a notice which Cope had sent to him and the other leading adherents of the government, through, or in the neighbourhood of whose territories he meant to pass, requiring them to raise their men; but neither the duke nor the other chiefs who had been applied to seem to have been disposed to obey the call. Lord Glenorchy,

\* Cope's Trial.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

who arrived shortly after the duke and his brother, excused himself on the ground that he had not had sufficient time. As Cope had calculated upon the junction of a considerable body of Highlanders on his route, he was exceedingly disappointed that his expectations were not likely to be realized, and would have instantly retraced his steps had the orders of government allowed him a discretionary power; but his instructions were too peremptory to admit of a return to Stirling. Seeing, therefore, no use for the large quantity of spare arms, he sent seven hundred of them back to Stirling castle. This was a judicious step, as from the want of carriages he could not have got them transported to Inverness.\*

On the twenty-second the army advanced to Amulrie, where it stopped for a supply of bread. Next day it proceeded to Tay bridge, and on the twenty-fourth reached Trinifuir. The army advanced to Dalnacardoch on the twenty-fifth of August. Here Cope was met by Captain Sweetenham,—the officer who had been taken prisoner when on his way to Fort William from Ruthven, and who had been released on his parole. This officer informed Sir John that he was carried to Glenfinnin, where he saw the rebels erect their standard, and that when he left them on the twenty-first they amounted to fourteen hundred men,—that on the road to Dalwhinnie he had met several parties of Highlanders hastening to join them,—and that on arriving at Dalwhinnie he had been informed that they were three thousand strong, and were in full march towards Corriearrack, where they intended to meet him and give him battle. Notwithstanding this alarming intelligence, Cope proceeded on his march, and arrived at Dalwhinnie next day. Here he received a letter from Lord-president Forbes, written at his seat of Culloden near Inverness, corroborating the intelligence received from Sweetenham of the advance of the rebels, and of their intention to meet him upon Corriearrack.

Corriearrack, of which the royal army had now come within sight, and over which it was Cope's intention to march into Lochaber, is a lofty mountain of immense extent, occupying no less than nine miles out of the eighteen that form the last day's march from Garviemore to Fort Augustus. It is extremely steep on the south side, and appears at a distance to rise almost as perpendicular as a wall. The ascent to the summit of this mountain on the south side, is by a road of seventeen traverses; and on the north side, the long descent to the level ground is carried on by traverses, resembling, in some respects, those on the south side. As there are several gullies and brooks on the south side, bridges have been thrown across, over which the road is carried. These tortuosities, rendered absolutely necessary from the nature of the ground, almost quadruple the real distance, which, from base to base, does not exceed five miles. As the mountain was peculiarly fitted for the operations of Highlanders, it is evident that in attempting to cross Corriearrack, Cope, if attacked, would labour under every disadvantage; for while his men

\* Cope's Trial.

could not leave the road in pursuit of their assailants, the latter could keep a running fire from numerous positions, from which it would be impossible to dislodge them. Cope was warned by the president of the dangers he would run, and his fears were not a little increased by a report that, on arriving at the bridge of Snugborough, a dangerous pass on the north side of the mountain, he was to be opposed by a body of Highlanders; and that, while this party kept him employed, he was to be attacked in his rear by another body, which was to be sent round the west end of the hill.\*

Alarmed at the intelligence he had received,—distracted by a variety of reports as to the strength of the enemy, and disgusted with the apathy of those on whose support he had relied, Cope called a council of war at Dalwhinnie, on the morning of the twenty-seventh of August, to which he summoned every field officer, and the commanders of the different corps of his little army. He would have acted more judiciously had he convened a council at Dalnacardoch, when he first received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders. At this meeting, Cope laid before his officers the orders he had received from the secretary of state to march to the north, which were too positive to be departed from without the most urgent necessity. After some deliberation, the council were unanimously of opinion, that the original design of the general of marching to Fort Augustus over Corriearrack, was, under existing circumstances, quite impracticable. Having abandoned the design of crossing Corriearrack, the council next considered what other course should be adopted. The wisest course certainly, if practicable, would have been to have marched back to Stirling, and to have guarded the passes of the Forth; but against this proposal it was urged, that the rebels, by marching down the side of Loch Rannoch, would be able to reach Stirling before the king's troops, and that, by breaking down the bridges, they would intercept them in their retreat. As it was impossible to remain at Dalwhinnie, no other course therefore remained, in the opinion of the council, but to march to Inverness. This opinion, which was reduced to writing, and signed by all the members of council, was delivered to Sir John Cope, who, acquiescing in its propriety, immediately issued an order to march. We must now advert to the proceedings of the prince and his friends.

Charles remained only one night at Glenfinnin. On the twentieth of August he marched to the head of Loch Lochie, where he encamped. At this place, a copy of the proclamation for his apprehension was brought him, which exasperated the Highlanders to such a degree that they insisted on a counter one being issued, offering a reward for the apprehension of "the Elector of Hanover." Charles remonstrated against such a step, but he was forced to yield, and accordingly put forth the following answer:†

\* Cope's Trial, p. 24.

† The prince thus relates the circumstances attending this affair in a letter to his fa-

“ Charles, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging :

“ Whereas we have seen a certain scandalous and malicious paper published in the style and form of a proclamation, bearing date the sixth instant, wherein, under pretence of bringing to justice, like our royal ancestor King Charles the I. of blessed memory, there is a reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling promised to those who shall deliver us into the hands of our enemies, we could not but be moved with a just indignation at so insolent an attempt. And though, from our nature and principles, we abhor and detest a practice so unusual among Christian princes, we cannot but, out of a just regard to the dignity of our person, promise the like reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling to him, or those, who shall seize and secure till our farther orders, the person of the Elector of Hanover, whether landed or attempting to land in any part of his majesty’s dominions. Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame be entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example.” This proclamation, which was dated from the “ camp at Kinlocheill ” was countersigned by Murray of Broughton, who had lately joined the prince, and had been appointed his secretary.

On the twenty-third, the prince advanced to Fassefern, the seat of Lochiel’s brother, where he passed the night. At Loch Lochie, he was obliged, from the unwillingness of the Highlanders to encumber themselves, to leave a considerable quantity of ammunition, pick-axes, shovels, &c. which, after his departure, were seized by the garrison of Fort William, who besides burned the houses of the people in the vicinity and carried off their cattle.\* While at Fassefern, intelligence was received by the prince of the march of Sir John Cope from Stirling. Having previously sent off his baggage under an escort of two hundred Camerons towards Moy, in Lochaber, Charles put his army in motion on the twenty-fourth, and arrived at Moy on the following day. On the twenty-sixth, the prince crossed the water of Lochie with his army, and proceeded to the castle of Invergarry, in which he took up his quarters for the night. During the night, he received an express from

ther, dated from Perth, 10th September, 1745. “ There is one thing, and but one, in which I had any difference with my faithful Highlanders. It was about the price upon my kinsman’s head, which, knowing your Majesty’s generous humanity, I am sure, will shock you, as it did me, when I was shown the proclamation, setting a price upon my head. I smiled, and treated it with the disdain I thought it deserved ; upon which they flew into a violent rage, and insisted upon my doing the same by him. As this flowed solely from the poor men’s love and concern for me, I did not know how to be angry with them for it, and tried to bring them to temper by representing that it was a mean barbarous principle among princes, and must dishonour them in the eyes of all men of honour ; that I did not see how my cousin’s having set me the example, would justify me in imitating that which I blame so much in him. But nothing I could say would pacify them. Some went even so far as to say,—‘ Shall we venture our lives for a man who seems so indifferent of his own?’ Thus have I been drawn in to do a thing for which I condemn myself.”—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 32.

\* Kirkconnel MS.



Gordon of Glenbucket, acquainting him, that Sir John Cope was considerably advanced in his march to the north, and that he intended to cross Corriearrack. About the same time, he was visited by Fraser of Gortleg, who came to him in name of Lord Lovat, to assure him of his lordship's services. Fraser advised him to march north, and raise the Frasers of Stratherrick; and assured him that Sir Alexander Macdonald, the laird of Macleod, and many of the Mackenzies, Grants, and Mackintoshes would join him; but the proposal was opposed by the marquis of Tullibardine and secretary Murray, the latter of whom considered the early possession of Edinburgh, where he alleged there were many persons ready to join the ranks of the insurgents, of more importance than any advantages that might be derived by remaining in the Highlands.\*

This opinion was adopted by Charles, who next morning proceeded to Abertarf in Glengary. He was joined at Low Bridge by two hundred and sixty of the Stewarts of Appin, under the command of Stewart of Ardshiel, and at Aberchallader, near the foot of Corriearrack, by six hundred of the Macdonells of Glengary, under the command of Macdonell of Lochgary; and by a party of the Grants of Glenmoriston. With these accessions the force under Charles amounted to nearly two thousand men. Charles now held a council of war to deliberate upon the course he should pursue,—whether to advance and give battle to Cope, or postpone an engagement till he should receive additional strength. It was clearly the interest of Charles to meet his adversary with as little delay as possible, and as his forces already outnumbered those opposed to him, he could not doubt but that the result of an engagement would be favourable to his arms. The council, every member of which was animated with an ardent desire to engage Cope, at once resolved to meet him. This resolution corresponded with the inclinations of the clans, all of whom, to use the expression of Fraser of Gortleg on the occasion, were “in top spirits,”† and making sure of victory.

The determination of the council, and the valorous enthusiasm of the clans, acting upon the ardent mind of the prince, created an excitement, to which even *he*, with all his dreams of glory and ambition, had before been a stranger. The generous and devoted people into whose hands he had committed the destinies of his house, struck with admiration by the condescension, and that easy yet dignified familiarity which never fails to secure respect, were ready to encounter any danger for his sake. No man knew better than Charles how to improve the advantages he had thus obtained over the minds and affections of these hardy mountaineers. Becoming, as it were, one of themselves, he entered into their views,—showed an anxiety to learn their language, which he daily practised,—and finally resolved to adopt their dress. This line of policy endeared him to the Highlanders, and to it may be ascribed the veneration in

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 442—484.

† Culloden Papers, p. 216.

which his memory is still held by their descendants, at the distance of almost a century. Having in this way inspired his faithful Highlanders with a portion of his own natural ardour, they in their turn, by the enthusiasm they displayed, raised his expectations of success to the highest possible pitch. A remarkable instance of this was exhibited before commencing the march next morning, when, after putting on his Highland dress, he solemnly declared, when in the act of tying the lachets of his shoes, that he would not unloose them till he came up with Cope's army.\*

Desirous of getting possession of the defiles of Corriearrack before Cope should ascend that mountain, Charles began his march from Aberchallader at four o'clock of the morning of the twenty-seventh of August. His army soon reached the top of the hill, and was beginning to descend on the south side, when intelligence was brought the prince, that Cope had given up his intention of crossing Corriearrack and was in full march for Inverness.† Cope had put his army in motion the same morning towards Garviemore; but when his van reached Blarigg Beg, about seven miles and a half from Dalwhinnie, he ordered his troops to halt, to face about, and, in conformity with the opinion of his council, to take the road to Inverness by Ruthven. To deceive Charles, Cope had left behind, on the road to Fort Augustus, part of his baggage, two companies of foot, and his camp colours. The news of Cope's flight (for it was nothing else) was received by the Highland army with a rapturous shout, which was responded to by the prince, who, taking a glass of brandy, drank "To the health of good Mr Cope, and may every general in the usurper's service prove himself as much our friend as he has done." Every man, by the prince's orders, drank this toast in a glass of usquebaugh.‡ The Highlanders immediately put themselves in motion, and marched down the traverses on the south side of the mountain with great celerity, as if in full pursuit of a flying enemy, on whose destruction they were wholly bent.

The Highland army continued the same rapid pace till it reached Garviemore, where it halted. A council of war was then held, at which various proposals were made for pursuing and intercepting the enemy; but none of them were agreed to. The council finally resolved to abandon the pursuit of Cope,—to march to the south, and endeavour to seize Edinburgh; the possession of which was considered, particularly by secretary Murray, as of the highest importance. This determination was by no means relished by the clans, who were eager for pursuing Cope, whose army they expected to have annihilated; but their chiefs having concurred in the resolution, they reluctantly ac-

\* Culloden Papers, p. 216.

† Home says, that a deserter from Cope's army of the name of Cameron, was the bearer of this intelligence; but the author of the *Journal and Memoirs*, (an officer in the Highland army) says, that it was brought by a gentleman of the name of Macpherson.

‡ Henderson's *History of the Rebellion*, p. 34.



quiesced. A party of six hundred Highlanders, however, volunteered to follow Cope under cloud of night; and undertook to give a good account of his army, but the prince dissuaded them from the enterprise.\*

From Garviemore, Charles despatched Macdonald of Lochgary with a party of two hundred men, to seize the small fort of Ruthven, in which there was a garrison of regular troops; but the vigilance of the commander rendered the attempt abortive, and the Highlanders were repulsed with a trifling loss. A party of Camerons, commanded by Dr Cameron, was sent to the house of Macpherson of Cluny, the chief of the Macphersons, who commanded a company in the service of government, to apprehend him, and succeeded.†

On the twenty-ninth of August, the Highland army was again put in motion, and advanced towards Dalnacardoch. At Dalwhinnie, they were rejoined by Dr Cameron and his party, who brought along with them Macpherson of Cluny, who, after a short interview with the prince, promised to raise his clan for his service. On giving this assurance he was released, and went home to collect his men. Next day, Charles marched to the castle of Blair, which had been abandoned by the duke of Athole, on his approach. The marquis of Tullibardine took possession of the castle as his own property, and immediately assumed the character of an host, by inviting Charles and the Highland chiefs to supper.‡ To make his guests as comfortable as possible, the marquis had written a letter from Dalnacardoch, to Mrs Robertson of Lude, a daughter of Lord Nairne, desiring her to repair to the castle, to get it put in proper order, and to remain there to do the honours of the house on the prince's arrival.§

At Blair Charles was joined by Lord Nairne, and several other Perthshire gentlemen; but the greater part of the resident gentry had fled on hearing of the entrance of the Highland army into Athole. Charles reviewed his army the morning after his arrival at the castle, when he found that a considerable number of his men were wanting. Some officers were immediately sent to bring them up, and the only reason they assigned for loitering behind, was that they had been denied the gratification of pursuing Cope.||

From Blair, Charles sent forward Lord Nairne, and Lochiel, with four hundred men, to take possession of Dunkeld, which they entered on the morning of the third of September. In this town they proclaimed the Chevalier. After remaining two days at the castle of Blair, Charles repaired on the second of September, to the house of Lude, where he spent the night,\*\* and next day went to Dunkeld, whence he proceeded

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 25.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 443—485.

‡ Henderson's History of the Rebellion, p. 36.

§ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 26.

|| Kirkconnel MS.

\*\* At Lude, Charles "was very cheerful, and took his share in several dances, such as minuets, Highland reels, &c. The first reel the prince called for was 'This is no mine ain house,' &c., and a strathspey minuet."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 26.

to Lord Nairne's house, on the road to Perth, where he dined. While at table, the conversation turning upon the character of the enterprise, and the peculiarity of the prince's situation, some of the company took occasion to express their sympathy for the prince's father, on account of the state of anxiety he would be in, from the consideration of those dangers and difficulties the prince would have to encounter. But Charles, without meaning to depreciate his father's cares, observed that he did not pity him half so much as his brother; "for," said he, "the king has been inured to disappointments and distresses, and has learnt to bear up easily under the misfortunes of life; but poor Harry! his young and tender years make him much to be pitied, for few brothers love as we do."\*

Charles spent the night at Nairne-house, and proceeded next day to Perth, which had been taken possession of by a party of Camerons the preceding evening. Attired in a superb dress of tartan, trimmed with gold, and mounted on Captain Scott's charger, Charles entered the "fair city," attended by several gentlemen on horseback. They immediately repaired to the cross, and proclaimed the Chevalier, after which ceremony Charles was conducted, amid the acclamations of the people, to the house of the viscount of Stormont, which had been provided for his residence while in Perth. The magistrates and some of the principal inhabitants, following the example set by many of the landed proprietors of the county, abandoned the city on the appearance of the Highlanders, and fled to Edinburgh. An advanced party under Macdonald of Keppoch, had been sent forward to seize Dundee; but being informed by some of the inhabitants, who met him on the road, that his force was too small for the purpose, Keppoch applied for a reinforcement, which was accordingly sent off from Perth, about midnight, under Clanranald. These detachments entered Dundee at day-break, and captured two vessels with arms and ammunition on board, which were sent up the Tay for the use of the army.†

At Perth, Charles was joined by the duke of Perth, the lords Ogilvie and Strathallan, Robertson of Strown, Oliphant of Gask, and several other gentlemen; but the chief personage who rallied under Charles's standard at Perth, and was indeed among the first to appear there, was Lord George Murray, immediate younger brother to the duke of Athole. He was conducted by his elder brother, the marquis of Tullibardine, into the presence of the prince. Lord George had taken a share in the insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, and was one of the few persons who joined the Spanish forces, which were defeated at Glenishiel in seventeen hundred and nineteen. He went afterwards abroad, and served several years as an officer in the king of Sardinia's army; but having obtained a pardon, he returned from exile, and was presented to George the First by his brother the duke of Athole.

Lord George was tall in his person, and though now past the meridian of life, retained all the qualities of a robust and vigorous constitution. Besides a natural genius for military operations, in which he had had considerable experience, Lord George was fertile in resources, indefatigable in application, and brave even to a fault. With sword in hand he was always the first to rush forward upon the enemy in the day of battle, often saying to his men, "I do not ask you, my lads, to go before, but to follow me." The accession therefore of such a man, at such a crisis, was of the highest importance to the Jacobite cause. But with all these high qualities, Lord George was proud, blunt, and imperious, and of an over-bearing disposition. Charles, when at Glenfinnin, had conferred the post of quarter-master-general of the army on O'Sullivan. Aware of the brilliant qualifications of Lord George, the prince, almost immediately on his arrival at Perth, appointed him lieutenant-general, to the great satisfaction of the clans, to whom he was favourably known.

Lord George appointed the Chevalier Johnstone,\* who had also joined the prince at Perth, his aid-de-camp, and immediately entered on his duties with alacrity. Though the Highlanders acted in complete subordination to their chiefs when in the field of battle, they had so little idea of military discipline, that they would absent themselves without permission, and roam about the country. This happened more particularly on marches, when there was a scarcity of food, on which occasions they would spread themselves over the whole country, in straggling parties, in quest of provisions. The inconveniences and loss of time, and the great abuses to which such a practice had led, had been greatly felt in the former insurrection, and had been witnessed by Lord George himself. To prevent a recurrence of such evils during the present contest, the first thing Lord George did, was to advise the prince to appoint proper persons to fill the commissariat department, by whose exertions an adequate supply of food might be provided for the use of the army, without which, he said, it would be impossible to keep the Highlanders together for any length of time. That no delay might take place in waiting for provisions, in forced marches, or in detached enterprises, which required despatch, he caused a considerable number of small knapsacks to be made, sufficient to contain a peck of meal each, which the men could carry on their backs without any inconvenience. A thousand of these knapsacks were sent to Crieffi,

\* The author of the *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745-6*. He was descended, it is believed, from an ancient and powerful family, the Johnstones of Wamphray. When the news of the prince's landing was confirmed at Edinburgh, where he lived with his father, Johnstone repaired to Duncrub, the seat of Lord Rollo, whose son was married to Johnstone's sister; and on the 6th of September, went from Duncrub to Perth, accompanied by two of Lord Rollo's daughters, who presented him to their relations the duke of Perth and Lord George Murray.—*Quarterly Review*, No. LXXI. p. 211. *Memoirs*, 2d edit. p. 16.

for the use of the Athole men, who were to march south in that direction.\*

The march of Charles into Athole had been so rapid and unexpected, that his friends in that district had had no time to gather any considerable force to join him on his route to Perth. He was, therefore, under the necessity of remaining a few days at Perth, to give his adherents time to raise their men. In mustering their tenants and vassals, some of them are said to have met with considerable difficulties from the unwillingness of their people to take up arms, and the duke of Perth has been charged with the crime of shooting one or two of his tenants, who were refractory; but the charge does not appear sufficiently supported.

Another reason for Charles's stay in Perth was the want of money. His treasury had been completely drained by his liberal advances for the support of his army; and of the few thousand pounds which he brought with him from France, he had only one guinea remaining when he entered Perth. Taking the solitary coin from his pocket, he showed it to Kelly, one of the gentlemen who came over with him, and told him that it was all the money that now remained; but he added with an air of confidence, that the army had received a fortnight's pay in advance, and that before the expiration of another fortnight he would receive a fresh supply.† In order to meet pecuniary demands, Charles had despatched a circular from Kinlochiel on the twenty-second of August to his friends in different parts of Scotland, soliciting an immediate supply; but up to the time of his arrival at Perth no money appears to have reached him.‡ Shortly thereafter, however, his expectations began to be realized by some private pecuniary contributions sent by persons well affected to his cause, but who were afraid of openly declaring themselves.§ But Charles did not trust to such uncertain supplies to recruit his exhausted treasury. Besides compelling the city of Perth to contribute five hundred pounds, he appointed persons in Perth, Dundee, and other towns in the counties of Perth and Angus, to collect the public money, by means of which, and the contributions of his friends, his coffers were speedily replenished.

During his stay at Perth, Charles devoted almost all his time to the

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 29. Some idea may be formed of the lieutenant-general's activity, from the following extract from a letter written on 7th September, by him to his brother the marquis, who was then busily employed raising the men on his brother's estates. "I hope the meal was with you this day—35 bolls—for it was at Inwar last night: It shall be my study to have more meal with you on Monday night, for you must distribute a peck a man; and, cost what it will, there must be pecks, (small sacks,) made to each man, to contain a peck or two for the men, to have always with them. Buy linen, harn, or any thing; for these pecks are of absolute necessity, nothing can be done without them . . . . You may please tell your own people, that there is a project to get arms for them."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 31.

† Kirkconnel MS.

‡ Lord Elcho afterwards lent the prince 1500 guineas. A curious correspondence on the subject of repayment will be found in the Appendix.

§ Kirkconnel MS.



disciplining and training of his men, in writing despatches, and in a variety of military details to which he had hitherto been unaccustomed. Though fond of amusement, he never allowed it to occupy much of his time; and if he accepted a convivial invitation, it was more from a wish not to disoblige than from a desire to join in the festivities of his friends. Amid the occupations of the camp he did not, however, neglect the outward observances of religion. For the first time, it is believed, of his life, he attended the protestant service at Perth, on Sunday the eighth of September, rather it may be conjectured to please his protestant friends, than from any predilection for a form of worship to which he was an entire stranger. The text chosen on this occasion by the preacher, a Mr Armstrong, was from the fourteenth chapter of Isaiah, verses 1, 2, "For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, and will yet choose Israel, and set them in their own land; and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall cleave to the house of Jacob. And the people shall take them, and bring them to their place; and the house of Israel shall possess them in the land of the Lord for servants and handmaids: and they shall take them captives, whose captives they were; and they shall rule over their oppressors."\* From the nature of the text the reader will be at no loss to guess either its application or the distinctive religious denomination of the clergyman who selected it. The nonjuring Jacobite discourse delivered on the occasion in question, would certainly form an extraordinary contrast with the democratic harangues to which Charles's great-grandfather, Charles the First, and his grand uncle, Charles the Second, were accustomed to listen from the mouths of the stern covenanters.

While Charles was thus employed at Perth, Sir John Cope was marching from Inverness to Aberdeen. After leaving the direct road to Fort Augustus, Cope had proceeded by forced marches to Inverness, where he arrived on the twenty-ninth of August. Here he met the lord-president, who communicated to him a letter he had received on his arrival in the north, from Sir Alexander Macdonald, dated from Tallisker, eleventh August, informing him of the names of the chiefs who had joined Charles, and requesting directions how to act in the event of the insurgent chiefs being forced to retire to the islands.† After

\* Caledonian Mercury.

† "Probably," says Sir Alexander, "you'll have heard before this reaches you, that some of our neighbours of the mainland have been mad enough to arm and join the young adventurer, mentioned in Mac Leod's letter to you. Your lordship will find our conduct with regard to this unhappy scrape, such as you'd wish, and such as the friendship you have always showed us will prompt to direct. Young Clanranald is deluded, notwithstanding his assurances to us lately; and, what is more astonishing, Lochiel's prudence has quite forsaken him. You know too much of Glengary not to know that he'll easily be led to be of the party; but as far as I can learn he has not yet been with them. Mr Mac Lean of Coll is here with his daughter, lately married to Tallisker; and he assures us of his own wisdom; and as he has mostly the direction of that clan, promises as much as in him lies to prevent their being led astray. You may believe, my Lord, our spirits are in a great deal of agitation, and that we are much at a loss how



consulting with the president, Cope resolved to march back his army to Stirling, provided he could obtain a reinforcement of Highlanders from the whig clans in the neighbourhood of Inverness. An application was accordingly made to the chiefs; but as it turned out ineffectual, Cope determined to march to Aberdeen and embark his troops for the Frith of Forth. The feelings of alarm and anxiety with which he was agitated on this occasion, are thus described by himself in a letter which he wrote from Inverness, on the thirty-first of August, to Lord Milton the justice-clerk:—"I, from the beginning, thought this affair might become serious; and sorry I am that I was not mistaken: indeed, my lord, it is serious. I know your activity and ability in business,—the whole is at stake,—exert your authority,—lengths must be gone,—and rules and common course of business must yield to the necessity of the times, or it may soon be too late. So much fatigue of body and mind I never knew of before; but my health continues good, and my spirits do not flag. Much depends upon the next step we take. In this country the rebels will not let us get at them unless we had some Highlanders with us; and, as yet, not one single man has joined us, though I have lugged along with us three hundred stand of arms. No man could have believed that not one man would take arms in our favour, or show countenance to us; but so it is."\*

It is rather singular, that on the same day on which the above-mentioned letter was written, the adherents of government at Edinburgh, who had hitherto derided the attempt of the prince, should have been at last aroused to a full sense of the danger they were in. Lulled by a false security, they had never, for a moment, doubted that Cope would be successful on his expedition in the north; but certain intelligence, brought to them by James Drummond or Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy, who arrived at Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth, began to open their eyes. With the object of throwing the government party in the capital off their guard, this man was despatched from the Jacobite camp in Lochaber to Edinburgh with the necessary instructions. Enjoying in some degree the confidence of the whig party, he was the better fitted to impose upon them by his misrepresentations. When introduced to the public functionaries on his arrival, he stated that the Highland army was not fifteen hundred strong,—that it was chiefly composed of old men and boys, who were badly armed, and that from what he saw and knew of them he was sure they would fly before Cope's army. Though unsuccessful, as will be seen, in this branch of his mis-

to behave in so extraordinary an occurrence. That we will have no connection with these madmen is certain, but are bewildered in every other respect till we hear from you. Whenever these rash men meet with a check, 'tis more than probable they'll endeavour to retire to their islands: how we ought to behave in that event we expect to know from your lordship. Their force even in that case must be very inconsiderable to be repelled with batons; and we have no other arms in any quantity. I pledge MacLeod in writing for him and myself."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 207.

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 505.

sion, he succeeded in another which he had volunteered to perform, by getting one Drummond, a Jacobite printer, to print the prince's proclamations and manifestoes, which he took care to distribute throughout the city among the friends of the cause. When apprized of the fact of the publication, the magistrates, without suspecting Macgregor as the importer of these treasonable documents, issued a proclamation, offering a large reward for the discovery of the printer.

Edinburgh, at the period in question, and for many years afterwards, was confined within narrow limits. It had never been properly fortified; and its castle, which majestically overtops the city, and forms the western boundary of that division now called the "Old town," could afford it little security. On the south and on the east, the ancient city was bounded by a wall varying from ten to twenty feet high. On the north side, a lake, easily fordable, called the North Loch, now drained and converted into beautiful gardens, was its only defence. In several places the old wall had been built upon, so that dwelling houses formed part of the wall, but these erections were overlooked by rows of higher houses without the city. There were no cannon mounted upon the wall, but in some places it was strengthened by bastions and embrasures. The standing force of the city consisted of two bodies, called the Town Guard and the Trained Bands, neither of which now exist. The first, which, at the time we are now treating of, amounted to one hundred and twenty-six men, acted in lieu of a police; and though pretty well versed in the manual and platoon exercise, were, from their being generally old men, unfit for military duty. The Trained Bands, or Burgher Guard, which was composed of citizens, and in former times amounted to a considerable number of men, did not at the period in question exceed a thousand. Anciently, the tallest men were armed with pikes, and those of a lower stature with firelocks, and both were provided with defensive armour. The captain of each company, eight in number, instructed his men one day in every week in the exercise of arms;\* but the pikes and armour were afterwards laid aside, and since the Revolution the Trained Bands had appeared in arms only once in the year, to celebrate the king's birth-day, on which occasion they were furnished with arms for the service of the day from a magazine belonging to the city.

As it was obvious that, under these circumstances, no effectual resistance could be opposed to the entrance of an army into the city, the provost and magistrates held a meeting on the twenty-seventh of August, at which some of the principal citizens attended, to devise means of defence. At this meeting it was resolved to repair the walls and to raise a regiment of a thousand men, to be paid by a voluntary contribution of the inhabitants. A standing committee was, at same time, appointed to carry this resolution into effect, and to advise with the lord-justice-

\* Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 285.

clerk and other judges then in town, and the crown lawyers, as to such other steps as might be considered necessary in the present crisis. To obtain the requisite permission to embody the proposed regiment, an application was sent to London by the lord-advocate; and leave to that effect was granted on the fourth of September.

Up to the thirty-first of August, no certain intelligence had been received at Edinburgh of the movements of the Highlanders; but in the evening of that day the inhabitants were thrown into a state of great alarm by receiving intelligence of the march of the Highland army into Athole, and of the ominous departure of Cope for Inverness. Instantly the drum beat to arms, and the town-council having met, they ordained that the keys of the city should be lodged with the captain of the city guard, and ordered sentries to be placed at each of the gates, and the city guard to be augmented. As an additional security, Hamilton's dragoons, then quartered in the vicinity of the city, were kept under arms that night. The repairs of the city walls were commenced; orders were issued to place cannon on them, and to throw up a ditch on the north side of the castle, and arms were sent from the city magazine to Leith to arm its inhabitants. These preparations, and the hurry and bustle with which it may be supposed they were attended, may appear ludicrous when contrasted with the result; but the public functionaries were bound to put the city in as defensible a state as their means would admit of, and without the least possible delay.

It would have been perhaps fortunate for the honour of the city, if on the present occasion the civic authorities had been allowed, in conjunction with the committee which had been named, to follow out such measures as they might have deemed necessary for defending the city; but, unluckily, there existed a party consisting of ex-magistrates and councillors, who, by the course they adopted, brought disgrace upon the city. This cabal, at the head of which was ex-provost Drummond, had been ousted from the town-council by Stewart, the present provost, and his friends, who, for five years, had kept possession of the municipal government, to the entire exclusion of Drummond and his party. Desirous of regaining their lost power, they availed themselves of the present opportunity, the elections being at hand, to instil distrust of the existing magistracy into the minds of the electors, by representing the members of the town-council as Jacobitically inclined, and as indifferent to the preservation of the city from the rebels. To ingratiate themselves still farther with the electors, the majority of whom were whigs, and warmly attached to the government, they affected great zeal for the defence of the city;\* and, as if its preservation depended solely upon them, they

\* Lord Milton, the justice-clerk, alludes to this subject in a letter to the Marquis of Tweeddale of 7th September, 1745. He says, "It is with difficulty I can walk the streets of Edinburgh from the attacks, not of the enemies of the government, but from the attacks of the most zealous friends of the government, asking, why the well-affected to the present happy establishment are not armed and properly supported, and empowered to

presented, on the sixth of September, a petition to the provost, signed by about a hundred citizens, praying that they, the subscribers, might be authorized to form themselves into an association for the defence of the city,—that they might be allowed to name their own officers,—and that an application should be made by the provost to General Guest, for a supply of arms from the castle for their use.\*

This petition was laid before an extraordinary meeting of the council next day, and the law officers of the crown having given their opinion that the council could legally authorise an arming of the inhabitants for the contemplated purpose, they acceded to its prayer, with the exception of that part which craved that the volunteers should have the nomination of their own officers, a privilege which the provost reserved to himself, in virtue of his office of chief magistrate. To ascertain the names of the citizens who were willing to serve as volunteers, a paper was lodged, on the ninth of September, in the Old-church aisle, and all loyal persons were invited by handbills to subscribe. Four hundred and eighteen persons joined this association, and were supplied with arms from the castle. Simultaneous with the formation of the association, the magistrates exerted themselves to raise the regiment they had petitioned for, the warrant for which was received by the provost on the eighth of September; but their efforts were ineffectual, not being able, after a week's recruiting, to raise two hundred men. This paltry force, however, was named the Edinburgh regiment, to distinguish it from the volunteer association.

Hitherto the repairs of the city walls had been steadily progressing, and, to the great scandal of the more religious part of the inhabitants, no cessation took place even upon the Sunday; but although the persons employed upon the walls might plead necessity in justification of their work on the day of rest, they seem to have overlooked that necessity on the tenth of September, the day when the city elections commenced. So great was the anxiety of all classes to ascertain the names of the craftsmen sent up by the different incorporations to the council to represent them, that a total suspension of every business took place, and the magistrates, who felt little difficulty in procuring men to work upon the Sunday, now saw the works almost entirely deserted by the artificers employed upon them.

A few days after receipt of the intelligence of the march of the Highlanders into the low-country, Captain Rogers, an aid-de-camp of Sir John Cope, arrived at Edinburgh from Inverness, with instructions to General Guest to send down a number of transports to Aberdeen to carry his men to the southern shores of the Frith of Forth. These vessels sailed from Leith roads on the tenth, under convoy of a ship of war, and their return

appear in a legal way for the defence of his majesty's person and support of his government, and the preservation of our religion, liberty, and property?"—*Home's Works*, vol. iii. p. 385.

\* *Home's Works*, vol. iii. p. 31.

was expected with the greatest anxiety by the inhabitants of Edinburgh, who were continually looking up to the vanes and weather-cocks to ascertain the direction of the wind. On the same day, Provost Stewart directed the volunteers to prepare a list of twenty or thirty persons whom they thought proper to command the companies, that he might name the captains. A deputation accordingly waited upon him with the required list, and on the following day he selected six, among whom was Drummond, his predecessor in office. Each of the captains was allowed to appoint two lieutenants for his own company.\*

The volunteers being thus organized, they were regularly drilled twice every day. Cannon were brought up from Leith and mounted on the walls, and the works were proceeded in with renewed activity under the superintendence of Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, who had furnished the designs.

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 40.



### CHAPTER III.

Departure of Charles from Perth—Crosses the Forth—Retreat of Gardiner's dragoons—The Prince arrives at Falkirk—Holds a council of war—Detachment sent to attack the dragoons, who retire to Kirkliston—Charles arrives at Corstorphine—Great alarm and confusion in Edinburgh—Mock heroism of the Edinburgh volunteers—Junction of Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons—Joined by the city-guard and Edinburgh regiment—Flight of the dragoons—Meeting of the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh—Message from Prince Charles—Deputations from the city—Arrival of Cope off Dunbar—Capture of Edinburgh by the Highlanders—Arrival of Charles at the palace of Holyrood—The Chevalier de St George proclaimed at the cross by the heralds—Manifesto of the Prince—Cope lands his troops at Dunbar—Advances to Haddington and afterwards to Preston—Departure of the Prince from Edinburgh—Battle of Preston.

As early as the seventh of September, Charles had received notice of Cope's intention to embark at Aberdeen; and, that he might not be anticipated by Cope in his design of seizing the capital, he began to make arrangements for leaving Perth for the south. Before the eleventh his force was considerably augmented by tributary accessions from the uplands of Perthshire, and, as his coffers had been pretty well replenished, he resolved to take his departure that day. With this view, Lord George Murray sent an express to his brother, the marquis of Tullibardine, on the seventh, requesting him to march with such forces as he had collected, on the morning of Tuesday the tenth, by Keinacan and Tay bridge, so as to reach Crieff next day, that he might be able to form a junction with the main army at Dunblane or Doune the following day.\*

Charles, accordingly, left Perth on Wednesday the eleventh day of September on his route to the south. The van of the army, or rather a few of each of the clans, reached Dunblane that night, in the neighbourhood of which they encamped. The greater part of the men lagged behind, and did not get up till next day, when they appeared to be greatly fatigued. As this result was imputed to the good quarters they had enjoyed for the last eight days at Perth, and the want of exercise, it was resolved that henceforth the army should encamp in the open air, and be kept constantly in motion.† On his march to Dunblane, the prince was joined by Macdonald of Glencoe,‡

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 31.

† Kirkeconnel MS

‡ Sixty of these Macdonalds had previously joined at Perth.

with sixty of his men, and by James Drummond or Macgregor of Glen-gyle at the head of two hundred and fifty-five Macgregors, the retainers of Macgregor of Glencairnaig.\*

Having been obliged to halt a whole day for the remainder of his army, Charles remained in his camp till the thirteenth, on which day he crossed the Forth at the Fords of the Frew, almost in the face of Gardiner's dragoons, who retired towards Stirling on the approach of the Highland army, without attempting to dispute its passage. While passing by Doune, Charles received particular marks of attention from some of the ladies of Menteith, who had assembled in the house of Mr Edmondstone of Cambuswallace, in the neighbourhood of Doune to see him as he passed. A collation had been provided for him, in the expectation that he would have entered the house; but he courteously excused himself, and stopping before the house without alighting from his horse, drank a glass of wine to the healths of his fair observers. The daughters of Mr Edmondstone, who served the prince on this occasion, respectfully solicited the honour of kissing his hand,—a favour which he readily granted; but he was called upon to accord a favour of a still more important character by Miss Robina Edmondstone, cousin to the daughters of the host. The favour sought was the liberty “to pree his royal highness's mou.” Charles, not being sufficiently acquainted with broad Scotch, was at a loss to comprehend the nature of the request; but on its being explained to him, he instantly caught her in his arms, and instead of allowing her to perform the operation, he himself imprinted a thousand kisses on her fair and blushing face, to the great amusement of the spectators.†

The passage of the Forth had always been considered one of the most daring and decisive steps which a Highland army could take. In their own country the Highlanders possessed many natural advantages over an invading foe, which gave them almost an absolute assurance of success in any contest even with forces greatly superior in numbers; and, in the adjoining Lowlands, they could, if worsted, easily retreat to their fastnesses; but their situation was very different on the south of the Forth, where they were more particularly exposed to be attacked by cavalry,—a species of force which they chiefly dreaded, and from which they could, if routed, scarcely expect to escape. It is said, but not upon sufficient authority, that some of Charles's officers at first demurred to the propriety of exposing the army to the dangers of a Lowland campaign in the south, but that he would listen to no arguments against the grand design he had formed of seizing the capital. To cheer his men in the hazardous enterprise, the dangers of which now, for the first time, began to develope themselves, the prince is reported, on ar-

\* The Gartmore MS. quoted in Birt's Letters makes the number only forty; but Home gives it as above.

† Nimmo's History of Stirlingshire, edited by the Rev. Macgregor Stirling, p. 564.

iving on the bank of the river, to have brandished his sword in the air, and pointing to the other side, to have rushed into the water, and darting across, to have taken his station on the opposite bank, on which he stood till all the detachments had crossed, and congratulated each successive detachment as it arrived.\* In crossing the Forth, the prince may be said to have passed the Rubicon: he had not only committed himself in a struggle with a powerful government, but he had, with intrepid daring, and with a handful of men, entered a country whence retreat was almost impossible.

After passing the Forth, Charles, accompanied by a party of his officers, proceeded to Leckie-house, the seat of Mr Moir, a Jacobite gentleman, where he dined; but the proprietor was absent, having been seized by a party of dragoons, and carried off to Stirling castle the preceding night, in consequence of information having been received at the castle that he was preparing to receive and entertain the prince at his house. The army passed the night on the moor of Sauchie, a few miles south from the Ford.† The prince himself slept in Bannockburn-house, belonging to Sir Hugh Paterson, a zealous Jacobite. During this day's march great abuses were committed by the men in taking and shooting sheep, which the duke of Perth and others did every thing in their power to prevent. Lochiel was so enraged at the conduct of his men, that he is said to have shot one of them himself, as an example to deter the rest.‡

\* Dougal Graham's Metrical History, p. 15. † Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 487.

‡ Dougal Graham, in his Metrical History of the insurrection, thus alludes to the conduct of the Highlanders on the present occasion:—

“ Here for a space they took a rest,  
And had refreshment of the best  
The country round them could afford,  
Though many found but empty board,  
As sheep and cattle were drove away,  
Yet hungry men sought for their prey;  
Took milk and butter, kirk and cheese,  
On all kinds of eatables they seize;  
And he who could not get a share,  
Sprang to the hills like dogs for hare;  
There shot the sheep, and made them fall,  
Whirled off the skin, and that was all;  
Struck up fire and boiled the flesh,  
With salt and pepper did not fash:§  
This did enrage the Cameron's chief,  
To see his men so play the thief;  
And finding one into the act,  
He fired and shot him through the back;  
Then to the rest himself addressed,  
‘ This is your lot I do protest,—  
Whoe'er amongst you wrongs a man;  
Pay what you get, I tell you plain;  
For yet we know not friend or foe,  
Nor how all things may chance to go.’ ”

§ *Anglice*,—trouble themselves.

Next day Charles put his army in motion towards Falkirk. In passing by Stirling, a few shot were fired at them from the castle, but without damage. Lord George Murray sent a message to the magistrates of the town, requiring a supply of provisions; on receiving which they immediately opened the gates, and having given notice of the demand to the inhabitants, the dealers in provisions went out and met the Highland army near Bannockburn, where it halted for a short time, and sold a considerable quantity of commodities to the men. The army, after receiving this supply, resumed its march, and finally halted on a field a little to the eastward of Falkirk, and the parks of Callender, where it passed the night. Charles took up his abode in Callender-house, the seat of the earl of Kilmarnock, who entertained him with the greatest hospitality, and gave him assurances of devoted attachment to his cause. By the earl, Charles was informed that Gardiner's dragoons, who, on his approach to Falkirk, had retired in the direction of Linlithgow, were resolved to dispute the passage of Linlithgow bridge with him, and that they had encamped that night in its neighbourhood.\*

On receiving this intelligence, Charles immediately held a council of war, at which it was resolved to attack the dragoons during the night. For this purpose a detachment of a thousand well-armed men was despatched at one o'clock in the morning under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched with the utmost order and regularity, and not a hush was to be heard among them; but they were disappointed in their object, as the dragoons had retired during the night to Kirkliston, eight miles west from Edinburgh. The detachment entered Linlithgow before break of day, where they were joined by the prince and the rest of the army about ten o'clock that morning.† The day was Sunday; but the prince does not appear to have gratified the burghers by going to church as he had done the citizens of Perth the preceding Sunday. He, however, partook of a repast which some of the Jacobite inhabitants had prepared for him. The provost preserved a neutrality by absenting himself from town; but his wife and daughters are said to have paid their respects to the prince by waiting upon him at the cross, attired in tartan gowns, and wearing white cockades, and doing themselves the honour of kissing his hand.

Advancing from Linlithgow about four o'clock in the afternoon, the Highland army encamped on a rising ground, nearly four miles east from Linlithgow, near the twelfth mile-stone from Edinburgh, where they passed the night. The prince slept in a house in the neighbourhood. Next morning, Monday the sixteenth, Charles renewed his march eastwards, and reached Corstorphine, the dragoons all the while retiring before him as he approached.

Charles was now within three miles of Edinburgh, and could not

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 446.—Forbes Papers, p. 35.

† Ibid.



proceed farther in a direct line without exposing his army to the fire of the castle guns. To avoid them, he led it off in a southerly direction, towards Slateford,—a small village about the distance of a mile from Corstorphine. The prince fixed his head quarters at Gray's mills, between two and three miles from the city, and his troops bivouacked during the night of the sixteenth in an adjoining field called Gray's Park.

When intelligence of the prince's departure from Perth reached Edinburgh, the anxiety for the arrival of Cope increased every hour. The Jacobites, of whom there was a respectable party in the city, on the other hand, longed for the arrival of Charles. The whigs, or rather the ex-members of the town-council, had, for several days, kept the city in a state of military turmoil, in the hope, no doubt, that Cope would arrive in sufficient time to prevent their courage being put to the test; but fortune, which favours the brave, was unkind to these pseudo-heroes, who were destined to exhibit a specimen of the most abject and humiliating cowardice. No certain information of the movements of the Highland army reached Edinburgh till the morning of Sunday the fifteenth, when a messenger brought intelligence that the insurgents were in full march upon the capital, and that their van had already reached Kirkliston. The last part of this information was, however, incorrect.

At the time the messenger arrived, all the armed volunteers, in terms of an order given the preceding evening, were assembled in the college yards. About ten o'clock, Drummond, the ex-provost, who was captain of a company, which, from its being partly composed of students belonging to the university, was called the college company, made his appearance. He entered the guard-room, and after some consultation with his brother-officers, came out, and placing himself opposite the right of his company, where some of the more forward volunteers stood, he proceeded to address them:—He informed them of the advance of the Highland army,—that it had been proposed to General Guest to make a stand with the two dragoon regiments, and fight the insurgents on their way to the city; but that the general did not think the measure advisable, as there was not a body of foot to act with the dragoons to draw off the fire of the enemy,—that he (Drummond) knowing that he could answer for two hundred and fifty volunteers, if Provost Stewart would allow fifty of the town-guard to go along with them, had asked the general if that number would be sufficient; and that Guest had given him an answer in the affirmative. “Now, gentlemen,” said the ex-provost, “you have heard the general's opinion, judge for yourselves. If you are willing to risk your lives for the defence of the capital of Scotland and the honour of your country, I am ready to lead you to the field.” The volunteers to whom Drummond seemed particularly to address himself, threw up their hats in the air, at the



conclusion of this address, and began an huzza, in which the rest of the company joined.\*

Having obtained the consent of his own company to march, he went to the other companies in succession; but instead of advising them to follow the example which his own men had set, he told them that though his men were, all of them, going out to conquer or die with him, yet that such a resolution was only proper for young unmarried men, who were at liberty to dispose of their own lives. It is evident that Drummond's object was to intimidate the persons he addressed, and to prevent them from acceding to his own proposal, and that his view in making it to Guest was to obtain a reputation for bravery. Accordingly very few of the volunteers in the other companies would give their consent; but Drummond's company becoming clamorous, the others seemed to yield, and Drummond despatched a messenger to the castle to inform General Guest that the volunteers were ready to march out with the dragoons and engage the rebels. At the request of the general, Provost Stewart ordered a detachment of the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment to accompany the volunteers. General Guest, on being informed of this, directed Hamilton's dragoons, who were encamped on Leith-links, to march through the city, and join Gardiner's regiment at Corstorphine.†

For the first time since they had been embodied, the volunteers now loaded their pieces. In terms of an order which had been issued the preceding day, the fire-bell was rung as a signal of approaching danger, and the volunteers, who had assembled in the college-yards, instantly repaired in a body to the Lawnmarket, the appointed place of rendezvous. Most of the city ministers had enrolled themselves as volunteers, but they were absent on the present occasion, being engaged celebrating divine service in their respective churches. *Semper parati* being the motto they had adopted in their new vocation, they had gone to church equipped *à la militaire*, and when the alarm bell sounded, were preaching with their swords by their sides. In an instant the churches were deserted by the worshippers, and a universal panic seized all classes on learning the intelligence. The Lawnmarket, where the volunteers had drawn up waiting for the arrival of Hamilton's dragoons, was soon crowded with inhabitants: many of them, the wives, sisters, mothers, fathers, and friends of the devoted volunteers who clustered around them, and implored them, by ties the most sacred, to desist from the dangerous enterprise they

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 48.—Mr Home says that several of these volunteers, of which he was one, were not inhabitants of the city, and were ignorant of the municipal cabals,—that they had little deference for the opinion either of Guest or Drummond; but being satisfied that the walls were untenable, and dreading the consequences to the city if taken by storm, they considered the proposal of marching out with the dragoons preferable to keeping within the walls, as with their assistance the dragoons might be able to break the force of the Highland army, and leave to the Highlanders, if victorious, a bloody and fatal victory.

† Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 48.

were about to engage in. The attention of the people was diverted for a time by the appearance of Hamilton's dragoons who rode up the street. They were received with huzzas by the volunteers, and the dragoons in passing huzzaed in return, and with a gasconading air clashed their swords against each other as they went along. The alarm among the relatives and friends of the volunteers was increased, and nothing was to be heard but the cries and lamentations of unhappy females,—the mothers and sisters of the patriotic volunteers. These doughty champions, who never had any serious intention of exposing their persons to the blows of the Highland broad-sword, moved in appearance by the tears, the entreaties, and embraces of their female friends, seemed rather inclined to allow the dragoons to shift for themselves; but neither the expostulations of the men, (for the male relations of the volunteers were equally solicitous with the females in dissuading the volunteers from marching,) nor the tears of the women, had any effect upon the volunteers of Drummond's company, who had agreed to march.

An order being given to march, Drummond placed himself at the head of the volunteers of his company, and marched them up the Lawnmarket and down the West-bow to the Grassmarket: they were followed by an immense crowd of people lamenting their unhappy fate. Only forty-two privates of Drummond's company followed him, but he certainly expected some accessions from the other companies. Not a single individual, however, belonging to them, accompanied him. Finding himself and his little party alone, Drummond halted his men near the West-port, and sent a lieutenant, named Lindsay, back to the Lawnmarket to ascertain the reason why the volunteers, who were expected to follow, had not joined their associates. Lindsay, on his return to the Lawnmarket, found the volunteers, who still remained in the street, in great confusion. Several of the officers told Lindsay that they themselves were willing to follow Drummond and his party, but that very few of their men would consent to march out. On the other hand, many of the privates complained that they could not get one officer to lead them. After some altercation, Lindsay, with the assistance of Captain Sir George Preston, and some other officers, succeeded in collecting one hundred and forty-one, who professed a willingness to march with the dragoons, out of about three hundred and fifty volunteers who had remained behind; Lindsay led off these to the Grassmarket, where they joined Drummond's party; but if we are to believe a pamphleteer of the day, even this small force was diminished by the way. The descent of *The Bow* presenting localities and facilities equally convenient for desertion, the volunteers are said to have availed themselves of these on their march. The author alluded to humorously compared this falling off "to the course of the Rhine, which rolling pompously its waves through fertile fields, instead of augmenting in its course, is continually drawn off by a thousand canals, and at last becomes a small rivulet, which loses itself in the sands be-

fore it reaches the ocean." \* The foot now assembled, comprehending the town guard and the Edinburgh regiment, which numbered only one hundred and eighty-nine men, amounted, exclusive of officers, to five hundred and sixty-three men.†

As Drummond, whose sole object in enacting the hero was to acquire popularity, and thereby promote his return to power, had no intention of fighting, he must have felt gratified at the prospect which the tardiness of the volunteers to march, afforded him of abandoning the enterprise; but the unexpected junction of the party under Lindsay put his pretended zeal to the test. When deliberating upon the course he should pursue, an incident occurred, which, he no doubt imagined, would save him the shame of a public exposure. Alarmed at the departure of the volunteers, Dr Wishart, principal of the university of Edinburgh, with others of the city clergy, proceeded to the Grassmarket, and with great earnestness addressed the volunteers, and conjured them by every thing they held most sacred and dear, to reserve themselves for the defence of the city by remaining within the walls. Principal Wishart addressed himself particularly to the young men of Drummond's company, some few of whom affected to condemn his advice; but it was perfectly evident that there was scarcely an individual present, who did not in his heart desire to follow the advice of the ministers. The volunteers, however, had offered to serve without the walls, and they could not withdraw with honour. But Drummond, their commander, instantly fell upon an expedient to save, as he thought, his own and their reputation. Judging rightly, as it afterwards turned out, that the provost of the city would entertain the same sentiments as the clergy, he, upon their departure, and after a short consultation with his officers, sent a lieutenant with a message to the provost to this effect, that the volunteers had resolved not to march out of town without his express permission, and that they would wait for his answer. To the great satisfaction of Drummond and of his men, who were at first ignorant of the nature of the message, an answer was returned by Provost Stewart, stating that he was much opposed to the proposal of marching out of town, and was glad to find that the volunteers had resolved to remain within the walls. No sooner was this answer received, than Drummond returned with his men to the college-yards, where they were dismissed for a time; and thus ended one of the most ridiculous exhibitions of gasconading folly and cowardly imbecility, that can well be imagined. The town guard, and the men of the Edinburgh regiment, however, although shamefully deserted by their companions in arms, marched out of the city on receiving an order to that effect

\* "A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq. late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, in a letter to a friend. London, 1743." This pamphlet has been ascribed by a writer in the Quarterly Review, (No. 71. p. 172,) supposed to be Sir Walter Scott, to the pen of Hume the Historian.

† Home's works, vol. iii. p. 52.

from the provost, and joined the dragoons at Corstorphine, about four miles west from Edinburgh, where the regiments of Hamilton and Gardiner formed a junction.\*

Seeing no appearance of the enemy, Colonel Gardiner retired at sunset with the two regiments of dragoons, to a field between Edinburgh and Leith, to pass the night, leaving a party of his men behind him to watch the motions of the Highlanders; and the foot returned at the same time to the city. To guard the city during the night, six or seven hundred men, consisting of the trained bands, the volunteers, and some auxiliaries from the towns of Musselburgh and Dalkeith, were stationed along the walls and at the different gates; but the night passed quietly off. The same night, Brigadier General Fowkes arrived from London. Early next morning, he received an order from General Guest, to take the command of the dragoons, and to march to a field a little to the east of Coltbridge, about two miles west from the city, where he was joined in the course of the forenoon by the town guard, and the Edinburgh regiment.†

For the first time during their march, the Highlanders descried some dragoons as they approached Corstorphine, on the morning of the sixteenth of September. This was the party which Colonel Gardiner had left at Corstorphine the preceding evening. To reconnoitre the dragoons, a few young well-armed Highlanders were sent forward on horseback, and ordered to go as near as possible to ascertain their number. These young men rode closely up to the dragoons, and by way of frolic or defiance, for they could have no intention of attacking the dragoons, fired their pistols at them. To the utter astonishment of the Highlanders, the dragoons, instead of returning the fire, became panic-struck, and instantly wheeling about, galloped off towards the main body. Participating in the fears of his advanced guard, General Fowkes immediately ordered a retreat, and between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, the inhabitants of Edinburgh beheld the singular spectacle of two regiments of dragoons flying along the "Long Dykes," now the site of Prince's Street, when no one pursued. The faint-hearted dragoons stopped a short time at Leith, and afterwards proceeded to Musselburgh. The foot returned to the city.

Several hours before the retreat of the dragoons, a gentleman of the city had brought in a message from the prince, requiring a surrender, and threatening, in case of resistance, to subject the city to all the rigours of military usage; but no regard was paid to the message, and although the messenger had the imprudence (for which he was sent to prison by the provost,) to communicate the message to the inhabitants, they manifested no great symptoms of alarm, relying, probably, on the resistance of the dragoons. After these had fled, however, the people became exceedingly clamorous, and crowds of the inhabitants ran about the streets

\* Home's works, vol. iii. p. 53.

† Ibid. p. 57.



erying, that since the dragoons had fled, it was madness to think of resistance. The provost, on returning from the West-port, where he had been giving orders after the retreat of the dragoons, was met by some of the inhabitants, who implored him not to persist in defending the town, for if he did, they would all be murdered! He reproved them for their impatience, and proceeded to the Goldsmiths'-hall, where he met the magistrates and town-council and a considerable number of the inhabitants, who had there assembled. After some consultation, a deputation was sent to the law-officers of the crown, requiring their attendance and advice; but it was ascertained that these functionaries had left the town. The captains of the trained-bands and volunteers were next sent for, and called upon for their opinion as to defending the city, but they were at a loss how to advise. The meeting was divided upon the question whether the town should be defended or not, and in the course of the debate much acrimony was displayed by the speakers on both sides. The hall being too small to contain the crowd which collected, the meeting adjourned to the New-church aisle, which was immediately filled with people, the great majority of whom called out for a surrender, as they considered it impossible to defend the town. Some persons attempted to support the contrary view, but they were forced to desist by the noise and clamour of the majority.

While matters were in this train, a letter was handed in from the door addressed to the lord-provost, magistrates, and town-council of Edinburgh. The letter was put into the hands of Orrock, the deacon of the shoemakers, who, on opening it, informed the meeting that it was subscribed "Charles, P. R." On hearing this announcement, the provost stopped Deacon Orrock, who was about to read the letter, said he would not be a witness to the reading of such a communication, and rising from his seat, left the place, accompanied by the greater part of the council and a considerable number of the inhabitants. The provost returned to the council-chamber with his friends, and sent for the city assessors to give their opinion as to whether the letter should be read or not. One of these lawyers appeared, but afraid to commit himself, stated that the matter was too grave for him to give an opinion upon. The provost still demurred, but the assembly getting impatient to know the contents of the letter, his lordship, tacitly consented to its being read. It was as follows:

*"From our Camp, 16th September, 1745.*

"Being now in a condition to make our way into the capital of his majesty's ancient kingdom of Scotland, we hereby summon you to receive us, as you are in duty bound to do; and in order to it, we hereby require you, upon receipt of this, to summon the town-council and take proper measures for securing the peace and quiet of the city, which we are very desirous to protect. But if you suffer any of the usurper's troops to enter the town, or any of the cannon, arms, or ammunition in



it, (whether belonging to the public or private persons,) to be carried off, we shall take it as a breach of your duty, and a heinous offence against the king and us, and shall resent it accordingly. We promise to preserve all the rights and liberties of the city, and the particular property of every one of his majesty's subjects. But if any opposition be made to us, we cannot answer for the consequences, being firmly resolved at any rate to enter the city; and in that case, if any of the inhabitants are found in arms against us, they must not expect to be treated as prisoners of war."

After this letter was read, the clamour for surrender became more loud and general than ever, and, agreeably to the wish of the meeting, a deputation, consisting of four members of the council, was appointed to wait upon the prince immediately, and to request that he would grant the citizens time to deliberate on the contents of his letter.

While the meeting was debating the question as to the reading of Charles's letter, an incident occurred, which, it is believed, gave the finishing stroke to the mock heroism of the volunteers. After the retreat of the dragoons, the volunteers had assembled, on the ringing of the fire-bell, at their respective posts, to be in readiness to obey any instructions which might be sent to them. Four companies, out of the six, were drawn up in the Lawnmarket between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, but before they had sufficient time to recover from the agitation into which they had been thrown by the call to arms, a well-dressed person, unknown to those assembled, entered the Lawnmarket from the West-Bow, in great haste, mounted upon a grey horse, and galloping along the lines of the volunteers, intimated, in a voice sufficiently high to be heard by the astonished volunteers, that he had seen the Highland army, and that it amounted to sixteen thousand men! This "lying messenger did not stop to be questioned, and disappeared in a moment."\* Captain Drummond, soon after this occurrence, arrived upon the spot, and, after consulting with his brother officers, marched up the four companies to the castle, where they delivered up their arms. In a short time the other companies also went up and surrendered their arms, and were followed by the other bodies of militia that had received arms from the castle magazine.

About eight o'clock at night, the four deputies left the city to wait upon the prince at Gray's Mill; but they had scarcely cleared the walls, when intelligence was received by the lord-provost and magistrates, (who still remained assembled in the council-chamber,) that the transports with General Cope's army on board had arrived off Dunbar, about twenty-seven miles east from Edinburgh, and that as the wind was unfavourable for bringing them up the Frith, Cope intended to land his troops at Dunbar and march to the relief of the city. As this

intelligence altered the aspect of affairs, messengers were immediately despatched to bring back the deputies before they should reach their destination, but they did not overtake them. The deputies returned to the city about ten o'clock, and brought along with them a letter of the following tenor, signed by Secretary Murray :—

“ His royal highness the prince regent thinks his manifesto, and the king his father's declaration, already published, a sufficient capitulation for all his majesty's subjects to accept with joy. His present demands are, to be received into the city as the son and representative of the king his father, and obeyed as such when there. His royal highness supposes, that since the receipt of his letter to the provost no arms or ammunition have been suffered to be carried off or concealed, and will expect a particular account of all things of that nature. Lastly, he expects a positive answer before two o'clock in the morning, otherwise he will think himself obliged to take measures conform.”

This letter gave rise to a lengthened discussion in the town-council, which ended in a resolution to send out a second deputation to the prince, and, under the pretence of consulting the citizens, to solicit a few hours' delay. The deputies accordingly set out in a coach to the prince's head-quarters at two o'clock in the morning, and had an interview with Lord George Murray, whom they prevailed upon to second their application for delay. His lordship went into the prince's apartment, and one of the deputies overheard him endeavouring to persuade Charles to agree to the request made by them, but the prince refused. Lord George having reported the failure of his attempt to the deputies, was induced by them to return and make another trial, but he was again unsuccessful. Charles then requested that the deputies should be ordered away, and being offended at Lord George Murray's entreaties, he desired Lord Elcho, the son of the earl of Wemyss, who had just joined him, to intimate the order to them, which he accordingly did.\*

Apprehensive of the speedy arrival of Cope, Charles resolved not to lose a moment in obtaining possession of the capital. He saw that no effectual resistance could be made by the inhabitants in case of an assault; but as opposition might exasperate the Highlanders, and make them regardless of the lives of the citizens, he proposed to his officers that an attempt should be made to carry the city by surprise, which, if successful, would save it from the horrors which usually befall a city taken by storm. The plan of a surprise having been resolved upon, a select detachment of about nine hundred men, under Lochiel, Kepoch, Ardsbiel, and O'Sullivan, was sent under cloud of night towards the city. They marched with great secrecy across the Borough-moor, and reached the south-eastern extremity of the city, where they halted. A party of twenty-four men was thereupon despatched with directions to post themselves on each side of the Netherbow-port, the eastern or

\* Provost Stewart's Trial, p. 171.

lower gate of the city, and another party of sixty men was directed to follow them half-way up St Mary's Wynd, to be ready to support them, while a third body, still farther removed, and finally the remainder of the detachment, were to come up in succession to the support of the rest. In the event of these dispositions succeeding without observation from the sentinels on the walls, it had been arranged that a Highlander in a lowland garb should knock at the wicket and demand entrance as a servant of an officer of dragoons, who had been sent by his master to bring him something he had forgot in the city; and that if the wicket was opened, the party stationed on each side of the gate should immediately rush in, seize the guard, and make themselves masters of the gate. The different parties having taken the stations assigned them without being perceived by the guards, the disguised Highlander knocked at the gate and stated his pretended errand; but the guard refused to open the gate, and the sentinels on the walls threatened to fire upon the applicant if he did not instantly retire. The commanders were puzzled by this unexpected refusal, and were at a loss how to act. It was now near five o'clock, and the morning was about to dawn. The alternative of an assault seemed inevitable, but fortunately for the city, the Highlanders were destined to obtain by accident what they could not effect by stratagem.\*

While the party at the gate was about to retire to the main body in consequence of the disappointment they had met with, their attention was attracted by the rattling of a carriage, which, from the increasing sound, appeared to be coming down the High-street towards the Netherbow-port. It was, in fact, the hackney coach which had been hired by the deputies, which was now on its way back to the Canongate, where the hackney coaches used by the citizens of Edinburgh were at that time kept. The Highlanders stationed at the gate stood prepared to enter, and as soon as it was opened to let out the coach, the whole party, headed by Captain Evan Macgregor, a younger son of Macgregor of Glencairnaig, rushed in, made themselves masters of the gate, and disarmed the guard in an instant. In a short time the whole of the Highlanders followed, with drawn swords and targets, and setting up one of those hideous and terrific yells with which they salute an enemy they are about to encounter, marched quickly up the wide and spacious street in perfect order, in expectation of meeting the foe;† but to the surprise, no less than the pleasure of the Highlanders, not a single armed man was to be seen in the street. With the exception of a few half-awakened spectators, who, roused from their slumbers by the shouts of the Highlanders, had jumped out of bed, and were to be seen peeping out at the windows in their sleeping habiliments, all the rest of the inhabitants were sunk in profound repose.

Having secured the guard-house and disarmed the guards who were within, the Highlanders took possession of the different gates of the city and of the stations upon the walls. They made the guards

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 488.

prisoners, and replaced them with some of their own men, with as much quietness as if they had been merely changing their own guard.\* The Highlanders conducted themselves on this occasion with the greatest order and regularity, no violence being offered to any of the inhabitants, and the utmost respect was paid to private property.

Anxious about the result, Charles had slept only two hours, and that without taking off his clothes. At an early hour he received intelligence of the capture of the city, and immediately prepared to march towards it with the rest of the army. To avoid the castle guns, the prince took a circuitous direction to the south of the city, till he reached Braidsburn, when, turning towards the city, he marched as far as the Buck Stone,† a mass of granite on the side of the turnpike road, near Morning-side. On reaching this stone, he drew off his army by a solitary cross road, leading to Causewayside and Newington. Arriving near Priestfield, he entered the king's park by a breach, which had been made in the wall, and proceeded to the Hunter's bog, a deep valley between Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags, where his army was completely sheltered from the guns of the castle.‡

Charles was now within the royal domains, and little more than a quarter of a mile from the royal palace of Holyrood, where his grandfather, James the Second, when duke of York, had, about sixty years before, exercised the functions of royalty, as the representative of his brother Charles the Second. Sanguine as he was, he could scarcely have imagined that within the space of one short month, from the time he had raised his standard in the distant vale of the Finuin, he was to obtain possession of the capital of Scotland, and take up his residence in the ancient abode of his royal ancestors. Exulting as he must have done, at the near prospect which such fortuitous events seemed to afford him of realizing his most ardent expectations, his feelings received a new impulse, when, on coming within sight of the palace, he beheld the park crowded with people, who had assembled to welcome his arrival. Attended by the duke of Perth and Lord Elcho, and followed by a train of gentlemen, Charles rode down the Hunter's bog, on his way to the palace. On reaching the eminence below St Anthony's well, he alighted from his horse for the purpose of descending on foot into the park below. On dismounting he was surrounded by many persons who knelt down and kissed his hand. He made suitable acknowledgments for these marks of attachment, and after surveying for a short time the palace and the assembled multitude which covered the intervening grounds, he descended into the park below amid the shouts of the spectators, whose congratulations he received with the greatest affability. On reaching the foot-path in the park, which, from its having been much frequented by the duke of York,

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 67.

† James the Fourth is said to have planted the lion standard of Scotland on this stone, as a signal for mustering his army, before its fatal march to Flodden.

‡ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 446.



afterwards James the Second, when he resided at Holyrood, obtained the name of the Duke's walk, Charles stopped for a few minutes to exhibit himself to the people.\*

In person Charles appeared to great advantage. His figure and presence are described by Mr Home, an eye-witness, as not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the bloom of youth, tall † and handsome, and of a fair and ruddy complexion. His face, which in its contour exhibited a perfect oval, was remarkable for the regularity of its features. His forehead was full and high, and characteristic of his family. His eyes, which were large, and of a light blue colour, were shaded by beautifully arched eye-brows, and his nose, which was finely formed, approached nearer to the Roman than the Grecian model. A pointed chin, and a mouth rather small, gave him, however, rather an effeminate appearance; but on the whole, his exterior was extremely prepossessing, and his deportment was so graceful and winning, that few persons could resist his attractions. The dress which he wore on the present occasion, was also calculated to set off the graces of his person to the greatest advantage in the eyes of the vulgar. He wore a light-coloured peruke, with his hair combed over the front. This was surmounted by a blue velvet bonnet, encircled with a band of gold lace, and ornamented at top with the Jacobite badge, a white satin cockade. He wore a tartan short coat, and on his breast the star of the order of St Andrew. Instead of a plaid, which would have covered the star, he wore a blue sash wrought with gold. His small clothes were of red velvet. To complete his costume, he wore a pair of military boots, and a silver-hilted broadsword.

Charles remained some time in the park among the people, but as he could not be sufficiently seen by all, he mounted his horse, a fine bay gelding which the duke of Perth had presented to him, and rode off slowly towards the palace. Every person was in admiration at the splendid appearance he made on horseback, and a simultaneous huzza arose from the vast crowd which followed the prince in triumph to Holyrood-house. Overjoyed at the noble appearance of the prince, the Jacobites set no bounds to their praises of the royal youth. They compared him to King Robert Bruce, whom, they said, he resembled in his figure as they hoped he would in his fortune.‡ The whigs, on the other hand, regarded him differently; and though they durst not avow their opinions to the full extent, and were forced to admit that Charles was a goodly person; yet they observed that even in that triumphant hour when about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 489. Kirkconiel MS.

† Mr Home says that one of the spectators in the king's park endeavoured to measure shoulders with him, and considered him more than 5 feet 10 inches high. An Englishman who came from York to see him thought him about an inch taller.—MS. in the possession of the late George Chalmers, quoted in his *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 717.

‡ Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 71.



of his countenance was languid and melancholy,—that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror. Their conclusion was, that the enterprise he had undertaken was above the pitch of his mind, and that his heart was not great enough for the sphere in which he moved.\*

On arriving in front of the palace Charles alighted from his horse, and entering the gate proceeded along the piazza within the quadrangle, towards the duke of Hamilton's apartments.† When the prince was about to enter the porch, the door of which stood open to receive him, a gentleman stepped out of the crowd, drew his sword, and raising it aloft, walked up stairs before Charles. The person who took this singular mode of joining the prince, was James Hepburn of Keith, a gentleman of East Lothian. When a very young man he had been engaged in the rebellion of seventeen hundred and fifteen, not from any devoted attachment to the house of Stuart, (for he disclaimed the hereditary indefeasible right of kings, and condemned the government of James the Second,) but because he considered the union, which he regarded as the result of the Revolution, as injurious and humiliating to Scotland, and believed that the only way to obtain a repeal of that measure, was to restore the Stuarts. In speaking of the union, he said that it had made a Scottish gentleman of small fortune nobody, and that rather than submit to it, he would die a thousand deaths. For thirty years he had kept himself in readiness to take up arms to assert, as he thought, the independence of his country, when an opportunity should occur. Honoured and beloved by both Jacobites and whigs, the accession to the Jacobite cause of this accomplished gentleman, whom Mr Home describes as a model of ancient simplicity, manliness, and honour, was hailed by the former with delight, and deeply regretted by the latter, who lamented that a man whom they so highly revered, should sacrifice himself to the visionary idea of a repeal of the union between England and Scotland.‡

In his way to the palace Charles had been cheered by the acclamations of the people; and on his entering that memorable seat of his ancestors, these acclamations were redoubled by the crowd which filled the area in front. On reaching the suite of apartments destined for his reception, he exhibited himself again to the people from one of the windows with his bonnet in his hand, and was greeted with loud huzzas by

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 72.

† It has been stated on the questionable authority of a local tradition, that when Charles arrived in front of the palace, a large bullet was fired from the castle, with such direction and force as to make it descend upon the palace,—that it struck a part of the front wall of James the Fifth's tower, near the window which lights a small turret-chamber connected with Queen Mary's state apartments; and that it fell into the courtyard, carrying along with it a quantity of rubbish which it had knocked out of the wall. If such a remarkable incident had occurred, it could scarcely have been overlooked by Mr Home, who was near the spot at the time; and the fact that it is not alluded to in the pages of the *Caledonian Mercury*, the organ of the Jacobite party, seems conclusive that no such occurrence took place.

‡ Home's Works, iii. p. 73.

the multitude assembled in the court-yard below. He replied to these congratulations by repeated bows and smiles.

To complete the business of this eventful day, the proclaiming of the Chevalier de St George at the cross alone remained. The Highlanders who entered the city in the morning, desirous of obtaining the services of the heralds and the pursuivants, to perform what appeared to them an indispensable ceremony, had secured the persons of these functionaries. Surrounded by a body of armed men the heralds and pursuivants, several of whom had probably been similarly employed on the accession of "the Elector of Hanover," proceeded to the cross, a little before one o'clock afternoon, clothed in their robes of office, and proclaimed King James, amid the general acclamations of the people. The windows of the adjoining houses were filled with ladies, who testified the intensity of their feelings by straining their voices to the utmost pitch, and with outstretched arms waving white handkerchiefs in honour of the day. Few gentlemen were however to be seen in the streets or in the windows, and even among the common people, there were not a few who preserved a stubborn silence.\* The effect of the ceremony was greatly heightened by the appearance of Mrs Murray of Broughton, a lady of great beauty, who, to show her devoted attachment to the cause of the Stuarts, appeared decorated with a profusion of white ribbons, sat on horseback near the cross with a drawn sword in her hand, during all the time the ceremony lasted.†

The principal personage who acted on this occasion was one Beatt, a schoolmaster in the city, of Jacobite principles. Along with the commission of regency and the declaration of the Chevalier de St George, he read a manifesto in the name of Charles as regent, dated at Paris, sixteenth May, seventeen hundred and forty-five. It ran thus:—

"By virtue and authority of the above commission of regency granted unto us by the king, our royal father, we are now come to execute his majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

"We do, therefore, in his majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon for all treasons, rebellions and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof against our royal grandfather, his present majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon we shall deem justly entitled all such of his majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence; by setting up his royal standard in other places; by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be so set up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders, or to those of any person or persons commissioned, or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 73.

† Boyse, p. 77.

“ As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his majesty’s just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his majesty’s forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty, since they cannot but be sensible that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign. And, as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year’s pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

“ We do hereby further promise and declare in his majesty’s name, and by virtue of the above said commission, that as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption nor undue influence whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the rights ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms: his majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of England as by law established, and likewise the protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all protestant dissenters, he being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his majesty’s subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land, which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his majesty’s government and our own actions.

“ And that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the king’s subjects, we do hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further notice, to execute their respective employments in our name, and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order and quiet, willing, and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may, from time to time, be issued out by

us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

"We also command and require all officers of the revenue, customs, and excise, all tax-gatherers of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorised by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorise and charge all such our commanders to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

"And having thus sincerely and in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the king, our royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do hereby require and command all his loving subjects to be assisting to us in the recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties; and that all such, from the ages of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his majesty's royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service; and also, to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

"Lastly, we do hereby require all mayors, sheriffs, and other magistrates of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim his majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty; for as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past, so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do, or concur in any act or acts, civil or military, to the hurt or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty and our intentions, thus publicly signified, declare and act for us."

While the heralds were proclaiming King James at the market-cross of Edinburgh, Sir John Cope, who, as has been stated, arrived in the mouth of the Frith of Forth on the sixteenth, was landing his troops at Dunbar. The two regiments of dragoons had continued their inglorious flight during the night, and had reached that town, on the morning of the seventeenth, "in a condition," to use the soft expression of Mr Home, "not very respectable."\* On arriving at Musselburgh, they had halted for a short time, and afterwards went to a field between Preston Grange, and Dauphinston, where they dismounted for the purpose of passing the night; but between ten and eleven o'clock they were aroused by the cries of a dra-



goon who had fallen into an old coal-pit full of water. Conceiving that the Highlanders were at hand, they instantly mounted their horses and fled towards Dunbar with such precipitation and alarm, that they dropped their arms by the way. Next morning the road to Dunbar was found to be strewn with the swords, pistols, and firelocks, which had fallen from the nerveless hands of these cowards. Colonel Gardiner, who had slept during the night in his own house at Preston, near the field where the dragoons were to bivouack, was surprised, when he rose in the morning, to find that his men were all gone. All that he could learn was that they had taken the road to Dunbar. He followed them with a heavy heart, which certainly did not lighten when he saw the proofs they had left behind them of their pusillanimity. These arms were collected and conveyed in covered carts to Dunbar, where they were again put into the hands of the craven dragoons.\*

The landing of Cope's troops was finished on Wednesday, the seventeenth of September; but the disembarkation of the artillery and stores

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 74. The author of the pamphlet on the conduct of Provost Stewart, already quoted, gives a somewhat different account of the flight of the dragoons, but with circumstances equally ludicrous:—"Before the rebels," he observes, "came within sight of our king's forces, before they came within three miles distance of them, orders were issued to the dragoons to wheel, which they immediately did with the greatest order and regularity imaginable. As it is known that nothing is more beautiful than the evolutions and movements of cavalry, the spectators stood in expectation of what fine manœuvre they might terminate in: when new orders were immediately issued to retreat, they immediately obeyed, and began to march in the usual pace of cavalry. Orders were repeated every furlong to quicken their pace, and both precept and example concurring, they quickened it so well, that, before they reached Edinburgh, they quickened to a very smart gallop. They passed in inexpressible hurry and confusion through the narrow lanes at Barefoot's Parks, in the sight of all the north part of the town (Edinburgh,) to the infinite joy of the disaffected, and equal grief and consternation of all the other inhabitants. They rushed like a torrent down to Leith, where they endeavoured to draw breath; but some unlucky boy, (I suppose a Jacobite in his heart,) calling to them that the Highlanders were approaching, they immediately took to their heels again, and galloped to Prestonpans, about six miles farther. There, in a literal sense, *timor addidit alas*,—their fear added wings, I mean to the rebels. For otherwise they could not possibly have imagined that these formidable enemies could be within several miles of them. But at Prestonpans the same alarm was repeated. The Philistines be upon thee Sampson! They galloped to North Berwick, and being now about twenty miles to the other side of Edinburgh, they thought they might safely dismount from their horses and look out for victuals. Accordingly, like the ancient Grecian heroes, each began to kill and dress his provisions: *egit amor dapis atque pugnæ*; they were actuated by the desire of supper and of battle. The sheep and turkies of North Berwick paid for this warlike disposition. But behold the uncertainty of human happiness! When the mutton was just ready to be put upon the table, they heard, or thought they heard, the same cry of the Highlanders. Their fear proved stronger than their hunger; they again got on horseback, but were informed time enough of the falseness of the alarm, to prevent the spoiling of their meal. By such rudiments as these, the dragoons were so thoroughly initiated in the art of running, till at last they became so perfect at their lesson, that at the battle of Preston they could practise it of themselves, though even then the same good example was not wanting. I have seen an Italian opera called *Cesaro in Egitto*, or *Cæsar in Egypt*, where, in the first scene, Cæsar is introduced in a great hurry, giving orders to his soldiers, *fugge, fugge, a'elo scampo*,—fly, fly, to your heels! This is a proof that the commander at the Coltbridge is not the first hero that gave such orders to his troops."



was not completed till the eighteenth. On the last mentioned day, Mr Home, the author of the history of the Rebellion of seventeen hundred and forty-five, arrived at Dunbar, and was introduced to Sir John, as a "volunteer from Edinburgh," desirous of communicating to him such information as he had personally collected respecting the Highland army. He told the general, that being curious to see the Highland army and its leader, and to ascertain the number of the Highlanders, he had remained in Edinburgh after they had taken possession thereof,—that, for the last mentioned purpose, he had visited the different parts they occupied in the city, and had succeeded in making a pretty exact enumeration,—that with the same view he had perambulated the Hunter's bog, where the main body was encamped,—and as he found the Highlanders sitting in ranks upon the ground taking a meal, that he was enabled to calculate their numbers with great certainty. He stated, from the observations he had been thus enabled to make, that the whole Highlanders within and without the city did not amount to two thousand men; but that he had been told that several bodies of men from the north were on their march, and were expected very soon to join the main body at Edinburgh. In answer to a question put by Cope, as to the appearance and equipment of the Highlanders, Home stated that most of them seemed to be strong, active, and hardy men, though many of them were of a very ordinary size; and if clothed like Lowlanders, would, in his opinion, appear inferior to the king's troops; but the Highland garb favoured them much, as it shewed their naked limbs, which were strong and muscular; and their stern countenances and bushy uncombed hair gave them a fierce, barbarous, and imposing aspect. With regard to their arms, Mr Home said that they had no artillery of any sort but one small unmounted iron cannon, lying upon a cart, drawn by a little Highland poney,—that about fourteen or fifteen hundred of them were armed with firelocks and broadswords,—that their firelocks were of all sorts and sizes, consisting of muskets, fuseses, and fowling pieces,—that some of the rest had firelocks without swords, while others had swords without firelocks,—that many of their swords were not Highland broadswords but French,—that one or two companies, amounting to about a hundred men, were armed, each of them with the shaft of a pitch-fork, with the blade of a scythe fastened to it, resembling in some degree the Lochaber axe. Mr Home, however, added, that all the Highlanders would soon be provided with firelocks, as the arms belonging to the train bands of the city had fallen into their hands. Before the informant took leave, Cope expressed his sense of the service conferred, from the accurate intelligence he had received, by many compliments.\*

At Dunbar, General Cope was joined by some judges and lawyers, who had fled from Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders.

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 74.

They did not, however, enter the camp as fighting men, but with the intention of continuing with the king's army, as anxious and interested spectators of the approaching conflict. Cope found a more efficient supporter in the person of the earl of Home, then an officer in the guards, who considered it his duty to offer his services on the present occasion. Unlike his ancestors, who could have raised in their own territories a force almost equal to that now opposed to Sir John Cope, this peer was attended by one or two servants only, a circumstance which gave occasion to many persons to mark the great change in the feudal system which had taken place in Scotland, in little more than a century.\*

Desirous of engaging the Highland army before the arrival of their expected reinforcements, General Cope left Dunbar on the nineteenth of September, in the direction of Edinburgh. The cavalry, infantry, cannon, and baggage-carts, which extended several miles along the road, gave a formidable appearance to this little army, and attracted the notice of the country people, who, having been long unaccustomed to war and arms, flocked from all quarters to see an army on the eve of battle; and with infinite concern and anxiety for the result beheld the uncommon spectacle.† The army halted on a field to the west of the town of Haddington, sixteen miles east from Edinburgh. As it was supposed that the Highlanders might march in the night time, and by their rapid movements surprise the army, a proposal was made in the evening, to the general, to employ some of the young men who followed the camp, to ride betwixt Haddington and Duddingstone, during the night, so as to prevent surprise. This proposal was approved of by Cope, and sixteen young men, most of whom had been volunteers at Edinburgh, offered their services. These were divided into two parties of eight men each; one of which, subdivided into four parties of two men each, set out at nine o'clock at night, by four different roads that led to Duddingstone. These parties returned to the camp at midnight, and made a report to the officer commanding the piquet, that they had not met with any appearance of the enemy. The other party then went off, subdivided as before, by the different routes, and rode about till day-break, when six of them returned and made a similar report, but the remaining two who had taken the coast road to Musselburgh, did not make their appearance at the camp, having been made prisoners by an attorney's apprentice, who conducted them to the rebel camp at Duddingstone! The extraordinary capture of these doughty patrols, one of whom was Francis Garden, afterwards better known as a lord of session, by the title of Lord Gardenstone, and the other Mr Robert Cunningham, known afterwards as General Cunningham, is thus humorously detailed by the reviewer before alluded to.

“The general sent two of the volunteers who chanced to be mounted, and knew the country, to observe the coast road, especially towards

Musselburgh. They rode on their exploratory expedition, and coming to that village which is about six miles from Edinburgh, avoided the bridge to escape detection, and crossed the Eske, it being then low water, at a place nigh its junction with the sea. Unluckily there was at the opposite side a snug thatched tavern, kept by a cleanly old woman called Luckie F——, who was eminent for the excellence of her oysters and sherry. The patrols were both *bon-vivants*; one of them whom we remember in the situation of a senator, as it is called, of the college of Justice, was unusually so, and a gay witty agreeable companion besides. Luckie's sign and the heap of shells deposited near her door, proved as great a temptation to this vigilant forlorn-hope, as the wine-house to the abbeſs of Andonillet's muleteer. They had ſcarcely got ſettled at ſome right *Pandores*, with a bottle of ſherry, as an accompaniment, when, as ſome Jacobite devil would have it, an unlucky north-country lad, a writer's (*i. e.* attorney's) apprentice, who had given his indentures the ſlip, and taken the white-cockade, chanced to paſs by on his errand to join Prince Charlie. He ſaw the two volunteers through the window, knew them, and gueſſed their buſineſs; he ſaw the tide would make it impoſſible for them to return along the ſands as they had come. He therefore placed himſelf in ambuſh upon the ſteep, narrow, impracticable bridge, which was then and for many years afterwards, the only place of croſſing the Eſke, 'and how he contrived it,' our narrator uſed to proceed, 'I never could learn, but the courage and aſſurance of the province from which he came are proverbial. In ſhort, the Norland whipper-snapper ſurrounded and made priſoners of my two poor friends, before they could draw a trigger.' \*"

Cope reſumed his march on the morning of the twentieth of September, following the courſe of the poſt road to Edinburgh, till he came near Haddington, when he led off his army along another road, nearer the coaſt, by St Germain's and Seaton. His object in leaving the poſt road was to avoid ſome defiles and incloſures which would have hindered, in caſe of attack, the operations of his cavalry. In its march the army was followed by a number of ſpectators, all anxious to witneſs the expected combat; but they were aſſured by the officers that as the army was now rendered complete by the junction of the horſe and foot, the Highlanders would not venture to engage. As ſome perſons who ventured to expreſs a different opinion were looked upon with jealouſy, it is not improbable that the officers who thus expreſſed themſelves did not ſpeak their real ſentiments.

On leaving the poſt road the general ſent forward the earl of Loudon his adjutant-general, with Lord Home and the quarter-maſter-general, to ſelect ground near Muſſelburgh, on which to encamp the army during the night; but this party had not proceeded far when they obſerved ſome ſtragglers of Highlanders advancing. The earl of Loudon

\* Quarterly Review, vol. xxxvi. p. 177.

immediately rode back at a good pace, and gave Sir John the information just as the van of the royal army was entering the plain betwixt Seaton and Preston, known by the name of Gladsmuir. Judging the ground before him a very eligible spot for meeting the Highlanders, the general continued his march along the high road to Preston, and halted his army on the moor where he formed his troops in order of battle, with his front to the west. His right extended towards the sea in the direction of Port Seaton, and his left towards the village of Preston. These dispositions had scarcely been taken when the whole of the Highland army appeared.

The disembarkation of the royal army, and the advance of Cope towards Edinburgh, were known to Charles in the course of Thursday the nineteenth. Judging it of importance that no time should be lost in meeting Cope and bringing him to action, Charles had left Holyrood-house on the evening of that day, and had proceeded to Duddingston, near which place his army was encamped. Having assembled a council of war, he proposed to march next morning and give battle to Sir John Cope. The members of the council having signified their acquiescence, the prince then asked the Highland chiefs how they thought their men would conduct themselves on meeting a commander who had at last mustered courage to meet them. As Macdonald of Keppoch had served in the French army, and was considered, on that account, to be a fit judge of what the Highlanders could do against regular troops, he was desired by the other chiefs to give his opinion. Keppoch accordingly proceeded to answer the interrogatory of the prince. He began by observing that as the country had been long at peace, few or none of the private men had ever seen a battle, and that it was not therefore very easy to form an opinion as to how they would behave; but that he would venture to assure his royal highness that the gentlemen of the army would be in the midst of the enemy, and that as the clans loved both the cause and their chiefs, they would certainly share the danger with their leaders. Charles thereupon declared that he would lead on the Highlanders himself, and charge at their head; but the chiefs checked his impetuosity by pointing out the ruin that would befall them if he perished in the field, though his army should be successful. They declared that, should he persist in his resolution, they would return home and make the best terms they could for themselves. This remonstrance had the desired effect upon the young Chevalier, who agreed to take a post of less danger.\*

According to the calculation of Home, which has been alluded to, the Highland army, at the date of the capture of Edinburgh, did not exceed two thousand men; but it was increased to nearly two thousand four hundred men, by a party of one hundred and fifty Maclauchlans who joined it on the eighteenth of September, and by an accession of two hundred and fifty Athole-men on the following day. This force was further aug-

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 81.



mented by the Grants of Glenmoriston, who joined the army at Duddingston on the morning of Friday the twentieth. In pursuance of the resolution of the council, the prince put himself at the head of his army on that morning, and presenting his sword, exclaimed, "My friends, I have flung away the scabbard!"\* This was answered by a loud huzza, on which the army marched forward in one column of three files or ranks towards Musselburgh. Passing the Eske by the bridge of Musselburgh, the army proceeded along the post road towards Pinkie. On arriving opposite the south side of Pinkie gardens, Lord George Murray, who led the van, received information that Sir John Cope was at or near Preston, and that his attention probably was to gain the high grounds of Fawside near Carberry. As there was no time to deliberate or wait for orders, and as Lord George, who was very well acquainted with these grounds, considered the occupation of them by the Highlanders as of great importance; he struck off to the right at Edgebuckling-Brae, and passing through the fields by the west side of Walleyford, gained the eminence in less than half an hour, where he waited for the rear.†

From Fawside hill the prince desiered the army of Cope drawn up in the manner before described, but its position being different from that anticipated, Charles drew off his army towards the left, and descending the hill in the direction of Tranent, entered again upon the post road at some distance to the west of the village, along which he continued his march. On approaching Tranent the Highlanders were received by the king's troops with a vehement shout of defiance, which the Highlanders answered in a similar strain. About two o'clock in the afternoon the Highland army halted on an eminence called Birsley Brae, about half a mile to the west of Tranent, and formed in order of battle about a mile from the royal forces.

In the expectation that the Highlanders were advancing by the usual route through Musselburgh, Cope had taken up the position we have described with his front to the west; but as soon as he observed the Highlanders on the heights upon his left he changed his front to the south. This change of position, while it secured Cope better from attack, was not so well calculated for safety as the first position was in the event of a defeat. On his right was the east wall of a park, belonging to Erskine of Grange, which extended a considerable way from north to south, and still farther to the right was the village of Preston. The village of Seaton was on his left, and the village of Cockenzie and the sea in his rear. Almost immediately in front was a deep ditch filled with water, and a strong and thick hedge. Farther removed from the front, and between the two armies was a morass, the ends of which had been drained, and were intersected by numerous cuts. And on the

\* Account of the battle of Prestonpans, published by the Highland army in the Caledonian Mercury of 23d September, 1745.

† Lord George Murray's Narrative.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 36.—*Home*, vol. iii. p. 81.



more firm ground at the ends were several small inclosures, with hedges, dry stone walls, and willow trees.

As the Highlanders were in excellent spirits, and eager to close immediately with the enemy, Charles felt very desirous to comply with their wishes ; but he soon ascertained, by examining some people of the neighbourhood, that the passage across the morass, from the nature of the ground, would be extremely dangerous if not altogether impracticable. Not wishing, however, in a matter of such importance to trust altogether to the opinion of the country people, Lord George Murray ordered Colonel Ker of Gradon, an officer of some military experience, to examine the ground, and to report. Mounted upon a little white poney he descended alone into the plain below, and with the greatest coolness and deliberation surveyed the morass on all sides. As he went along the morass several shots were fired at him, by some of Cope's men, from the sides of the ditches ; but he paid so little regard to these annoyances that on coming to a dry stone wall which stood in his way he dismounted, and making a gap in it led his horse through. After finishing this perilous duty he returned to the army, and reported to the lieutenant-general that he considered it impracticable to pass the morass and attack the enemy in front, without risking the whole army, and that it was impossible for the men to pass the ditches in a line.\*

While his lieutenant-general was, in consequence of this information, planning a different mode of attack, the prince himself was moving with a great part of his army towards Dauphinstone on Cope's right. Halting opposite Preston tower he seemed to threaten that flank of the English general, who, thereupon, returned to his original position with his front to Preston, and his right towards the sea. As Lord George Murray considered that the only practicable mode of attacking Cope was by advancing from the east, he led off part of the army about sunset through the village of Tranent, and sent notice to the prince to follow him with the remainder as quickly as possible. When passing through the village Lord George was joined by fifty of the Camerons, who had been posted by O'Sullivan in the churchyard at the foot of Tranent. This party being within half cannon shot of Cope's artillery, had been exposed during the afternoon to a fire from their cannon, and one or two of the Camerons had been wounded. To frighten the Highlanders, who, they imagined, had never seen cannon before, Cope's men huzzaed at every discharge ; but the Camerons remained in their position, till, on the representation of Lochiel, who went and viewed the ground, and found his men unnecessarily exposed, they were ordered to retire in the direction of Tranent. O'Sullivan, who was in the rear when this order was given, came up on the junction of the party, and asking Lord George the meaning of the movement he was making, was told by him, that as it was

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 84.—Lord George Murray's Narrative in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 37.

not possible to attack the enemy with any chance of success on the west side of the village, he had resolved to assail them from the east, and that he would satisfy the prince that his plan was quite practicable,—that for this purpose he had ordered the army to march to the east side of the village, where there were good dry fields covered with stubble, on which the men could bivouack during the night,—and that with regard to the withdrawal of the party which O'Sullivan had posted in the churchyard, they could be of no service there, and were unnecessarily exposed. On being informed of the movement made by Lord George Murray, Charles proceeded to follow him, but it was dark before the rear had passed the village. To watch Cope's motions on the west, Charles left behind the Athole brigade, consisting of five hundred men, under Lord Nairne, which he posted near Preston above Colonel Gardiner's parks.\*

After the Highland army had halted on the fields to the east of Tranent, a council of war was held, at which Lord George Murray proposed to attack the enemy at break of day. He assured the members of the council that the plan was not only practicable, but that it would in all probability be attended with success,—that he knew the ground himself, and that he had just seen one or two gentlemen who were also well acquainted with every part of it. He added, that there was indeed a small defile at the east end of the ditches, but if once passed there would be no farther hinderance, and though, from being obliged to march in a column, they would necessarily consume a considerable time on their march, yet when the whole line had passed the defile they would have nothing to do but face to the left, form in a moment, and commence the attack. Charles was highly pleased with the proposal of the lieutenant-general; which having received the unanimous approbation of the council, a few piquets were, by order of Lord George, placed around the bivouack, and the Highlanders, after having supped, wrapped themselves up in their plaids, and lay down upon the ground to repose for the night. Charles, taking a sheaf of pease for a pillow, stretched himself upon the stubble, surrounded by his principal officers, all of whom followed his example. Before the army went to rest, notice was sent to Lord Nairne to leave his post with the Athole brigade at two o'clock in the morning as quietly as possible. To conceal their position from the English general, no fires or lights were allowed, and orders were issued and scrupulously obeyed, that strict silence should be kept, and that no man should stir from his place till directed.†

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 85.—Lord George Murray's Narrative, p. 38.

† Lord George Murray's Nar. p. 38.—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 449. The accounts given by Home and the Chevalier Johnstone differ in some respects from that of Lord George Murray. Home says, that Mr Robert Anderson (son of Anderson of Whitbrough in East Lothian, who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1715) had confirmed Ker of Gradon's account of the ground after his survey, on being consulted by Lord George Murray,—that he was present at the council of war, but did not give any opinion; but that after Charles and his officers had separated, Anderson

When Cope observed Charles returning towards Tranent, he resumed his former position with his front to the south, having thus, in the course of a few hours, been obliged, by the unrestrained evolutions of the Highlanders, to shift his ground no less than four times. He now began to perceive that his situation was not so favourable as he had imagined, and that while the insurgents could move about at discretion, select their ground, and choose their time and mode of attack, he was cramped in his own movements and could act only on the defensive. The spectators, who felt an interest in the fate of his army, and who had calculated upon certain success to Cope's arms during the day, now, that night was hand, began to forebode the most gloomy results. Instead of a bold and decided movement on the part of Cope to meet the enemy, they observed that he had spent the day in doing absolutely nothing,—that he was in fact hemmed in by the Highlanders, and forced at pleasure to change his position at every movement they were pleased to make. They dreaded that an army which was obliged to act thus upon the defensive, and which would, therefore, be obliged to pass the ensuing night under arms, could not successfully resist an attack next morning from men, who, sheltered from the cold by their plaids, could enjoy the sweets of repose and rise fresh and vigorous for battle.\*

To secure his army from surprise during the night, Cope placed advanced piquets of horse and foot along the side of the morass, extending nearly as far east as the village of Seaton. He, at same time, sent his baggage and military chest down to Cockenzie under a guard

told Hepburn of Keith that he knew the ground perfectly, and was certain there was a better way to come at the king's army than that which the council had resolved to follow,—that he would undertake to show them a place where they might easily pass the morass without being seen by the enemy, and without being exposed to their fire,—that Hepburn listened attentively to this information, and expressed his opinion of it in such terms that Anderson desired he would carry him to Lord George Murray,—that Hepburn advised him to go himself to Lord George, who knew him, and would like better to receive information from him alone than when introduced by another person,—that when Anderson came to Lord George Murray he found him asleep in a field of cut pease with several of the chiefs near him,—that on awakening his Lordship, he repeated what he had said to Mr Hepburn, and offered to lead the men through the morass,—that Lord George considering this information important, awoke Charles, who was lying near him with a sheaf of pease for his pillow, and who, pleased with Anderson's information, ordered Lochiel and the other chiefs to be called, all of whom approved of the plan of attack. The Chevalier Johnstone says that the officers of the army were perplexed how to act, from the apparent impossibility of making a successful attack, but that Anderson came to the prince in the evening very *a propos*, and relieved them from their embarrassment by informing them that there was a place in the marsh which could be crossed with safety, and that upon examining it Anderson's information was found to be correct. Lord George's own account appears, however, to give the real *res gestæ*. From it he appears to have communicated with Anderson and Hepburn *before* the council of war had assembled. As his Lordship says that "at midnight the principal officers were called again," it is probable he alludes to the scene described by Home, when the prince himself and the chiefs were awakened by Anderson; but as Anderson was present in the council, and as Lord George says, that, after this midnight call "all was ordered as was at first proposed," it is very likely that Anderson was anxious to afford some additional information which he had formerly omitted to give,

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 86.

of forty men of the line and all the Highlanders of the army, consisting of four companies, viz. two of newly raised men belonging to Loudon's regiments, and two additional companies of Lord John Murray's regiment, which had been diminished by desertion to fifteen men each.\* Although the weather had been very fine, and the days were still warm, yet the nights were now getting cold and occasionally frosty. As the night in question, that of Friday the twentieth of September, was very cold, Cope ordered fires to be kindled along the front of his line, to keep his men warm. During the night he amused himself by firing off, at random, some cohorns,† probably to alarm the Highlanders or disturb their slumbers, but these hardy mountaineers, if perchance they awoke for a time, disregarded these empty bravadoes, and fell back again into the arms of sleep.

In point of numbers the army of Cope was rather inferior to that of Charles; but many of the Highlanders were badly armed, and some of them were without arms. The royal forces amounted altogether to about two thousand three hundred men; but the number in the field was diminished to two thousand one hundred by the separation of the baggage-guard which was sent to Cockenzie. The order of battle formed by Cope along the north side of the morass was as follows:—He drew up his foot in one line, in the centre of which were eight companies of Lascelles's regiment, and two of Guise's. On the right were five companies of Lee's regiment, and on the left the regiment of Murray, with a number of recruits for different regiments at home and abroad. Two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons formed the right wing, and a similar number of Hamilton's composed the left. The remaining squadron of each regiment was placed in the rear of its companions as a reserve. On the left of the army, near the waggon-road from Tranent to Cockenzie, were placed the artillery, consisting of six or seven pieces of cannon and four cohorns, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Whiteford, and guarded by a company of Lee's regiment, commanded by Captain Cochrane. Besides the regular troops there were some volunteers, consisting principally of small parties of the neighbouring tenantry, headed by their respective landlords. Some seceders, actuated by religious zeal, had also placed themselves under the royal standard.‡

Pursuant to the orders he had received, Lord Nairne left the position he had occupied during the night at the appointed hour, and rejoined the main body about three o'clock in the morning. Instead of continuing the order of march of the preceding night, it had been determined by the council of war to reverse it. The charge of this movement was intrusted to Colonel Ker, who had signalized himself by the calm intrepidity with which he had surveyed the marsh on the preceding day.

\* A party of 200 Munroes followed Cope to Aberdeen, but refused to embark as *har vest-time* was at hand.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 489.

‡ Ibid. Home, vol. iii. p. 86.



To carry this plan into effect, Ker went to the head of the column, and passing along the line, desired the men to observe a profound silence, and not to stir a step till he should return to them. On reaching the rear he ordered it to march from the left, and to pass close in front of the column, and returning along the line, he continued to repeat the order till the whole army was in motion. This evolution was accomplished without the least confusion, and before four o'clock in the morning the whole army was in full march.\*

The duke of Perth, who was to command the right wing, was at the head of the inverted column. He was attended by Hepburn of Keith, and by Mr Robert Anderson, son of Anderson of Whitbrough, who, from his intimate knowledge of the morass, was sent forward to lead the way. A little in advance of the van was a select party of sixty men doubly armed, under the command of Macdonald of Glenalladale, major of the regiment of Clanranald, whose appointed duty it was to seize the enemy's baggage. The army proceeded in an easterly direction till near the farm of Ringan-head, when, turning to the left, they marched in a northerly direction through a small valley which intersects the farm. During the march the utmost silence was observed by the men, not even a whisper being heard; and lest the trampling of horses might discover their advance, the few that were in the army were left behind. The ford or path across the morass was so narrow that the column, which marched three men abreast, had scarcely sufficient standing room, and the ground along it was so soft, that many of the men were almost at every step up to the knees in mud. The path in question, which was about two hundred paces to the west of the stone-bridge afterwards built across Seaton mill-dam, led to a small wooden-bridge which had been thrown over the large ditch which ran through the morass from east to west. This bridge, and the continuation of the path on the north of it, were a little to the east of Cope's left. From ignorance of the existence of this bridge,—from oversight, or from a supposition that the marsh was not passable in that quarter,—Cope had placed no guards in that direction, and the consequence was, that the Highland army, whose march across could have been effectually stopped by a handful of men, passed the bridge and cleared the marsh without interruption.†

The army was divided into two columns or lines, with an interval between them. After the first line had got out of the marsh, Lord George Murray sent the Chevalier Johnstone, one of his aides-de-camp, to hasten the march of the second, which was conducted by the prince in person, and to see that it passed without noise or confusion. At the remote end of the marsh there was a deep ditch, three or four feet broad, over

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative.—Jacobite Memoirs, p. 39.—Lockhart Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 449.—Home, vol. iii. p. 89.

† Lord George Murray's Narrative, p. 39.—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 419—491.—Home, vol. iii. p. 89.



which the men had to leap. In jumping across this ditch, Charles fell upon his knees on the other side, and was immediately raised by the Chevalier Johnstone, who says, that Charles looked as if he considered the accident a bad omen.\*

As the column cleared the marsh, it continued its course towards the sea; but after the whole army had passed, it was ascertained that the duke of Perth had inadvertently, (not being able, from the darkness, to see the whole line,) advanced too far with the front, and that a considerable gap had, in consequence, been left in the centre. The duke being informed of this error, halted his men till joined by the rear.† Hitherto the darkness had concealed the march of the Highlanders; but the morning was now about to dawn, and at the time the order to halt was given, some of Cope's piquets, stationed on his left, for the first time, heard the tramp of the Highlanders. The Highlanders then heard distinctly these advanced guards repeatedly call out, "Who is there?" No answer having been returned, the piquets immediately gave the alarm, and the cry of "cannons, cannons; get ready the cannons, cannoners," resounded on Cope's left wing.‡

Charles proceeded instantly to give directions for attacking Cope before he should have time to change his position by opposing his front to that of the Highland army. It was not in compliance with any rule in military science, that the order of march of the Highland army had been reversed; but in accordance with an established punctilio among the clans, which, for upwards of seven centuries, had assigned the right wing, regarded as the post of honour, to the Macdonalds. As arranged at the council of war on the preceding evening, the army was drawn up in two lines. The first consisted of the regiments of Clanranald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glencoe,§ under their respective chiefs. These regiments formed the right wing, which was commanded by the duke of Perth. The duke of Perth's men and the Macgregors composed the centre; while the left wing, commanded by Lord George Murray, was formed of the Camerons under Lochiel, their chief, and the Stewarts of Appin commanded by Stewart of Ardsziel. The second line, which was to serve as a reserve, consisted of the Athole-men, the Robertsons of Strowan, and the Macclauhlans. This body was placed under the command of Lord Nairne.

As soon as Cope received intelligence of the advance of the Highlanders, he gave orders to change his front to the east. Some confusion took place in carrying these orders into execution, from the advanced guards belonging to the foot not being able to find out the

\* Memoirs, 3d edition, p. 35. † Kirkconnel MS. ‡ Lockhart, vol. ii. p. 491.

§ Home puts the Macdonalds of Glencoe on the left of the second line; but the author of the Journal and Memoirs, (Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 491,) an officer in the Highland army who was in the battle, says that the Macdonalds of Glencoe were on the right of the first line. The official account published in the Caledonian Mercury by Charles, also places the Glencoe men in the same situation.

regiments to which they belonged, and who, in consequence, stationed themselves on the right of Lee's five companies, and thereby prevented the two squadrons of Gardiner's dragoons, which had been posted on the right of the line, from forming properly. For want of room the squadron under Colonel Gardiner drew up behind that commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Whitney. In all other respects the disposition of each regiment was the same; but the artillery, which before the change had been on the left, and close to that wing, was now on the right somewhat farther from the line, and in front of Whitney's squadron.\*

There was now no longer any impediment to prevent the armies from coming into collision; and if Cope had had the choice he could not have selected ground more favourable for the operations of cavalry than that which lay between the two armies. It was a level cultivated field of considerable extent without bush or tree, and had just been cleared of its crop of grain. But unfortunately for the English general, the celerity with which the Highlanders commenced the attack prevented him from availing himself of this local advantage.

After both lines of the Highland army had formed, Charles addressed his army in these words:—"Follow me, gentlemen; and by the assistance of God I will, this day, make you a free and happy people."† He then went up to the right wing and spent a little time in earnest conversation with the duke of Perth and Clanranald, and, having given his last instructions to them, returned to the station which, in compliance with the wish of his council, he had taken between the lines, where, surrounded by his guard, he waited the signal to advance. If, as alleged by Chevalier Johnstone, Charles exhibited symptoms of alarm when he fell on crossing the ditch, he now certainly showed that fear had no longer a place in his mind. The coolness and self-possession which he displayed when giving his orders would have done honour to the most experienced general; but these qualities are to be still more valued in a young man playing the important and dangerous game that Charles had undertaken. The officer to whose tuition Charles had been indebted for the little knowledge he had acquired of Gaelic, mentions an occurrence indicative of the prince's firmness on this occasion. In returning from the right wing to his guard after giving his orders to the duke of Perth and Clanranald, he saw the officer alluded to passing near him, and with a smile, said to him in Gaelic,—"*Gres-ort, gres-ort!*" that is, "*Make haste, make haste!*"‡

By the time the arrangements for commencing the attack were completed, the morning had fully dawned, and the beams of the rising sun were beginning to illuminate the horizon; but the mist which still hovered over the corn fields prevented the two armies from seeing each other.

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 91.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 490.

‡ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 491.

Every thing being now in readiness for advancing, the Highlanders took off their bonnets, and, placing themselves in an attitude of devotion, with upraised eyes uttered a short prayer.\* As the Highlanders had advanced considerably beyond the main ditch, Lord George Murray was apprehensive that Cope might turn the left flank, and to guard against such a contingency, he desired Lochiel, who was on the extreme left, to order his men in advancing to incline to the left.†

Lord George Murray now ordered the left wing to advance, and sent an aid-de-camp to the duke of Perth to request him to put the right in motion. The Highlanders moved with such rapidity that their ranks broke; to recover which, they halted once or twice before closing with the enemy. When Cope, at day break, observed the first line of the Highland army formed in order of battle, at the distance of two hundred paces from his position, he mistook it for bushes; but before it had advanced half way, the rays of the rising sun bursting through the retiring mist showed the armies to each other. The army of Cope at this time made a formidable appearance; and some of Charles's officers were heard afterwards to declare, that when they first saw it, and compared the gallant appearance of the horse and foot, with their well-polished arms glittering in the sunbeams, with their own line broken into irregular clusters; they expected that the Highland army would be instantly defeated, and swept from the field.‡

The Highlanders continued to advance in profound silence. As the right wing marched straight forward without attending to the oblique movement of the Camerons to the left, a gap took place in the centre of the line. An attempt was made to fill it up with the second line, which was about fifty paces behind the first, but before this could be accomplished, the left wing, being the first to move, had advanced beyond the right of the line, and was now engaged with the enemy. By inclining to the left, the Camerons gained half the ground originally between them and the main ditch; but this movement brought them up directly opposite to Cope's cannon. On approaching the cannon the Highlanders fired a few shots at the artillery guard, which alarmed an old gunner,§ who had charge of the cannon, and his assistants to such a degree that they fled, carrying the powder flasks along with them. To check the advance of the Highlanders, Colonel Whiteford fired off five of the field pieces with his own hand; but though their left seemed to recoil, they instantly resumed the rapid pace they had set out with. The artillery guard next fired a volley with as little effect. Observing the squadron of dragoons under Lieutenant-colonel Whitney advancing to charge them,

\* Caledonian Mercury of 23d Sept. 1745.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 40.

‡ Home, vol. iii. p. 92.

§ This man, who had belonged to the Scots train of artillery before the union, was the only gunner in Scotland! His assistants were three old invalids from the castle of Edinburgh, and a few sailors from the ship of war which had escorted the transports to Dunbar.

the Camerons set up a loud shout, rushed past the cannon, and after discharging a few shots at the dragoons, which killed several men, and wounded the lieutenant-colonel, flew upon them sword in hand. When assailed, the squadron was reeling to and fro from the fire; and the Highlanders following an order they had received, to strike at the noses of the horses without minding the riders, completed the disorder. In a moment the dragoons wheeled about, rode over the artillery guard, and fled followed by the guard. The Highlanders continuing to push forward without stopping to take prisoners, Colonel Gardiner was ordered to advance with his squadron, and charge the enemy. He accordingly went forward, encouraging his men to stand firm; but this squadron, before it had advanced many paces, experienced a similar reception with its companion, and followed the example which the other had just set.\*

After the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders advanced upon the infantry, who opened a fire from right to left, which went down the line as far as Murray's regiment. They received this volley with a loud huzza, and throwing away their muskets, drew their swords and rushed upon the foot before they had time to reload their pieces. Confounded by the flight of the dragoons, and the furious onset of the Highlanders, the astonished infantry threw down their arms and took to their heels. Hamilton's dragoons, who were stationed on Cope's left, displayed even greater pusillanimity than their companions; for no sooner did they observe the squadrons on the right give way, than they turned their backs and fled without firing a single shot, or drawing a sword.† Murray's regiment being thus left alone on the field, fired upon the Macdonalds who were advancing, and also fled. Thus, within a very few minutes after the action had commenced, the whole army of Cope was put to flight. With the exception of their fire, not the slightest resistance was made by horse or foot, and not a single bayonet was stained with blood. Such were the impetuosity and rapidity with which the first line of the Highlanders broke through Cope's ranks, that they left numbers of his men in their rear who attempted to rally behind them; but on seeing the second line coming up they endeavoured to make their escape.‡ Though the second

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 93. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 40. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 490. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 35. Kirkconnel MS.

† Old General Wightman, who commanded the centre of the royalist army at the battle of Sheriffmuir, was present at this battle as a spectator. Mounted on his "old cropt galloway," he posted himself by break of day about a musket shot in the rear of Hamilton's dragoons, and had not taken his ground above three minutes when "the scuffle" began. He says it lasted about four minutes. After "all was in route," Wightman remained in his station, "calm and fearless," according to his own account, till he saw all the dragoons out of the field, and the foot surrounded on all sides. Ex-provost Drummond, "who (says Wightman) would needs fight among the dragoons," was also present, mounted on an old dragoon horse, which one Mathie had purchased for £4, and had used as a cart horse. Not being able to reach Gardiner's dragoons before the battle began, Drummond joined the squadrons under Hamilton; but "to his great luck," and to the "great comfort," of his friend Wightman, he was swept away out of the field by the cowardly dragoons, and accompanied Cope to Berwick. — *Culloden Papers*, p. 224.

‡ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 40.



line was not more than fifty paces behind the first, and was always running as fast as it could to overtake the first line, and near enough never to lose sight of it, yet such was the rapidity with which the battle was gained, that, according to the Chevalier Johnstone,\* who stood by the side of the prince in the second line, he could see no other enemy on the field of battle than those who were lying on the ground killed and wounded.

Unfortunately for the royal infantry, the walls of the inclosures about the village of Preston, which, from the position they took up on the preceding evening, formed their great security on their right, now that these park-walls were in their rear, operated as a barrier to their flight. Having disencumbered themselves of their arms to facilitate their escape, they had deprived themselves of their only means of defence, and driven as they were upon the walls of the inclosures, they would have all perished under the swords of the Highlanders, had not Charles and his officers strenuously exerted themselves to preserve the lives of their discomfited foes. The impetuosity of the attack, however, and the sudden flight of the royal army, allowed little leisure for the exercise of humanity, and before the carnage ceased several hundreds had fallen under the claymores of the Highlanders, and the ruthless scythes of the Macgregors. Armed with these deadly weapons, which were sharpened and fixed to poles from seven to eight feet long, to supply the place of other arms, this party mowed down the affrighted enemy, cut off the legs of the horses, and severed, it is said, the bodies of their riders in twain. Captain James Drummond, alias Macgregor, son of the celebrated Rob Roy, who commanded this company, fell at the commencement of the action. When advancing to the charge he received five wounds. Two bullets went through his body, and laid him prostrate on the ground. That his men might not be discouraged by his fall, this intrepid officer resting his head upon his hand, called out to them, "My lads, I am not dead!—by God, I shall see if any of you does not do his duty!" This singular address had the desired effect, and the Macgregors instantly fell on the flank of the English infantry, which, being left uncovered and exposed by the flight of the cavalry, immediately gave way.†

\* *Memoirs*, p. 37.

† Johnston's *Memoirs*, p. 36. — In the account of the battle published by the Highland army, Captain Macgregor is stated to have been mortally wounded; but he lived several years thereafter, and retired to France in 1753. On his arrival he addressed the following letter to Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St George. The original is thus quoted in Edgar's hand-writing, "Rob Roy's son, May 22d, 1753:"—

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *May 22d, 1753.*

SIR,—I use the freedom to beg of you to lay before his Majesty my following unhappy case. What I am his Majesty will see by the inclosed certificate, and whatever little my vanity might make me imagine I have to his Majesty's protection, all I expect or desire at present is, that assistance which is absolutely necessary for the support of a man who has always shown the strongest attachment to his Majesty's person and cause. As long as I could stay in Scotland I never thought to have added to his Majesty a trouble or



Of the infantry of the royal army, about one hundred and seventy only escaped.\* From a report made by their own sergeants and corporals, by order of Lord George Murray, between sixteen and seventeen hundred prisoners, foot and cavalry, fell into the hands of the Highlanders, including about seventy officers. In this number were comprehended the baggage-guard, stationed at Cockenzie, which amounted to three hundred men, who, on learning the fate of the main body and the loss of their cannon, surrendered to the Camerons.† The cannon and all the baggage of the royal army, together with the military chest, containing four thousand pounds, fell into the hands of the victors. The greater part of the dragoons escaped by the two roads at the extremities of the park wall, one of which passed by Colonel Gardiner's house in the rear on their right, and the other on their left, to the north of Preston-house. In retiring towards these outlets, the dragoons, at

expense; but upon Dr Cameron, Lochiel's brother, being taken up, a strict search was made over all, that I had no way of avoiding being taken but coming to this country, where I am in a situation so uneasy, that I am forced to apply to the generosity of the best of kings. I flatter myself that it is in my power to acquaint his Majesty with something of the greatest consequence to his cause and our country. But I think it would be improper, unless I had the honor of being presented to him. The general character you, Sir, have for being ready to serve any body in distress, leaves me no room to doubt of your interesting yourself in my behalf, which I dare say will be of the greatest use to me, and I am sure will be conferring the highest obligation upon, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,  
JAS. DRUMMOND.

May I request the honor of an answer to the  
care of Lord Strathallan.

The following is the certificate referred to:—

BOULOGNE-SUR-MER, *May ye 22d*, 1753.

We the underwritten certify that it consists with our knowledge, that James Drummond, son to the late Rob Roy, was employ'd in the Prince Regent's affairs by James, duke of Perth, before his Royal Highness's arrival in Scotland, and that afterwards he behaved with great bravery in several battles, in which he received many dangerous wounds.

STRATHALLAN.  
CHARLES BOYD.  
WILLM. DRUMMOND.

To relieve his necessities, James ordered his banker at Paris to pay Macgregor 300 livres, in reference to which Lord Strathallan thus writes to Edgar, from Boulogne Sur Mer, on 6th Sept., 1753:—"I had the honor of yours some time ago, and deferred writing you until I heard about the 300 livres for Mr Drummond, (Macgregor); but I have never heard any more of it. I immediately acquainted Mr D. with the contents of your letter. The attestation I signed was only as to his courage and personal bravery, for as to any thing else, I would be sorry to answer for him, as he has but an indifferent character as to real honesty."—*Stuart Papers*. From the originals in the possession of his Majesty.

\* According to the Chevalier Johnstone, (*Memoirs*, p. 38,) thirteen hundred of Cope's men were killed; but Home states the number as not exceeding two hundred. He says, however, in a note, that some accounts of the battle written by officers in the rebel army, make the number killed to have been four or five hundred. These last seem to be nearer the truth.

† *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 41.

the entreaties of their officers, halted once or twice, and faced about to meet the enemy; but as soon as the Highlanders came up and fired at them, they wheeled about and fled. Cope, who was by no means deficient in personal courage, assisted by the earls of Home and Loudon, collected about four hundred and fifty of the panic-struck dragoons on the west side of the village of Preston, and attempted to lead them back to the charge; but no entreaties could induce these cowards to advance, and the whistling of a few bullets discharged by some Highlanders near the village, so alarmed them, that they instantly scampered off in a southerly direction, screening their heads behind their horses' necks to avoid the bullets of the Highlanders. The general had no alternative but to gallop off with his men.\* He reached Coldstream, a town about forty miles from the field of battle, that night; and entered Berwick next day.

Among six of Cope's officers who were killed, was Colonel Gardiner, a veteran soldier who had served under the duke of Marlborough, and whose character combined a strong religious feeling with the most undaunted courage. He had been decidedly opposed to the *defensive* system of Cope on the preceding evening, and had counselled the general not to lose a moment in attacking the Highlanders; but his advice was disregarded. Anticipating the fate which awaited him, he spent the greater part of the night in devotion, and resolved at all hazards to perform his duty. He was wounded at the first onset at the head of his dragoons; but disdaining to follow them in their retreat, he joined a small body of foot, which attempted to rally near the wall of his own garden, and while fighting at their head was cut down by the murderous scythe of a Macgregor, within a few yards of his own house. He was carried to the manse† of Tranent in almost a lifeless state, by a friend, where he expired within a few hours, and was interred in the north-west corner of the church of Tranent.‡ Captain Brymer of Lee's regiment, who appears to have participated in Gardiner's opinion as to attacking the Highlanders, met a similar fate. Having been at the battle of Sheriffmuir, he was satisfied of the capability of the Highlanders to contend with regular troops, and dreaded the result of an encounter if assailed by the Highlanders. When encamped at Haddington, his brother officers were in high spirits, and making light of the enemy; but Brymer viewed matters in a very different light. While reading one

\* Report of Cope's examination. The story told by the Chevalier Johnstone, of Cope's having effected his escape through the midst of the Highlanders by mounting a white cockade, seems improbable, as Cope does not appear to have been in a situation to have rendered such a step necessary. If any officer made his escape in the way described, it is likely Colonel Lascelles was the man. He fell into the hands of the Highlanders; but in the hurry they were in, contrived to make his escape castward, and arrived safe at Berwick. Amid the confusion which prevailed, he might easily have snatched a cockade from a dead or wounded Highlander, or procured one for a sum of money.

† The name by which the houses of the parish ministers of Scotland are distinguished.

‡ Doddridge's Life of Colonel Gardiner.

night in his tent he was accosted by Mr Congalton of Congalton, his brother-in-law, who, observing him look pensive and grave, when all the other officers appeared so cheerful, inquired the reason. Brymer answered that the Highlanders were not to be despised, and that he was afraid his brother officers would soon find that they had mistaken the character of the Highlanders, who would, to a certainty, attack the royal army, with a boldness which those only who had witnessed their prowess could have any idea of. These gloomy forebodings were not the result of an innate cowardice—for this officer was, as he showed, a brave man—but from a well-founded conviction that Cope's men could not stand the onset of such a body of Highlanders as Charles had assembled. Brymer was killed, with his face to the enemy, disdaining to turn his back when that part of the line where he was stationed was broke in upon by the Highlanders.\*

The loss on the side of the Highlanders was trifling. Four officers,† and between thirty and forty privates, were killed; and five or six officers, and between seventy and eighty priyates, wounded.‡

After the termination of the fight, the field of battle presented an appalling spectacle, rarely exhibited in the most bloody conflicts. As almost all the slain were cut down by the broadsword and the scythe, the ground was strewed with legs, arms, hands, noses, and mutilated bodies, while, from the deep gashes inflicted by these dreadful weapons, the field was literally soaked with gore. An instance of the almost resistless power of the broadsword occurred when a Highland gentleman, who led a division, broke through Mackay's regiment: a grenadier, having attempted to parry off with his hand a blow made at him by the gentleman alluded to, had his hand lopped off and his skull cut above an inch deep. He expired on the spot.§

It was a most fortunate circumstance that the Highlanders, having no revengeful feeling to gratify on the present occasion, were easily induced to listen to the dictates of humanity. After the fury of their onset was abated, they not only readily gave, but even offered quarter; and when the action was over, displayed a sympathy for the wounded, rarely equalled, and never surpassed. A Highland officer thus exultingly notices the conduct of his companions in arms. "Now, whatever notions or sentiments the low country people may entertain of our Highlanders, this day there were many proofs to a diligent spectator, amidst all the bloodshed, (which at the first shock was unavoidable,) of their humanity and mercy; for I can, with the strictest truth and sincerity, declare, that I often heard our people call out to

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 96.

† These were Captain Robert Stewart of Arshiel's battalion; Captain Archibald Macdonald of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindevra; and Ensign James Cameron of Lochiel's regiment.

‡ Account published by the Highland army.—Kirkconnel MS.

§ Caledonian Mercury, 25th September, 1745.

the soldiers if they wanted quarter; and we, the officers, exerted our utmost pains to protect the soldiers from their first fury, when either through their stubbornness or want of language they did not cry for quarters, and I observed some of our private men run to Port Seton for ale and other liquors to support the wounded. And as one proof for all, to my own particular observation, I saw a Highlander supporting a poor wounded soldier by the arms till he should \* \* \* \* and afterwards carry him on his back into his house, and left him a sixpence at parting."\*

In their attentions to the wounded, the Highlanders had a powerful example in Charles himself, who not only issued orders for taking care of the wounded, but also remained on the field of battle till mid-day to see that his orders were fulfilled. Finding the few surgeons he had carried along with him inadequate to meet the demands of the wounded, he despatched one of his officers to Edinburgh to bring out all the surgeons, who accordingly instantly repaired to the field of battle. As the Highlanders felt an aversion to bury the dead, and as the country people could not be prevailed upon to assist in the care of the wounded,† Charles experienced great obstacles in carrying through his humane intentions. Writing to his father, on the evening of the battle, he thus alludes to them: "Tis hard my victory should put me under new difficulties which I did not feel before, and yet this is the case. I am charged both with the care of my friends and enemies. Those who should bury the dead are run away, as if it were no business of theirs. My Highlanders think it beneath them to do it, and the country people are fled away. However, I am determined to try if I can get people for money to undertake it, for I cannot bear the thought of suffering Englishmen to rot above the ground. I am in great difficulties how I shall dispose of my wounded prisoners. If I make a hospital of the church, it will be lookt upon as a great profanation, and of having violated my manifesto, in which I promised to violate no man's property. If the magistrates would act, they would help me out of this difficulty. Come what will, I am resolved not to let the poor wounded men lye in the streets, and if I can do no better, I will make a hospital of the palace and leave it to them."‡

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 491.

† Lord George Murray says, that when traversing the field of battle in the afternoon, he observed that some of Cope's men, "who were the worst wounded, had not been carried to houses to be dressed; and though there were several of the country people of that neighbourhood looking at them, I could not prevail with them to carry them to houses, but got some of our people to do it."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42.

‡ All the wounded privates of both armies were carried to the different villages adjoining the field of battle. Those of Cope's officers who were dangerously wounded were lodged in Colonel Gardiner's house, where surgeons attended them. In the evening, the remainder, (who had given their parole,) accompanied by Lord George Murray, went to Musselburgh, where a house had been provided for their reception. Some of them walked, but others, who were unable to do so, had horses provided for them by his lordship. The house into which they were put was newly finished, and had neither table,



When congratulating themselves on the victory they had obtained, the Highlanders related to each other what they had done or seen. Instances were given of individual prowess which might appear incredible, were it not well-known that when fear seizes an army all confidence in themselves or their numbers is completely destroyed. On this occasion "the panic-terror of the English surpassed all imagination. They threw down their arms that they might run with more speed, thus depriving themselves by their fears of the only means of arresting the vengeance of the Highlanders. Of so many, in a condition from their numbers to preserve order in their retreat, not one thought of defending himself. Terror had taken entire possession of their minds." \* Of the cases mentioned, one was that of a young Highlander about fourteen years of age, scarcely formed, who was presented to the prince as a prodigy, having, it was said, killed fourteen of the enemy. Charles asking him if this was true, he replied, "I do not know if I killed them, but I brought fourteen soldiers to the ground with my sword." Another instance was that of a Highlander, who brought ten soldiers, whom he had made prisoners, to the prince, driving them before him like a flock of sheep. With unexampled rashness, he had pursued a party of Cope's men to some distance from the field of battle, along a road between two inclosures, and striking down the hindermost man of the party with a blow of his sword, called aloud at the same time, "Down with your arms." The soldiers, terror-struck, complied with the order without looking behind them; and the Highlander, with a pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, made them do as he pleased. Yet, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, these were "the same English soldiers who had distinguished themselves at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and who might justly be ranked amongst the bravest troops of Europe." †

bed, chair, nor grate in it. Lord George caused some new thrashed straw to be purchased for beds, and the officers on their arrival partook of a tolerable meal of cold provisions and some liquor, which his lordship had carried along with him. When about to retire, the officers entreated him not to leave them, as being without a guard, they were afraid that some of the Highlanders, who were in liquor, might come in and insult or plunder them. Lord George consented, and lay on a floor by them all night. Some of the officers, who were valetudinary, slept that night in the house of the minister. Next day, after the departure of the prince for Edinburgh, the officers had quarters provided for them in Pinkie-house. The other prisoners, privates, were quartered in Musselburgh and the gardens of Pinkie for two nights, and were afterwards removed, along with the officers, to Edinburgh. The latter were confined for a few days in Queensberry-house, when they were released on parole, and allowed to reside in the city, on condition that they should hold no communication with the castle. The privates were confined in the church and jail of the Canongate. Such of the wounded as could be removed were put into the Royal Infirmary, where great care was taken of them. One of the officers having broke his parole by going into the castle, the others were sent to Perth. The privates were removed to Logierate in Athole; and the wounded were dismissed as they recovered, on taking an oath that they should not carry arms against the prince before the 1st of January, 1747.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 42. *Lockhart Papers*, vol. ii. p. 451. *Caledonian Mercury*.

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 93.

† Ibid. p. 40



After doing every thing in his power for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and giving directions for the disposal of his prisoners, Charles partook of a small repast upon the field of battle, and thereafter proceeded to Pinkie-house, a seat of the marquis of Tweeddale, where he passed the night.\*

\* Among the traditionary and somewhat amusing anecdotes recently collected respecting the events of the "Forty-five," that told of the chaplain of the earl of Traquair is certainly incorrect. It is said that the priest attempted to take half a dozen of Cope's dragoons prisoners at Peebles, early in the forenoon of the day of the battle of Preston, and was only prevented by a zealous whig magistrate, who, sallying out of his cow-house with a dung fork in his hand, threatened to run the daring Catholic through the body if he persisted in detaining the king's men. Fortunately for the priest, he has left under his own hand a document, now among the Stuart Papers, which vindicates him from this charge, and shows, that about the time he is reported by the Peebles tradition to have been engaged in the unseemly occupation of attempting to make prisoners some of his majesty's troops, he was on the field of battle, at the distance of about twenty miles from the scene of his imagined military exploits, discharging, in all probability, the duties of his vocation among the dead and dying. The document alluded to, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix, is a letter from the Rev. James Leslie, the aforesaid chaplain, to Mr Peter Grant, agent for the Scotch catholic clergy at Rome, dated 27th May, 1752. It contains some very curious and interesting details as to the part Leslie acted in the great drama of the Rebellion.

NOTE.—As no proper numerical arrangement of the papers selected from the Stuart Archives, which are to form the Appendix to the present volume, can be conveniently made till its conclusion, a table of references to the papers alluded to in the above and subsequent notes, will be given immediately before the Appendix, by glancing at which table, the Numbers of the documents in the Appendix will be at once ascertained.

## CHAPTER IV.

Return of Charles to Holyrood-house—Revulsion in public opinion—Alarm in England—Charles resolves to remain for a time in Edinburgh—Measures to increase his army—Messengers despatched to France, and to the Highlands—Acts of sovereignty exercised by Charles—Council appointed—Blockade of the Castle of Edinburgh—Disorder in the City—Blockade removed—Exertions of Lord President Forbes in the north—Ineffectual attempt to seize him—The Chevalier joined at Edinburgh, by Lord Ogilvy, Gordon of Glenbucket, and Lord Pitsligo—Second Manifesto of Prince Charles—Proclamation against robbers—Arrival of supplies from France—Resolution of Charles to march into England—Preparations—Department of Charles at Holyrood—Declaration of the Highland army—Preparations of the Government—Riot at Perth on the King's birth-day.

IN the evening of Sunday the twenty-second September, the day after the battle of Preston or Gladsmuir, as that affair is named by the Highlanders, Charles returned to Holyroodhouse, and was received by a large concourse of the inhabitants, who had assembled round the palace, with the loudest acclamations. His return to the capital had been preceded by a large portion of his army, which, it is said, made a considerable display as it marched up the long line of street, leading from the Water-gate to the castle, amidst the din of a number of bagpipes, and carrying along with it the enemy's standards, and other trophies of victory which it had taken upon the field.

Apprehensive that the alarm, which Cope's disaster would excite in the city, might obstruct the public worship on the Sunday, Charles had sent messengers on the evening of the battle, to the dwelling-houses of the different ministers, desiring them to continue their ministrations as usual; but although the church bells were tolled at the customary hour next morning, and the congregations assembled, one only of the city clergymen appeared, all the rest having retired to the country. The minister who thus distinguished himself among his brethren on this occasion was a Mr Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church. The two clergymen of the neighbouring parish of St Cuthbert's, Messrs Macvicar and Pitcairn, also continued to preach as usual, and many inhabitants of the city went to hear them. No way dismayed by the presence of the Highland army, they continued to pray as usual for King George; and Mr Macvicar even went so far in his prayers, as to express a hope that God would take Charles to himself, and that instead of an earthly crown, he would "give him a crown of glory."

Charles is said to have laughed heartily on being informed of Mr Macvicar's concern for his spiritual welfare.\* To induce the ministers to return to their duty, the prince issued a proclamation on Monday, repeating the assurances he had so often given them, that no interruption should be given to public worship; but that, on the contrary, all concerned should be protected. This intimation, however, had no effect upon the fugitive ministers, who, to the great scandal of their flocks, deserted their charges during the whole time the Highlanders occupied the city.

In the first moments of victory, Charles felt a gleam of joy, which for a time excluded reflection; but when, after retiring from the battle-field, he began to ruminate over the events of the day, and to consider that it was British blood that had been spilt, his spirits sunk within him. "If I had obtained this victory, (says he to his father, in the letter already quoted,) over foreigners, my joy would have been complete; but as it is over Englishmen, it has thrown a damp upon it that I little imagined. The men I have defeated were your majesty's enemies, it is true, but they might have become your friends and dutiful subjects when they had got their eyes opened to see the true interest of their country, which you mean to save, not to destroy." For these reasons he was unwilling that the victory should be celebrated by any public manifestation, and on being informed that many of the inhabitants of Edinburgh intended to testify their joy on the occasion by some public acts, the prince, in the same proclamation which enjoined the clergymen to return to their charges, prohibited "any outward demonstrations of public joy."

The news of the prince's victory was received every where, by the Jacobites, with the most unbounded delight. Unable any longer to conceal their real sentiments, they now publicly avowed them, and like their predecessors, the cavaliers, indulged in deep potations to the health of "the king" and the prince. But this enthusiasm was not confined to the Jacobites alone. Many persons whose political creed was formerly doubtful, now declared unequivocally in favour of the cause of the prince; whilst others, whose sentiments were formerly in favour of the government, openly declared themselves converts to an order of things which they now considered inevitable. In short, throughout the whole of Scotland the tide of public opinion was completely changed in favour of the Stuarts. The fair sex, who in all civilized countries exercise an almost unlimited sway in matters where the affections are concerned, displayed an ardent attachment to the person and cause of the prince, and contributed not a little to bring about the change in public feeling al-

\* After praying that God would "bless the king," Mr Macvicar added, "thou knowest what king I mean. May the crown sit long easy on his head, &c. And for this man, (Prince Charles,) that is come amongst us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech thee, in mercy, to take him to thyself, and give him a crown of glory."—*Ray's Complete History of the Rebellion*, p. 45.

luded to. Duncan Forbes has well described this strong revolution in public feeling. "All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad; all doubtful people became Jacobites; and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked of nothing but hereditary rights and victory; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young Adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him in the most intemperate manner."\*

In England the news of the prince's victory created a panic, the effect of which was a run upon the bank, which would have been fatal to that establishment, had not the principal merchants entered into an association to support public credit by receiving the notes of the bank in payment.† Scotchmen were every where looked upon with distrust by their southern neighbours, and the most severe reflections were indulged in against the Scottish nation. Sir Andrew Mitchell, writing to President Forbes, notices with deep regret this feeling against his countrymen: "The ruin of my country, and the disgrace and shame to which it is, and will continue to be, exposed, have affected me to that degree, that I am hardly master of myself. Already every man of our country is looked on as a traitor, as one secretly inclined to the Pretender, and waiting but an opportunity to declare. The guilty and the innocent are confounded together, and the crimes of a few imputed to the whole nation."‡ Again, "I need not describe to you the effects the surrender of Edinburgh, and the progress the rebels made, had upon this country. I wish I could say that they were confined to the lower sort of people; but I must fairly own that their betters were as much touched as they. The reflections were national; and it was too publicly said that all Scotland were Jacobites; the numbers of the rebels and their adherents were magnified for this purpose: and he that in the least diminished them, was called a *secret Jacobite*."§

Elated by the news of the victory of Gladsmuir, a party of armed Highlanders entered Aberdeen on the twenty-fifth of September, seized James Morison, junior, the provost, and carrying him to the cross, held their drawn swords over his head till they proclaimed the Chevalier de St George. They then requested him to drink the health of "the king," but having refused to do so, they threw a glass of wine into his breast. Not wishing to have his loyalty put a second time to such a severe test, the provost left the city, not thinking himself safe, as he observes, "in the way of those who had used him in so unreasonable and odd a manner."||

With the exception of the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and a few insignificant forts, the whole of Scotland may be said to have been now in possession of the victor. Having no longer an enemy to combat in North Britain, Charles turned his eyes to England; but against the

•Culloden Papers, p. 250. †Ibid. p. 227. ‡Ibid. p. 426. §Ibid. p. 253. ||Ibid. p. 420.

design which he appears to have contemplated, of an immediate march into that kingdom, several very serious objections occurred. If the prince could have calculated on a general rising in England in his favour, his advance into that kingdom with a victorious army, before the government recovered from the consternation into which it had been thrown by the recent victory, would have been a wise course of policy; but it would have been extremely rash, without an absolute assurance of extensive support from the friends of the cause in England, to have entered that kingdom with the small army which fought at Gladsmuir, and which, instead of increasing, was daily diminishing, by the return of some of the Highlanders to their homes, according to custom, with the spoils they had collected. There were indeed, among the more enthusiastic of the prince's advisers, some persons who advocated an immediate incursion into England; but by far the greater part thought the army too small for such an undertaking,—that although the success which had attended their arms would certainly engage a number of friends, who either had not hitherto had an opportunity of joining, or had delayed doing so, because they saw little or no appearance of success, yet it was prudent to wait for such aid,—that French succours might now be depended upon, since the prince had given convincing proofs of his having a party in Scotland,—that, at any rate, it was better to remain some little time at Edinburgh, till they saw what prospects there were of success, and that in the mean time the army would be getting stronger by reinforcements which were expected from the north, and would be better modelled and accoutred. The latter opinion prevailed, and Charles resolved to make some stay in Edinburgh.\*

Alluding to this resolution, Mr Maxwell observes, "Those who judge of things only by the event, will condemn this measure, and decide positively that if the prince had marched on from the field of battle, he would have carried all before him. As the prince's affairs were ruined in the end, it is natural to wish he had done any thing else than what he did. Things could hardly have turned out worse, and there was a possibility of succeeding. But to judge fairly of the matter, we must have no regard to what happened, but consider what was the most likely to happen. The prince had but three thousand men at the battle, where he had one hundred at least killed and wounded. He might reckon upon losing some hundreds more, who would go home with the booty they had got, so that he could not reckon upon more than two thousand five hundred men to follow him into England, where he had no intelligence, nor hopes of being joined, nor resource in case of a misfortune. But what would the world have said of such an attempt had it miscarried?†"

According to the Chevalier Johnstone,‡ the prince was advised by his friends, that as the whole of the towns of Scotland had been obliged to

\* Kirkconnel MS.    † Ibid.    ‡ Memoirs, p. 45.



recognise him as regent of the kingdom, in the absence of his father, his chief object should be to endeavour by every possible means to secure himself in the government of Scotland; and to defend himself against the English armies, which would be sent against him, without attempting for the present to extend his views to England. There were others who strongly advised Charles to annul the union between Scotland and England, as an act made during the usurpation of Queen Anne, by a cabal of a few Scotch peers, and to summon a Scottish parliament, to meet at Edinburgh, to impose taxes in a legal manner, and obtain supplies for his army. This party assured the prince that these steps would give great pleasure to all Scotland, and that the tendency of them would be to renew the ancient discord between the two countries, and that the war would thereby be made national: they informed him, that, so far from being prepared to run an immense risk, for the sake of acquiring England, they wished for nothing more than to see him seated on the throne of Scotland. As the chief object of his ambition, however, was to obtain the crown of England, he rejected the proposal made to him, to confine his views to Scotland.

As soon as it was determined to remain in Scotland till the army should be reinforced, every measure was adopted that could tend to increase it. Letters were despatched to the Highlands, and other parts of Scotland, containing the news of the victory, and urging immediate aid; and messengers were sent to France to represent the state of the prince's affairs, and to solicit succours from that court. Officers were appointed to beat up for recruits, and every inducement was held out to the prisoners taken at Preston to join the insurgents. Many of these, accordingly, enlisted into the prince's army, and were of considerable service in drilling recruits, but before the Highland army left Edinburgh, almost the whole of them had deserted, and joined their former companions at Berwick.\* The principal person selected by Charles to go to the Highlands, on the present occasion, was Mr Alexander Macleod, a gentleman of the Scottish bar, who carried along with him a paper of instructions, dated the twenty-fourth day of September, and signed by secretary Murray.† By these instructions, Macleod was directed forthwith to proceed to the isle of Skye, to assure Sir Alexander Macdonald, and the laird of Macleod, and other gentlemen of their names, that the prince did not impute their not having hitherto joined him, to any failure of loyalty or zeal on their part, for his father's cause; but to the private manner in which he had arrived in Scotland, which was from a desire to restore his royal father without foreign assistance—that he was ready still to receive them with the same affection he would have welcomed them, had they joined him on his landing,—and that as they well knew the dispositions of the Highlanders, and their inclination to return home after a battle, they would be sensible how necessary it was to re-

\* Kirkcconnel MS.—Home, vol. iii. p. 95.

Appendix to Home's works, No. xxvii. vol. iii. p. 310.

cruit the army with a strong body of men from their country. After giving them these assurances, Macleod was directed to require of these chiefs to repair with all possible speed with their men to Edinburgh, where they should be furnished with arms. In case they were found refractory, Macleod was directed to use all proper means with the gentlemen of their different families, to bring them to the field with as many followers as possible.—that to encourage them to take up arms, he was to acquaint them that the prince had received undoubted assurances of support, from France and Spain,—that the Earl Marischal was expected to land in Scotland with a body of troops,—that the duke of Ormond was also expected in England, with the Irish brigade, and a large quantity of arms, ammunition, and money,—and that before passing the Forth, he had received letters from the Spanish ministry, and the duke of Bouillon, containing positive assurances of aid. In conclusion, Macleod was ordered to assure these gentlemen that the encouragement and favour which would be shown them, if they joined the prince's standard, would be in proportion to their loyalty and the backwardness of their chiefs. He was likewise directed to send for the chief of Mackinnon, and to tell him that the prince was much surprised that one who had given such solemn assurances, as Mackinnon had done, to join him, with all the men he could collect, should have failed in his promise. As Macleod of Swordland, in Glenelg, who had visited the prince in Glenfinnin, had there engaged to seize the fort of Bernera, and to join Charles with a hundred men, whether his chief joined or not, the messenger was instructed to ask him why he had not fulfilled his engagement. The result of this mission will be subsequently noticed.

Seated in the palace of his ancestors, Charles, as Prince Regent, continued to discharge the functions of royalty, by exercising every act of sovereignty, with this difference only between him and his rival in St James's, that while King George could only raise troops and levy money by act of parliament, Charles, by his own authority, not only ordered regiments to be raised for his service, and troops of horse-guards to be levied for the defence of his person, but also imposed taxes at pleasure. To give eclat to his proceedings, and to impress upon the minds of the people, by external acts, the appearances of royalty, he held a levee every morning in Holyrood-house, and appointed a council which met every morning at ten o'clock, after the levee was over. This council comprised the duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray, the lieutenant-generals of the army, O'Sullivan, the quarter-master-general, Lord Pitsligo, Lord Elcho, Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and all the Highland chiefs.\*

As nothing could injure his cause more in the eyes of the people than acts of oppression on the part of his troops, one of Charles's first acts after his return to Edinburgh, was to issue an edict granting protection

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 99.

to the inhabitants of the city and the vicinity, in their persons and properties; but farmers, living within five miles of Edinburgh, were required, before being entitled to the protection, to appear at the secretary's office, in Holyrood-house, and grant bond that they should be ready, on twelve hours' notice, to furnish the prince with horses for carrying the baggage of his army to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or a similar distance, according to their plowgates. By another proclamation put forth the same day, viz. the twenty-third of September, he denounced death or such other punishment as a court-martial should order to be inflicted on any soldier or person connected with his army, who should be guilty of forcibly taking from "the good people of Edinburgh," or of the country, any of their goods without a fair equivalent to the satisfaction of the parties. These orders were in general scrupulously attended to, though, in some instances, irregularities were committed, under the pretence of searching for arms. The greater part, however, were the acts of persons, who, though they wore the white cockade, did not belong to the army.

Besides the clergymen of the city, a considerable number of the volunteers had deserted their homes in dread of punishment for having taken up arms. To induce these, as well as the ministers of the city, to return, Charles issued a proclamation on the twenty-fourth day of September, granting a full pardon to all or such of them, as should, within twenty days after the publication thereof, present themselves to Secretary Murray, or to any other member of the council, at Holyrood-house, or at such other place as the prince might be at the time. A few volunteers only took advantage of this offer.

When the Highland army first approached to the city, the directors of the two banks then existing, had removed all their money and notes to the castle, under the apprehension that the prince would appropriate them to his own use. As great inconvenience was felt in the city by the removal of the banks, Charles issued a proclamation on the twenty-fifth of September, in which, after disclaiming any intention to seize the funds belonging to the banks, he invited them to resume their business in the city; and he pledged himself to protect them, that the money lodged in the banks should be free from any exactions on his part; and that he himself would contribute to the re-establishment of public credit, by receiving and issuing the notes of the banks in payment. The banks, however, declined to avail themselves of the prince's offer; but when applied to for money in exchange for a large quantity of their notes in possession of the Highland army, the directors answered the demand.

As the wants of his army were great, the next object of the prince's solicitude was to provide against them. Anxious as he was to conciliate all classes of the people, he had no alternative on the present occasion, but to assess the burghs of Scotland, in sums proportionate to the duties of excise, drawn from them respectively. He accordingly sent letters, dated the thirtieth of September, to all the chief magistrates

of the burghs, ordering them, under the pain of rebellion, to repair, upon receipt, to Holyrood-house, to get the contributions to be paid by their respective burghs ascertained, and for repayment of which, he promised to assign the duties of excise. For immediate use, he compelled the city of Edinburgh, on pain of military execution, to furnish his army with a thousand tents, two thousand targets, six thousand pair of shoes, and other articles, to the value of upwards of fifteen thousand pounds, to liquidate which, a tax of two shillings and sixpence was laid on every pound of the real rent of houses within the city, and in the Canongate and Leith. From the city of Glasgow he demanded fifteen thousand pounds, a sum which was compromised by a prompt payment of five thousand five hundred pounds. Simultaneous with the letters to the chief magistrates, the prince also despatched letters to the collectors of the land-tax, to the collectors and comptrollers of the customs and excise, and to the factors upon the estates forfeited in the former insurrection, requiring all of them, upon receipt, to repair to Holyrood-house with their books, and to pay such balances as might appear upon examination to be in their hands,—the first and last classes, under the pain of rebellion and military execution, and the second class, besides the last-mentioned penalty, under the pain of high-treason. Charles, at same time, seized all the smuggled goods in the custom-houses of Leith and other sea-ports, which being sold, yielded him seven thousand pounds. Besides the exactions from public bodies, he compelled several of the nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh to supply him with considerable quantities of hay and oats. Parties of Highlanders were sent to the seats of the dukes of Hamilton and Douglas, and the earl of Hoptoun, who carried off arms and horses. From the last mentioned noblemen they took nearly a hundred horses.\*

For some days after the Highlanders resumed possession of Edinburgh, a sort of tacit understanding existed between the garrison and them, under which the communication between the castle and the city continued open. A guard of Highlanders was posted at the Weigh-house, an old square building, which stood at the head of West-bow, at the distance of a few hundred yards from the fortress. This guard allowed provisions of every description to pass, particularly for the use of the officers; and matters might have remained for sometime in this quiescent state, to the great comfort of the inhabitants, had not the garrison one night, most unaccountably fired off some cannon and small arms in the direction of the West-port. In consequence, it is believed, of this breach of the implied armistice, orders were given to the guards, on the twenty-ninth of September, to block up all the avenues leading to the castle, and allow no person to pass. On being made acquainted with this order, General Guest sent a letter, in the evening, addressed to the lord Provost, intimating, that unless the communication between the castle and the city was renewed, and

\* Marchant's History of the Rebellion, p. 113.—Boyse, p. 91.



the blockade removed, he would be obliged to dislodge the Highland guards with his cannon, and bombard the city. Nothing could be more unreasonable and absurd than this threat. Though willing, the citizens had it not in their power, either to keep up the communication with the castle, or to take off the blockade, and though they were as unable to remove the Highlanders from the city "as to remove the city itself out of its seat,"\* or prevent them from acting as they pleased; yet the citizens would be the only sufferers in the event of a bombardment; for the Highlanders, if the city were destroyed, would only be obliged to change their quarters, and neither the destruction of the one, nor the removal of the other, could be of any service to the castle. These views were represented to the governor by a deputation from the city; but Guest remained inflexible, and pleaded in his justification a peremptory order, which he said he had received from the king himself, which left him no discretion. At the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants, Guest was prevailed upon to grant a respite for one night. Next morning, six deputies waited on the prince, at the palace, with General Guest's letter, which was in reality intended for him. After perusing the letter, Charles returned an answer immediately to the deputies in writing, in which he expressed surprise at the barbarity of the orders from the castle, at a time when it was admitted, that the garrison had six weeks provisions on hand,—that, in pleading, as Guest had done, the directions of "the Elector of Hanover," as an excuse, it was evident, that the Elector did not consider the inhabitants of Edinburgh as his subjects, otherwise he would not have made a demand upon them, which they could not fulfil,—and that, should he, the prince, out of compassion to the citizens, comply with the extravagant demand now made, he might as well quit the city at once, and abandon all the advantages he had obtained,—that, if any mischief should befall the city, he would take particular care to indemnify the inhabitants for their loss,—and that, in the meantime, if forced by the threatened barbarity, he would make reprisals upon the estates of the officers in the castle, and also upon all who were "known to be open abettors of the German government."

This letter was laid before a meeting of the inhabitants, who sent deputies with it to General Guest. After some altercation he agreed to suspend hostilities till the return of an express from London, on condition that the Highland army should, in the mean time, make no attempt upon the castle. This condition was, however, infringed by the Highlanders, who, on the following day, discharged some musket shots with the intention, it is supposed, of frightening some persons who were carrying up provisions to the castle. General Guest, considering that he was no longer restrained from executing his threat, immediately opened a fire upon the guard stationed at the Weigh-house, by which some houses were damaged and two persons wounded. Charles retaliated by issuing a proclamation next day, in which, after stating his resolu-



tion, that no communication should exist between the castle and the city, during his residence in the capital, he prohibited all correspondence with the castle, under pain of death. This proclamation was followed by an order to strengthen the blockade, by posting additional guards at several places about the castle. To revenge this step the garrison fired at every Highlander they could discover from the battlements, and, by this reckless proceeding, killed and wounded several of the inhabitants. A daring exploit was performed at the same time by a soldier, who slipped down from the castle, set fire to a house in Livingston's yards, where a guard was posted, and after shooting one of the guards dead upon the spot, returned safe to the fortress. Shortly after this occurrence a party sallied out from the castle, killed some of the guards stationed at the same place, took an officer and a few prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

Meanwhile General Guest sent a message to the city, intimating that he meant to demolish the houses where the guards were posted, but that care would be taken to do as little damage as possible to the city. Accordingly, on the fourth of October, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a cannonade was opened from the half-moon battery, near the Castle-gate, which was kept up till the evening. When it grew dark the garrison made a sally, and set fire to a foundery and a house on the Castle-hill which had been deserted. They then dug a trench fourteen feet broad, and sixteen feet deep, across the Castle-hill, about half-way between the gate and the houses on the Castle-hill, and along the parapet made by the earth taken from the trench on the side next the castle, they posted two hundred men, who discharged some cartridge shot down the street, which killed some, and wounded others of the inhabitants. The bombardment was resumed next day, with more disastrous effect. No person could with safety appear on the High-street, as the shots from the Castle-hill penetrated as far down as the head of the old Flesh-market close, and shattered several houses. At first, some of the better informed among the citizens were disposed to regard the threat of a bombardment as a mere device to induce the prince to discontinue the blockade, as they could not bring themselves to believe that the government could have been guilty of issuing the barbarous order alluded to by the governor of the castle; but the inhabitants in general entertained more correct views, and before the cannonade commenced, the streets were crowded with women and children running towards the gates, in great confusion, while many of the citizens were to be seen carrying their most valuable effects out of the city. During the two days that the cannonade lasted, viz. the fourth and fifth of October, the utmost dismay prevailed among the inhabitants, and multitudes of them left the city, without knowing whither to flee or where to look for shelter. Amid the general confusion, some of the inhabitants lost part of their most valuable effects, and so great was the alarm that the streets were entirely deserted by the inhabitants who still remained in the city.

To put an end to this disastrous state of affairs, Charles issued a proclamation on the evening of the fifth of October, removing the blockade. In this document he stated that it was with the greatest regret that he was hourly informed of the many murders which were committed upon the innocent inhabitants of the city, by the inhuman commanders and garrison of the castle, a practice contrary, he observed, to all the laws of war, to the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders which the government, it was alleged, had given upon the occasion,—that he might have, as he had threatened, justly chastised those who had been instrumental in the ruin of the capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of the supporters of the government; but as he thought it noways derogatory to the glory of a prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, if, by such a course, he could save the lives of innocent men, he had allowed his humanity to yield to the barbarity of the common enemy. This proclamation was followed by a cessation of the cannonade; but the garrison still continued to fire occasionally at the Highlanders whenever they made their appearance in the neighbourhood of the castle.

The object of Guest, according to Mr Home, in thus annoying the town, and provoking the Highlanders, was not to secure a supply of provisions, of which he had already an abundance, but to prevent them from marching into England, by keeping them occupied in the siege of the castle. To deceive Charles, he wrote in the beginning of the week following the battle of Preston, several letters to the duke of Newcastle, one of the secretaries of state, acquainting him that there was but a very small stock of provisions in the castle of Edinburgh,—that he would be obliged to surrender, if not immediately relieved, and recommending that any troops sent to his relief, should be forwarded by sea, to Berwick or Newcastle, for the sake of despatch. These letters, which were intended for the perusal of Charles, were sent so that they might fall into his hands; but lest any of them might find their way to London, Guest sent a letter to the duke of Newcastle, by a sure conveyance, giving him an account of the real state of the garrison, and informing him of the deception he was endeavouring to practise upon the Highlanders.\* This statement is at variance with the information communicated to a modern writer, that Guest and all his officers were for capitulating after the battle of Preston, and would have surrendered the castle, had not General George Preston of Valleyfield, who had been superseded in the command of the garrison by Guest, objected to the proposal, and resumed, with the consent of Guest, the command of the fortress.† But this information seems of doubtful accuracy, for it is scarcely possible that a circumstance, of which all the officers were cognisant, could have remained so long concealed from the public.

Whilst the adherents of Charles in the Highlands and the northern

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 162. † Constable's Miscellany, xv. notes, chap. xv.—2.

Lowlands were exerting all their energies to collect reinforcements, Lord-president Forbes was using all his influence to prevent the chiefs of doubtful loyalty from committing themselves with the government. To induce them to arm in its support after the success which had attended the prince's arms, was what he could scarcely have expected; but by persuasion, and by pointing out in forcible terms the ruin which would befall them and their families, should the prince fail in his enterprise, he succeeded in making them at first to waver, and finally to abandon any design they may have entertained, of joining the prince. Among others who appear to have vacillated between two opinions, and in their perplexity to have alternately changed their minds, was Macleod of Macleod. This chief, influenced probably by the solicitations of his clansman, who had been sent to him on the mission before alluded to, attended a meeting of gentlemen of the name of Fraser, convened by Lord Lovat at Beaufort, or Castle Downie, as that seat of the chief of the Frasers was sometimes called, on Friday the fourth of October, and was despatched the following day to Skye, having engaged to join the Frasers with his men at Corryarrack on the fifteenth; \* but on advising with his friend Sir Alexander Macdonald, he resolved to stay at home.†

In neutralizing the efforts of the disaffected clans, and dissuading others of doubtful loyalty from joining the ranks of the insurgents, President Forbes had difficulties to contend with, which few men could have overcome; but which he finally surmounted by that firmness, zeal, and indomitable perseverance, which distinguished him among all his political contemporaries. At its commencement, Forbes treated the insurrection very lightly. Before his departure for the north, he considered the prospect of affairs very flattering, and that the object of his journey had no appearance of difficulty; but the alteration in public feeling, consequent on the battle of Preston, changed the scene. Instead of finding the ready support he anticipated from the professed adherents of the government, he saw himself, to use his own words, "almost alone, without troops, without arms, without money or credit; provided with no means to prevent extreme folly, except pen and ink, a tongue and some reputation; and, if you will except Macleod, whom I sent for from the isle of Skye, supported by nobody of common sense or courage."‡ The successes of the insurgents had, he observes, "blown up the spirit of mutiny to such a pitch, that nothing was heard of but caballing, and gathering together of men in the neighbourhood: every petty head of a tribe, who was in any degree tinged with Jacobitism, or desperate in his circumstances, assembled his kindred, and made use of the most mutinous, to drag the most peaceable out of their beds, and to force others to list by threatening destruction to their cattle and other effects; whilst we were unable to give them any assistance

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 313. † Lovat's Trial, p. 138. ‡ Culloden Papers, p. 250.

or protection." \* Exasperated at the president for the exertions he made to obstruct the designs of the disaffected, a plan was formed for seizing him by some of the Frasers, a party of whom, amounting to about two hundred men, accordingly made an attack upon the house of Culloden during the night between the fifteenth and sixteenth of October; but the president being upon his guard, they were repulsed.† The apprehension of such an important personage would have been of greater service to the Jacobite cause than the gaining of a battle.

Confiding in the loyalty and discretion of President Forbes, the ministry had, at the suggestion of the earl of Stair, sent down to the president, early in September, twenty commissions, for raising as many independent companies in the Highlands for the service of the government. The names of the officers were left blank in the commissions, that the president might distribute them among such of the well-affected clans as he might think proper. The plan which his lordship laid down for himself, in disposing of these commissions, was to distribute them among the clans who adhered to the government in the former insurrection, without neglecting such other clans, who, though then opposed to the government, had, on the present occasion, shown an unwillingness to join the Jacobite standard. To raise the companies, which were fixed at a hundred men each, as quickly as possible, the president resolved to leave the nomination of the officers to the chiefs of the clans, out of whom they were to be raised.‡ He accordingly despatched letters to the earls of Sutherland and Cromarty, Lords Reay and Fortrose, Sir Alexander Macdonald, the lairds of Macleod and Grant, and other chiefs, requesting each of them to raise a company out of their respective clans, most of whom accordingly proceeded to enrol their men; but from the want of money and arms, only two companies were completed before the end of October, and several months expired before the whole were fully formed and drawn together.§

\* Culloden Papers, p. 216.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. p. 401.

§ The following is a list of the officers of eighteen of the independent companies, being the whole number raised, with the dates of the delivery of their commissions on the completion of their companies, and of their arrival at Inverness:

<i>Captains.</i>	<i>Lieutenants.</i>	<i>Ensigns.</i>	<i>Dates of completing the companies, and of their arrival at Inverness.</i>	
1 George Monro	Adam Gordon	Hugh Monro	1745, Oct.	23d
2 Alexander Gun	John Gordon	Kenneth Sutherland	— —	25th
3 Patrick Grant	William Grant	James Grant	— Nov.	3d
4 George Mackay	John Mackay	James Mackay	— —	4th
5 Peter Sutherland	William Mackay	John Mackay	— —	8th
6 John Macleod	Alexander Macleod	John Macaskill	— —	15h
7 Normand Macleod } of Waterstein	Donald Macleod	John Macleod	— —	—
8 Normand Macleod } of Bernera				
9 Donald Macdonald	William Macleod	Donald Macleod	— —	—
10 William Mackintosh	Kenneth Mathison	William Baillie	— —	18th
11 Hugh Macleod	George Monro	Roderick Macleod	— —	28th



If the majority of the people of Scotland had been favourably disposed to the cause of the Stuarts, they had now an opportunity of displaying their attachment to the representative of their ancient monarchs, by declaring for the prince; but Charles soon found that, with the exception of the Highlands, and a few districts north of the Tay, where catholicity and non-juring episcopacy still retained a footing, the rest of Scotland was not disposed to join a contest for legitimacy, which they might imagine would not, if successful, strengthen the liberties of the nation, and might possibly impair them. The regular line of hereditary succession had been departed from, and it did not seem wise after a trial of fifty-seven years, during which period the political frame and texture of society had undergone a complete revolution, to place the succession on its original footing, by restoring the son of James the Second. The Jacobites, however, imbued with ideas of indefeasible hereditary right, were deaf to every argument founded on expediency or the will of the nation, and contended that every departure from the direct line of succession was an usurpation, and contrary to the divine law. No sovereign was, therefore, held by them as legitimate, while there existed a nearer heir to the crown in the direct line of succession; but they did not reflect that, upon this principle, there was scarcely a legitimate sovereign in Europe.\*

Among the Lowland Jacobites who displayed the greatest zeal on the present occasion, was Lord Ogilvy, eldest son of the earl of Airly, who joined the prince at Edinburgh on the third of October with a regiment of six hundred men, chiefly from the county of Forfar, where his father's estates were situated. Most of the officers of the regiment were either of the Airly family, or bore the name of Ogilvy. Lord

12	Alexander Mackenzie	John Mathison	Simon Murchison	1745, Dec. 20th
13	Colin Mackenzie of Hilton	Alexander Campbell	John Macrae	— — —
14	James Macdonald		James Macdonald	— — 31st
15	John Macdonald	Allan Macdonald	Donald Macdonald	— — —
16	Hugh Mackay	John Mackay	Angus Mackay	1746, Jan. 6th
17	William Ross	Charles Ross	David Ross	— — 8th
18	Colin Mackenzie	Donald Mackaulay	Kenneth Mackenzie	— Feb. 2d

*Culloden Papers.*

- 1 The Monros.
- 2 and 5 The earl of Sutherland's men.
- 3 The Grants.
- 4 and 16 The Mackays.
- 6, 7, 8, and 9 The Macleods, under the laird of Macleod.
- 10 A company raised in the town of Inverness.
- 11 The Macleods of Assint, raised by Captain Macleod of Geanies.
- 12 and 13 The Mackenzies of Kintail.
- 14 and 15 The Macdonalds of Skye.
- 17 The Rosses.
- 18 The Mackenzies of Lewis.

\* A venerable and highly estimable representative of one of the most respectable Jacobite families in the kingdom, in a recent conversation, assured the writer that this view of the question had cured him of Jacobitism.



Ogilvy was followed by old Gordon of Glenbucket, an equally zealous supporter of the Stuarts, who arrived at Edinburgh next day with a body of four hundred men, which he had collected in Strathdon, Strathaven, Glenlivet, and Auchindoun. Glenbucket had been a major-general in Mar's army, in seventeen hundred and fifteen; but he now contented himself with the colonelcy of the regiment he had just raised, of which he made his eldest son lieutenant-colonel, and his younger sons captains, while the other commissions were held by his relations or personal friends. On the ninth of October, Lord Pitsligo also joined the prince. He was accompanied by a considerable number of gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with their servants, all well armed and mounted. These formed an excellent corps of cavalry. He also brought with him a small body of infantry. Lord Pitsligo, though possessed of a moderate fortune, had great influence with the gentlemen of the counties above named, by whom he was beloved and greatly esteemed, and having great reliance on his judgment and discretion, they did not hesitate, when he declared himself in favour of the prince, to put themselves under his command.\*

Having been informed that there were many persons, who, from infirmity and other causes, were unable to join him, but were disposed to assist him with money, horses, and arms, the Chevalier issued a proclamation on the eighth day of October, calling upon all such persons to send such supplies to his secretary, at Holyrood-house, or to such other place as he might happen to be at the time; and as an order had been issued, summoning the parliament to meet on the seventeenth, he, by another proclamation dated the ninth, prohibited all peers and commoners from paying obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either house, in case they should meet.

On the tenth of October, Charles issued a second manifesto of a very spirited nature. It was of the following tenor:—"As soon as we, conducted by the providence of God, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our royal father's faithful subjects, our first care was to make public his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large powers by him vested in us, in quality of regent, we also emitted our own manifesto, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of Scotland. Now that it has pleased God so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us master of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his majesty's subjects, of what nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

"We, therefore, hereby, in his majesty's name, declare, that his sole intention is to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their

religion, laws, and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken, in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the enjoyment of those which are respectively, at present, established among them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and if it shall be deemed proper that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise in his name, that he shall pass any law that his parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

“In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father’s intentions, we must further declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful government, no body can disown, no more than it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a just prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

“Furthermore, we here, in his name, declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of parliament since the Revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the two nations, the king cannot possibly ratify it, since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the principal point then in view, was the exclusion of the royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about; but what ever may be hereafter advised for the joint benefit of both nations, the king will most readily comply with the request of his parliaments to establish.

“And now that we have, in his majesty’s name, given you the most ample security for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a British sovereign can grant, we hereby, for ourselves, as heir-apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian, and the honour of a prince.

“Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father’s subjects, and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling the cloud, which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace

an odious religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

“I, with my own money, hired a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the king, my father’s declarations, and proclaim his title, with pardon in one hand, and, in the other, liberty of conscience; and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free parliament shall propose for the happiness of the people. I have, I confess, the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has, in so remarkable a manner, protected me and my small army through the many dangers to which we were first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the king, my father’s subjects: Why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

“The reason is obvious; it is, lest the real sense of the nation’s present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outrages formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

“That my family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider, only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, why has their government been so often railed at in all your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of place-men, which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these, and many more inconveniences, must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the king, on his restoration, will refuse nothing that a free parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

“The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain appear still more vain and groundless; my expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed, when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hes-

sians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the king's subjects, is it not high time for the king, my father, to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence that he inclines to be a tributary prince rather than an independent monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He who, with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder; or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment; let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle; I will trust only to the king my father's subjects, who were, or shall be, engaged in mine and their country's cause. But notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprise to a glorious issue.

"It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection; civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party-rage never fails to produce in the minds of those whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another: I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions: this will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions."

This proclamation, like the other, began with these words: "Charles prince of Wales, &c. regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging; unto all his majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, greeting." And after being signed by Charles, was countersigned thus: "By his highness's command, J. Murray."

During Charles' stay in Edinburgh the magisterial authority was in complete abeyance, and thieves and robbers, no longer restrained by the arm of power, stalked about, in open day, following their vocation. Under pretence of searching for arms, predatory bands, wearing white cockades and the Highland dress, perambulated the country, imposing upon and robbing the people. One of the most noted of these was headed by one James Ratcliffe, the same individual who figures so conspicuously in the Heart of Mid-Lothian, and who, having spent all his life in the commission of acts of robbery, had twice received sentence of death, but had contrived to effect his escape from jail.\* To suppress these and other acts of violence, Charles issued several edicts, and in one or two instances the last penalty of the law was inflicted by his orders upon the culprits.

\* Caledonian Mercury, 11th October, 1745.



Early in October a ship from France arrived at Montrose with some arms and ammunition and a small sum of money. On board this vessel was M. de Boyer, Marques d'Equillez, who arrived at Holyrood-house on the fourteenth of October. The object of his journey was not exactly known, but his arrival was represented as a matter of great importance, and he was passed off as an ambassador from the French court. This vessel was soon followed by two others in succession, one of which brought, in addition to a supply of arms and money, some Irish officers in the service of France. The other had on board six field-pieces and a company of artillerymen. These succours, though small, were opportune, and were considered as an earnest of more substantial ones, of which d'Equillez gave the Prince the strongest assurances.\* To facilitate and shorten the conveyance of arms and cannon, and of the reinforcements still expected from the north, batteries were raised at Alloa and on the immediate opposite side of the Frith of Forth, across which these were transported without any annoyance, although the Fox, a British man-of-war, was stationed in the Frith.

The army of the Prince continued to increase by the arrival of several additional detachments from the north, and before the end of October he found that his forces amounted to nearly six thousand men; but this number was far below what Charles had expected. He had entertained hopes that by the exertions of Lord Lovat and other chiefs, whom he expected to declare in his favour, about triple that number would have been raised; but a messenger who arrived at Edinburgh from his lordship, brought him intelligence which rendered his expectations less sanguine. Lovat had calculated that he would be able to raise by his own influence a force of four or five thousand men for the service of Charles; and, the better to conceal his design, he opened a correspondence with President Forbes, in which, with his characteristic duplicity and cunning, he avowed himself a warm supporter of the government, and succeeded for a considerable time in throwing the president off his guard. By degrees, however, his real intentions began to develop themselves, and after the battle of Preston he resolved to assemble his clan for the purpose of joining the Prince. To deceive the government he compelled his son, (afterwards known as General Fraser,) a youth of eighteen who had been attending his studies at the university of St Andrews, to put himself at the head of the clan, and afterwards pretended that his son had, by this proceeding, acted in direct opposition to his orders.† The only force raised south of the Tay was a regiment of four hundred and fifty men which Colonel Roy Stewart formed in Edinburgh during the stay of the Highland army; for, although the prince was joined at Edinburgh by the earls of Kilmarnock and Kellie, Lord Balmerino, Maxwell of Kirkconnel, and other south-country gentlemen,

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Culloden Papers, p. 231—251.



they did not bring as many men along with them as would have formed the staff of a company.

Having now spent nearly six weeks in Edinburgh the prince considered that he could no longer delay his intended march into England. By postponing that measure a few days longer he might have still farther increased his force by the return of the men who had gone home after the battle, of whom he had received favourable accounts; by the accession of a body of Gordons which Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the duke of Gordon, was raising among the followers of the family; and by other small corps from the north. But it was judged that this advantage would be more than counterbalanced by other circumstances attendant upon delay. The long stay of the Highland army in Scotland had enabled the government to concentrate a considerable force in the north of England, already far superior, in point of numbers, to the prince's troops, and this force was about to receive large additions from the south and from the continent. Nothing but a dread of the Highlanders and ignorance of their real strength kept the English army, already concentrated in the north, from entering Scotland; but terrible as was the impression made upon the minds of the English troops, by the reports which had been carried to England of the prowess of the Highlanders, it was not to be supposed, that, after the arrival of large reinforcements, their commanders would remain inactive. Had the government been aware of the weakness of the prince's army after the battle of Gladsmuir, it would probably not have delayed a single week in sending an army into Scotland; but the exaggerated reports which had been every where spread, of the great strength of the Highland army, were fully credited. Attempts were made by some friends of the government, as well as by others, to ascertain their numbers; but Charles, by perpetually shifting their cantonments, and dividing them into detached bodies, not only contrived to conceal his weakness, but to impress these prying persons with an idea that he was much stronger than he really was.\*

Another reason for hastening his march south was the danger that the army might be diminished by desertion if kept in a state of inactivity. Desertions were frequent, and it was thought that nothing but an active life would put an end to a practice imputed to idleness and repose, and which allowed the men time to think on their families, and contemplate the hardships and dangers they were likely to undergo in a foreign land. But the chief motive which urged Charles and his council to put the army in motion was an apprehension that their supplies of money would be soon exhausted, in which event it would be quite impossible to keep the army together for a single day. By adhering to a declaration he had made, that he would not enforce the obnoxious malt tax; the public money, which had been collected and was still in course of

\* Kirkecomel MS.

being raised, was far from being adequate to support the army which Charles had collected; and the contributions of his friends, which at first were considerable, were now beginning to fail. The supplies which had lately been received from France were therefore very opportune; but without additional and early pecuniary succours, which, though promised, might not speedily arrive or might miscarry, it was considered that unless the exchequer was replenished in England, the abandonment of the enterprise was inevitable. For these reasons, and as the prince informed his council \* that he had received the strongest assurances of support from numbers of the English tories and Jacobites, an unanimous resolution was entered into to march forthwith into England.†

Upon this resolution being adopted, the prince despatched a messenger to France with intelligence of his intentions, and to solicit the French court to make a descent on England. As this court had all along given as its reason for not seconding the prince's designs, by sending an army into England, the doubt which it had of his having a considerable party in that country, the messenger was instructed to represent the situation of the prince's affairs in the most favourable point of view. This person, by name Alexander Gordon, a Jesuit, left Edinburgh accordingly on the twenty-eighth of October, and took shipping at Dumfries on the first of November. On arriving in France he drew up a most flattering report, which he put into the hands of the prince's brother, Henry, duke of York, then at Paris, to be laid before the French king. In this report he stated, that while the prince had about twelve thousand men with him in Edinburgh and its vicinity, there were four thousand more expected to arrive,—that he had already upwards of a thousand cavalry, and that a great number more were on their march to join him,—that almost all these troops were well armed, and were amply provided with every necessary,—and that all the inhabitants of the counties and towns where the prince had appeared, and particularly those of Edinburgh and Glasgow, had furnished the army with clothing, arms, and money, and, in short, with every thing in their power. He stated,

\* Maxwell of Kirkconnel had a very sorry opinion of the capabilities of most of the members of the council. After stating, that by degrees all the colonels of the army were admitted into it, he thus proceeds:—"I must acknowledge that very few of the members of this assembly were either able statesmen or experienced officers; but as those who knew least were generally led by the opinions of those they thought wiser than themselves, and they in their turn had private conferences with the ablest of the prince's secret friends in Edinburgh, things might have been well enough conducted had there been as much harmony and union as the importance of the affair required; but an ill-timed emulation soon crept in, and bred great dissensions and animosities. The council was insensibly divided into factions, and came to be of little use when measures were approved of or condemned, not for themselves, but for the sake of their author. These dissensions, begun at Edinburgh, continued ever after, and their fatal influence was not always confined to the council: by degrees it reached the army; and though the prince's orders were ever respected and punctually obeyed by the army, there were, nevertheless, a certain discontent and diffidence which appeared on sundry occasions, especially towards the end, and was very detrimental to his affairs."—*Kirkconnel MS.*

† *Ibid.*

that besides the Highland chiefs and the noblemen of different counties, who had declared in favour of the prince before the battle of Preston, a great number of persons of distinction had since joined him at Edinburgh, among whom he particularly enumerated Lords Nithsdale and Kenmure, and Maxwell of Kirkconnel,—that besides these there were many others, who, being unable to give their personal services, had sent the prince horses, arms, and money, and that after the prince's father had been proclaimed in the capital and the most considerable towns in Scotland, those who had formerly shown themselves least disposed to acknowledge him had displayed the most favourable dispositions towards the prince, being either subdued by the charms of his manners, or gained over by his manifestoes and proclamations. In short, that by the astonishing victory he had achieved, many persons, who would otherwise have still been in connexion with the court of London, had submitted themselves to the prince, who might be said to be now absolute master of Scotland. That with regard to England, the people of that kingdom were ready to receive the prince with open arms as soon as he should appear among them with an army supported by France,—that, independently of the general discontent of the nation with the government, the prince was emboldened to enter England by upwards of a hundred invitations which he had received from the nobility of England, and by large sums of money which he had obtained for the payment of his troops,—that the English government, alarmed at this state of things, had, as was reported, hesitated accepting offers which some counties had made of raising bodies of militia, for fear that this force would be employed against itself. In fine, that such was the disposition of men's minds throughout the whole of Great Britain, that the fear of the prince not being supported by foreign aid, of which the court of London was in great dread, alone prevented the people from openly declaring themselves, and that every person was persuaded, that for every thousand of foreign troops which the prince could bring into the field, his army would receive an accession, four times as large, from the English people, who only wanted the presence of a foreign force to encourage them to take up arms against the government.\*

The last days of October were occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the march of the Highland army ; preparatory to which, orders were issued, near the end of that month, to call in the different parties which were posted at Newhaven, Leith, and other places in the vicinity of Edinburgh. The army which, for three weeks after the battle of Preston had lain in camp at Duddingston, had, since the middle of October, been quartered in and around the city ; but on the twenty-sixth of that month the main body left Edinburgh, and encamped on

\* Vide the Report in the Appendix, and a letter which follows it, of 26th November, 1745, from Gordon to the Chevalier de St George, inclosing a copy of his report, the originals of which are among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty. For the numbers of these documents in the Appendix, see the table of references before it.

a field a little to the west of Inveresk church, with a battery of seven or eight pieces of cannon pointing to the south-west.\* Hitherto Charles, to conceal his weakness, had reviewed his army in detached portions; but he now ordered a general review of his whole force on the twenty-eighth of October. The place appointed was Leith-links; but being warned by a few bombs which were thrown from the castle as the army was approaching the ground, that he might expect some annoyance, Charles abandoned his intention, and reviewed his army on the sands between Leith and Musselburgh.†

Of the deportment of Charles, and the mode in which he spent his time during his abode at Holyrood-house, it may now be necessary to say a few words. It has been already stated on the authority of an officer in his army, whose memoirs are quoted by Mr Home, that before the meeting of his council, Charles held a levee. The same writer adds, that after the rising of the council, which generally sat very long, he dined in public with his principal officers, and that while the army lay at Duddingston he rode out there after dinner, accompanied by his life-guards.‡ The object of these visits was to keep the Highlanders together; and to show them that the change of circumstances had not altered his dispositions towards them he frequently supped and slept in the camp.§

Another writer, an eye-witness,|| says that “the prince’s court at Holyrood soon became very brilliant, and that every day from morning to night there was a vast concourse of well-dressed people. Besides the gentlemen that had joined the prince, there was a great number of ladies and gentlemen who came either from affection or curiosity. People flocked from all quarters to see the novelty of a court which had not been held in Scotland for sixty years, and from its splendour, and the air of satisfaction which appeared in every person’s countenance, one would have thought the king was already restored, and in peaceable possession of all the dominions of his ancestors, and that the prince had only made a trip to Scotland to show himself to the people, and receive their homage. The conduct of Charles corresponded in all respects with the attentions shown him. He professed the warmest attachment to Scotland, and was often heard to say, that should he succeed in his attempt, he would make Scotland his Hanover, and Holyrood-house his Herenhausen ;\*\* an expression by which he not only marked his devotion to the Scotch nation, but conveyed a severe rebuke upon King George, who was justly accused of an undue predilection for his native soil.

To mark his sense of the respect shown him, and to ingratiate himself still more with his new friends, Charles gave a series of balls and entertainments in the palace, which were attended by all the persons of rank and fashion assembled in the capital. On these occasions, the young

\* Marchant, p. 130.

§ Kirkconnel MS.

† Boyse, p. 95.

|| Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

‡ Home, vol. iii. p. 116.

\*\* Henderson, p. 92.



Chevalier appeared sometimes in an English court-dress with the blue ribbon, star, and other insignia of the order of the garter, and at other times in a Highland dress of fine silk tartan, with crimson velvet breeches, and the cross of St Andrew.\* His politeness, affability, and condescension, were the theme of universal conversation. Captivated by the charms of his conversation, the graces of his person, and the unwearied attentions which he bestowed on them, the ladies entered warmly into the prince's views; and their partizanship became so available to his cause as to attract, as we have seen, the especial attention of President Forbes. Indeed, so strong was the hold which the spirit of Jacobitism had taken of the hearts of the ladies of Edinburgh, that when afterwards overawed by the presence of an English army, they, nevertheless, continued to wear the Jacobite badge, and treated the approaches of the duke of Cumberland's officers with supercilious indifference. As Charles was almost wholly destitute of every household requisite, his female friends sent plate, china, linen, and other articles of domestic use to the palace.†

At the present stage of this history, it seems proper to record a manifesto which emanated from Charles's army on the eve of its departure for England, which, as an historical document of considerable interest, shall be given entire. It was titled, "The declaration and admonitory letter of such of the nobility, gentry, and free-born subjects of his majesty, as, under the auspicious conduct of his royal highness, Charles, prince of Wales, steward of Scotland, &c., have taken up arms in support of the cause of their king and country." And was addressed "unto those who have not as yet declared their approbation of this enterprise; and to such as have, or may hereafter, appear in arms against it."

"COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,—It is with abundance of regret, and not without indignation, that we daily hear and see this our undertaking, which in glory and disinterestedness may vie with any to be met with, either in ancient or modern history, traduced, misrepresented, and reviled in those fulsome addresses and associations made to and in favours of the Elector of Hanover, by those very bishops of the church of England, who, for so many years, have contributed their utmost endeavours to abet and support every measure the most unpopular, pernicious, and hurtful, that the worst of ministers, be he of what party he would, could ever devise for the undoing of these nations.

"Is it from such patterns of virtue and piety that the nation now must take the alarm? Are we by these old bugbears of popery, slavery, and tyranny, for ever to be hindered from pursuing our only true interest? Or, is the groundless fear of an imaginary evil to prevent our shaking off the heavy yoke we daily feel?

\* Boyse, p. 89.

† Ibid.



“What further security, in the name of God, can a people desire for the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical rights? Have not both the king and prince regent sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain the protestant religion throughout his majesty’s dominions? Nay, more, have they not promised to pass any laws which shall be thought necessary for the further security of it? Are we not protestants who now address you? And is it not by the strength of a protestant army that he must mount the throne? Can any man, or number of men, persuade you, that we, who are your brethren, born in the same island, and who have the same interest, do not love ourselves, our religion, laws and liberties, as well as you do?

“What further security can the nature of the thing admit of? You have your prince’s promises, and here you have laid before you the sentiments of his army; who, having thankfully accepted of them, are determined and resolved to set their country at liberty, by establishing that glorious plan which has been freely offered to us by the only rightful prince of the British nations; and this must be done before we sheath our swords.

“Our enemies have represented us as men of low birth and of desperate fortunes. We, who are now in arms, are, for the greatest part, of the most ancient families of this island, whose forefathers asserted the liberties of their country, long, long before the names of many of our declaimers were ever heard of. Our blood is good, and that our actions shall make appear. If our fortunes be not great, our virtue has kept them low; and desperate we may be truly called, for we are determined to conquer or die.

“The justice, therefore, of the cause we now appear for, the interest of the nation which we support and pursue, and the glorious character of our royal leader, may each by itself, or all together, abundantly convince the nation, that now at last there appears an happy and unforeseen opportunity of acquiring all those blessings which a distressed nation has been so long wishing for in vain.

“This golden opportunity we have laid hold of; and in justice to ourselves and fellow-subjects, are obliged thus to apprize them of the uprightness of our intentions in carrying into execution a scheme calculated and adapted to those principles of liberty which the true lovers of their country have been polishing and refining for these many years past.

“Perhaps you may find fault that you were not apprized of this undertaking. No more were we. God has conducted, the prince of Wales has executed; and we are thereby in possession of Scotland, and victorious over one of the Elector’s armies, which nothing could have saved from total destruction but the authority and mercy of a young conqueror, possess of all the shining virtues which can adorn a throne, and who may challenge the keenest enemy of his royal family to impute to him a vice which can blacken the character of a prince. Compare

his clemency towards all the prisoners and wounded at the battle of Gladsmuir, with the executions, imprisonments, and banishments, exercised by the German family after their success at Preston in the year 1715, and your affections will tell you who is the true father of the people.

“ We have hitherto only spoke to your interests : when his royal highness comes himself amongst you, let his appearance, his moderation, his affability, his tenderness and affection for those he can truly call his countrymen, speak to your passions ; then you who, at the instigation of your enemies, are now arming for the defence, as you imagine, of your respective communities, will be able to judge from whom you will have the best reason to expect protection. Thus far we can take upon us to promise in his highness’s name, that such as shall make no resistance to our troops, though before our arrival they may have been levying war against us, may nevertheless depend upon the most ample security for their persons and estates, provided, by a timely surrender of their arms, they put in our power to protect them against the fury of the army : and how foolish will it be, after this assurance, for any city, corporation, or county, to attempt to make head against the combined force of a whole nation, collected in a numerous army, and flushed with success ? If any misfortune, therefore, ensue from a disregard of this admonition, we of his royal highness’s army declare ourselves free of all blame therein.

“ It is time for you now, O countrymen ! to lay aside all animosities, all distinctions of families or names, and to confine your thoughts only to the interest of these kingdoms, connecting with them as you go along the sentiments you had a few years ago.

“ What transport of joy would the bulk of the British nation have felt upon a certain remarkable and never-to-be-forgotten period in our political history, (that great change of ministry which happened not long ago, when the cries of a distressed people, supported by the interest and influence of powerful, though designing men, accomplished the ruin of a mighty minister,) how great would have been your joy had you then had from the Elector of Hanover such a declaration as that emitted the tenth of this month by his royal highness, the heir and representative of our natural and only rightful sovereign ?

“ Is it possible to conceive the universal satisfaction which such a declaration would have occasioned, unless we judge of it by our fatal disappointment ?—We leave it to yourselves to make the application. As it is not our intention here to set forth the domestic grievances of the nation, nor the scandalous preference showed upon all occasions to a pitiful foreign concern ; for as we address ourselves chiefly to the friends of liberty and the constitution, we suppose you all abundantly instructed in them : nor would it serve but to lengthen this letter, to enumerate the many promises in the king’s and prince’s declarations and manifestoes to his subjects upon this occasion : we have abundantly ex-

plained our own motives for now appearing in arms, and would willingly use a little serious expostulation with you, gentlemen, who intend to oppose us.

“What then, in the name of God, do you propose to yourselves? Is it also the interest of Great Britain and Ireland? Or, is it the support of the Elector of Hanover’s family in the succession to the crown of these realms? If your armaments proceed from the first of these motives, tell us what a prince can do more to make you a free and a happy people? What security can you have more than his word and his army’s guarantee, until the nation shall have time abundantly to secure themselves by parliament?

“If you be satisfied with the promises made you, and the security of the performance, do you disapprove of this method of bringing about the execution by force of arms? If you do, be so good as suggest another equally efficacious.

“That by parliament, indeed, would have been universally the most acceptable; but we cannot be so infatuated as to remain in eternal bondage, unless a parliament, composed of hirelings, should set us at liberty; nor have we any hopes that the Elector will strip himself of that pecuniary influence by which alone he has carried, over the bellies of the nation, every destructive measure.

“On the other hand, if the dispute is to be, whether the Stuart or Hanoverian family shall reign over Great Britain, without reference to the interest of the nation, we need use no other argument than the sword with such as shall oppose us upon these principles.

“To conclude, we desire to lay this important question before you in a new light. Suppose, for it is only a supposition, that this dreadful and unnatural rebellion, as you are taught to call it, should be extinguished and quashed, and every man concerned in it executed on a scaffold; your joy, no doubt, would be very great upon so glorious an event; your addresses would then be turned into thanksgivings,—your parliament would then meet and cloath your beloved sovereign with new powers,—your standing army, which has hitherto been looked upon as the bane of the constitution, would then be consecrated as your deliverers; and the reverend bishops of the church of England would be hailed from the most distant corners of the island by the glorious appellation of patriots and protectors of British liberty. O happy, thrice happy nation, who have such an army and such a bench of bishops ready upon this occasion to rescue them from popery, from slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power!

“When, indeed, the first transport of your joy would be over,—for you are not to expect that these halcyon days are ever to remain,—you might perhaps find, to your fatal experience, that the constitution of your country was not in the least improved; and upon the return of the unavoidable consequences of those evils all along complained of, and which now you have so fair an opportunity of having redressed, you would at

last be sensible that we were those who, in truth, deserved the appellation of deliverers, patriots, and protectors of the British liberty. But this last part of our letter is addressed only to such as we expect to meet with in a field of battle, and we are hopeful that those will prove but an inconsiderable part of the nations of Great Britain and Ireland; and that you, our countrymen and fellow-subjects, upon being advised and informed, as you now have been, of the whole plan of this glorious expedition, will cheerfully join issue with us, and share in the glory of restoring our king and in setting our country free, which, by the strength of our arm, the assistance of our allies, and the blessing of Almighty God, we shortly expect to see accomplished."

Whilst the prince and his partizans were thus spreading the seeds of insurrection, and endeavouring to improve the advantages they had gained, the ministry of Great Britain, aroused to a just sense of the impending danger, took every possible measure to retard the progress of the insurrection. King George had returned to London on the thirty-first of August. He met with a cordial reception from the nobility and gentry in the capital, and loyal addresses were voted by all the principal cities, and towns, and corporations in the kingdom. A demand was made upon the states-general for the six thousand men stipulated by treaty, part of whom were landed at Berwick the day after Cope's defeat. Three battalions of guards, and seven regiments of foot, were ordered home from Flanders, and a cabinet council was held at Kensington on the thirteenth of September, which directed letters to be sent to the lords-lieutenants and *custodes rotulorum* of the counties of England and Wales to raise the militia. Marshal Wade was despatched to the north of England to take the command of the forces in that quarter, and two regiments, of one thousand each, were ordered to be transported from Dublin to Chester. A number of blank commissions was, as has been before stated, sent to the north of Scotland to raise independent companies; the earl of Loudon was despatched to Inverness to take the command, and two ships of war were successively sent down with arms to the same place.

As popery had been formerly a serviceable bugbear to alarm the people for their religion and liberties, some of the English bishops issued mandates, to their clergy, enjoining them to instil into their people "a just abhorrence of popery" and of arbitrary power, both of which they supposed to be inseparably connected; a proceeding which formed a singular contrast with the conduct of their brethren, the Scottish protestant episcopal clergy, who to a man were zealously desirous of restoring the Stuarts, apart from such considerations.\* The

\* In the letter from Charles to his father, of 21st September, 1745, before quoted, he animadverts with singular severity on the conduct of the bishops. "I have," he says, "seen two or three gazettes filled with addresses and mandates from the bishops to the clergy. The addresses are such as I expected, and can impose on none but the weak and



clergy attended to the injunctions they had received, and their admonitions were not without effect. Associations were speedily formed in every county, city, and town in England, of any consideration, in defence of the religion and liberties of the nation, and all persons, of whatever rank or degree, seemed equally zealous to protect both.

The parliament met on the seventeenth of October, and was informed by his majesty that he had been obliged to call them together sooner than he intended, in consequence of an unnatural rebellion which had broken out and was still continued in Scotland, to suppress and extinguish which rebellion he craved the immediate advice and assistance of the parliament. Both houses voted addresses, in which they gave his majesty the strongest assurances of duty and affection to his person and government, and promised to adopt measures commensurate with the danger. The habeas corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices. The duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands shortly after the opening of the session, and on the twenty-fifth of October a large detachment of cavalry and infantry arrived in the Thames from Flanders. The train-bands of London were reviewed by his majesty on the twenty-eighth; the county regiments were completed; and the persons who had associated themselves in different parts of the kingdom as volun-

credulous. The mandates are of the same sort, but artfully drawn. They order their clergy to make the people sensible of the great blessings they enjoy under the present family that governs them, particularly of the strict administration of justice, of the sacred regard that is paid to the laws, and the great security of their religion, and liberty, and property. This sounds all very well, and may impose on the unthinking; but one who reads with a little care will easily see the fallacy. What occasion has a prince, who has learnt the art of corrupting the fountain of all laws, to disturb the ordinary course of justice? Would not this be to give the alarm, or amount to telling them, that he was not come to protect as he pretended, but really to betray them? When they talk of the security of their religion, they take care not to mention one word of the dreadful growth of atheism and infidelity, which I am extremely sorry to hear, from very sensible, sober men, have within these few years got to a flaming height, even so far, that I am afraid many of their most fashionable men are ashamed to own themselves Christians, and many of the lower sort act as if they were not. Conversing on this melancholy subject, I was led into a thing which I never understood rightly before, which is, that those men who are loudest in the cry of the growth of popery and the danger of the protestant religion, are not really protestants, but a set of profligate men of good parts, with some learning, and void of all principles, but pretending to be republicans.

"I asked those who told me this, what should make those men so zealous about preserving the protestant religion, seeing they are not Christians; and was answered, that it is in order to recommend themselves to the ministry, who, if they can write pamphlets for them, or get themselves chosen members of parliament, will be sure to provide amply for them. . . . .

"The bishops are as unfair and partial in representing the security of their property as that of their religion; for when they mention it they do not say a word of the vast load of debt, that increases yearly, under which the nation is groaning, and which must be paid (if ever they intend to pay it,) out of their property. 'Tis true all this debt has not been contracted under the princes of this family, but a great part of it has, and the whole of it might have been cleared by a frugal administration during these thirty years of a profound peace which the nation has enjoyed, had it not been for the immense sums that have been squandered away in corrupting parliaments and supporting foreign interests, which can never be of any service to these kingdoms."

teers, were daily employed in the exercise of arms. Apprehensive of an invasion from France, the government appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to watch the motions of the enemy by sea. Cruizers were stationed along the French coast, particularly off Dunkirk and Boulogne, which captured several ships destined for Scotland with officers, soldiers, and ammunition for the use of the insurgents.

The birth-day of George the Second, which fell on the thirtieth of October, was celebrated throughout the whole of England with extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty. Many extravagant scenes were enacted, which, though they may now appear ludicrous and absurd, were deemed by the actors in them as deeds of the purest and most exalted patriotism. In Scotland, however, with one remarkable exception, the supporters of government did not venture upon any public display. The exception alluded to was the town of Perth, some of whose inhabitants took possession of the church and steeple about mid-day, and rang the bells. Oliphant of Gask, who had been made deputy-governor of the town by the young Chevalier, and had under him a small party, sent to desire those who rang the bells to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing at intervals until midnight, two hours after the ordinary time. Mr Oliphant, with his small guard and three or four gentlemen, posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about fourteen hundred small arms, some ammunition, &c. belonging to the Highland army, deposited there and in the adjoining jail. At night seven north-country gentlemen, in the Jacobite interest, came to town with their servants, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house: when it grew dark the mob made bon-fires in the streets, and ordered the inhabitants to illuminate their windows, an order which was generally obeyed, and the few that refused had their windows broken. About nine o'clock at night a party sallied from the council-house, and marching up the street to disperse the mob, fired upon and wounded three of them. The mob, exasperated by this attack, rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded some of them. After this rencontre the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main-guard and rung the fire-bell, by which they drew together about two hundred people. They thereupon sent a message to Mr Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw immediately from the town and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. to them. Mr Oliphant having refused, they rang the fire-bell a second time, and hostilities commenced about two o'clock in the morning, which continued about three hours. The people fired at the council-house from the heads of lanes, from behind stairs, and from windows, so that the party within could not look out without the greatest hazard. About five o'clock the mob dispersed. An Irish captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four of Mr Oliphant's party were wounded. Of the mob, who had none to conduct them, four

were wounded. To preserve order, about sixty of Lord Nairne's men were brought into the town next day, and these were soon thereafter joined by about one hundred and thirty Highlanders.\*

\* Adamson's *Muses Threnodie*, Perth ed. of 1774. Appendix, No. 2. p. 165.

## CHAPTER V.

Plan of the march of the Highland army into England—Departure of Charles from Holyrood-house—Composition of the Highland army—Mode of fighting of the Highlanders—March of the Highland army—It crosses the borders and enters England—Investment and siege of Carlisle—Summoned to surrender—Advance of the Highland army to Brampton—Siege of Carlisle suspended—Resumed—Surrender of Carlisle—Declaration of the Chevalier de St George for England—Dissension in the Prince's council—Character of Secretary Murray—Resignation of Lord George Murray.

WHEN Charles's resolution to march into England was finally agreed to by his officers, the next thing to be determined was the route they should take. After some deliberation the council advised the prince to march straight to Berwick, of which town they thought he could easily make himself master, and thence to march to Newcastle and give battle to Marshal Wade, who had collected a force in the neighbourhood of that town. If victorious, the prince was to march to London by the east coast, so as to favour the disembarkation of any troops that France might send over destined to land on that coast. But this plan, though unanimously approved of, was overturned by Lord George Murray, who was of a very different opinion from the rest of the council. In presence of several of the principal officers of the army he represented the plan of a march along the east coast as an affair of great difficulty, and that its advantages, if it really had any, would be more than compensated by the loss of time it would occasion, which at the present juncture was very precious. He therefore proposed that the army should march into England by the western road, and that to conceal its route it should march in two columns, one by Kelso,—a movement which would indicate as if their intention was to enter by Wooler-haughhead,—and the other column by Moffat, so that both columns could easily join near Carlisle, on a day to be appointed. Finding that Lord George's arguments had prevailed with most of the officers, Charles agreed to his lordship's scheme, though he considered the route by Berwick as the better of the two.\*

Preparatory to their march the insurgents removed their camp to a strong position to the west of Dalkeith, six miles south from Edinburgh, having that town on their left, the rivulet South Esk in front, the North Esk in their rear, with an opening on their right towards Polton. From this camp a detachment was sent with three pieces of cannon to

\* Kirkconnel MS. Lord George Murray's Narrative, in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 47.



secure the pass of the Forth above Stirling, lest Lord Loudon should march south with the independent companies he was forming, and attempt to force the passage.\*

In the evening of Thursday, the thirty-first of October, Prince Charles finally left Holyrood-house accompanied by his life-guards, and several of the clan-regiments, amid the regrets of a vast concourse of spectators, most of whom were never to see him again. He slept that night at Pinkie-house, and went next morning to Dalkeith, and took up his quarters in Dalkeith-house, the seat of the duke of Buccleugh. On that day he was joined by the clan Pherson, under the command of their chief, Macpherson of Cluny, by Menzies of Shien and his men, and some small parties of Highlanders, amounting in whole to between nine and ten hundred men.

At this period the state of the army was as follows. Beginning with the cavalry: the first troop of horse-guards, which was commanded by Lord Elcho, consisted of sixty-two gentlemen with their servants, under five officers. It amounted in all to one hundred and twenty. The second troop, which was commanded by the honourable Arthur Elphinstone, afterwards Lord Balmerino, was not complete, and did not exceed forty horse. A small squadron, called the horse-grenadiers, was commanded by the earl of Kilmarnock, with which were incorporated some Perthshire gentlemen, in absence of Lord Strathallan their commander, who had been appointed governor of Perth and commander of the Jacobite forces in Scotland during the stay of the Highland army in England. These last united, amounted to nearly a hundred. Lord Pitsligo was at the head of the Aberdeen and Banffshire gentlemen, who, with their servants, amounted to about a hundred and twenty; and besides those enumerated, there was a party of between seventy and eighty hussars, under the nominal command of Secretary Murray as colonel, but in reality under the direction of one Baggot, an Irish officer, who had lately arrived from France. The infantry, all of whom wore the Highland garb, consisted of thirteen battalions or regiments, six of which consisted of the clans, properly so called; of these six regiments, three were of the Macdonalds, and the other three were each composed of the Camerons, the Stewarts of Appin, and the Macphersons. Three regiments of Athole men, commonly called the Athole brigade, the regiments of the duke of Perth, Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, made up the thirteen regiments.\* Of the infantry, which amounted to about five thousand men, about four thousand were real Highlanders. Thus the total amount of the army did not exceed six thousand men.†

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† The Highland army about the middle of November, according to a list then published was thus composed:

<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Colonels.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Lochiel . . . . .	Cameron, younger of Lochiel . . . . .	740
Appin . . . . .	Stewart of Ardsliel . . . . .	360

The clan-regiments, according to custom, were commanded by their respective chiefs; but in some instances, in the absence of the chief, the regiment of the clan was commanded by his son, and failing both, by the nearest kinsman of the chief. In these regiments every company had two captains, two lieutenants, and two ensigns, all of whom were generally related, by ties of blood, to the chief. The pay of a captain in the army was half-a-crown *per diem*; that of a lieutenant two shillings; and of an ensign one shilling and sixpence, without deduction. The front rank of each clan-regiment was composed of persons who were considered gentlemen by birth, though without fortune or means. The pay of these was one shilling *per diem*. The gentlemen in the front rank were better armed than the men in the rear rank. All the former had targets, which many of the latter had not. When fully armed, as was generally the case, every gentleman of the front rank carried a musket and broadsword, with a pair of pistols and a dirk stuck in the belt which surrounded his body. In some rare instances another dagger was stuck within the garter of the right leg, to be used in cases of emergency. A target, formed of wood and leather thickly studded with nails, covered the left arm, and enabled the wearer to parry and protect himself from the shots or blows of an assailant.

Thus armed, the success of a Highland army depended more upon individual bravery than upon combined efforts, and their manner of fighting was, as the Chevalier Johnstone observes, adapted for brave but undisciplined troops. "They advance," says that writer, "with rapidity, discharge their pieces when within musket length of the enemy, and then, throwing them down, draw their swords, and holding a dirk in their left hand with their target, they dart with fury on the enemy through the smoke of their fire. When within reach of the enemy's bayonets, bending their left knee, they, by their attitude, cover their bodies with their targets that receive their thrusts of the bayonets, which they contrive to parry, while at the same time they raise their sword-arm, and strike their adversary. Having once got within the bayonets, and into the

Athole . . . . .	Lord George Murray . . . . .	1000
Clanranald . . . . .	Macdonald, younger of Clanranald . . . . .	200
Keppoch . . . . .	Macdonald of Keppoch . . . . .	400
Glencoe . . . . .	Macdonald of Glencoe . . . . .	200
Ogilvy . . . . .	Lord Ogilvy . . . . .	500
Glenbucket . . . . .	Gordon of Glenbucket . . . . .	427
Perth . . . . .	Duke of Perth (including Pitsligo's foot) . . . . .	750
Robertson . . . . .	Robertson of Strowan . . . . .	200
Maclauchlan . . . . .	Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan . . . . .	260
Glencairnuck . . . . .	Macgregor of Glencairnuck . . . . .	300
Nairne . . . . .	Lord Nairne . . . . .	200
Edinburgh . . . . .	John Roy Stewart . . . . .	450
Several small corps . . . . .		1000
Horse . . . . .	{ Lord Elcho } . . . . .	160
Horse . . . . .	{ Lord Kilmarnock } . . . . .	
	Lord Pitsligo's . . . . .	140

The numbers, however, are overrated.

ranks of the enemy, the soldiers have no longer any means of defending themselves, the fate of the battle is decided in an instant, and the carnage follows; the Highlanders bringing down two men at a time, one with their dirk in the left hand, and another with the sword. The reason assigned by the Highlanders for their custom of throwing their muskets on the ground is not without its force. They say they embarrass them in their operations, even when slung behind them, and on gaining a battle they can pick them up along with the arms of their enemies; but if they should be beaten, they have no occasion for muskets. They themselves proved that bravery may supply the place of discipline at times, as discipline supplies the place of bravery. The attack is so terrible, that the best troops in Europe would with difficulty sustain the first shock of it; and if the swords of the Highlanders once come in contact with them, their defeat is inevitable." \*

In entering upon such a desperate enterprise as the invasion of England with the handful of men he had mustered, Charles certainly must have calculated on being supported by a large party in that country. Indeed, his chief reason for urging such a step was the numerous assurances he alleged he had received from his friends in that kingdom, that he would be joined by a very considerable body of the people; but there seems reason to believe, that, in his expectations of support, he was guided almost solely by the reports of his agents, and that he had very little communication with any of the parties on whose support he relied. † In a memoir‡ which the prince presented to the king of France on his return from Scotland, he states, that, if after the battle of Preston he had had three thousand regular troops under his command, in addition to his other forces, he could have penetrated into England, and marched to London, without opposition, as none of the English troops which were on the continent had arrived; but the case was now widely different, and without a general rising, it was next to impossible to succeed in the face of a large regular army, which was assembling at different points, supported by a numerous militia.

Pursuant to the plan of Lord George Murray, the advanced guard of the first division of the army left Dalkeith on the evening of Friday the first of November, and took the road to Peebles. The main body, consisting of the Athole brigade, the duke of Perth's regiment, the regiments

\* Memoirs, p. 113.

† Letters from Moor and Smart, two of the agents of the Chevalier de St George, will be found in the Appendix, the originals of which are among the Stuart archives, in the possession of his Majesty. Smart held an appointment in the London post-office, and is often alluded to in the correspondence between Sempil and Drummond of Bochaldy, and the Chevalier, as their "post-office correspondent." Smart was furnished with a list of the addresses, under which the correspondence between the Chevalier's agents on the continent, and their friends in England, was carried on, and, as his duty appears to have been to examine all letters passing through the post-office, he passed the letters to such addresses without examination. When he found any letters from abroad, giving information to the government about the Jacobite party, he always burnt them.—*Letter from Drummond to the Chevalier de St George, 19th October, 1745, among the Stuart Papers.*

‡ Vide, Memoir in the Appendix.

of Lord Ogilvy, Glenbucket, and Roy Stewart, and the greater part of the horse followed next day. The artillery and baggage were sent along with this column. This division was under the command of the marquis of Tullibardine. The second division, which consisted of the life-guards and the clans regiments, headed by the prince in person, marched from Dalkeith on the third of November in the direction of Kelso. The guards formed the van, and the prince marched on foot at the head of the clans with his target over his shoulder. It was supposed that he would have mounted his horse after proceeding a mile or two ; but, to the surprise of every person, he marched on foot the whole day, and continued the same practice during the whole of the expedition, wading through mud and snow, and it was with difficulty that he could be prevailed upon to get on horseback, even to cross a river. The example he thus set to his men, joined to the condescension and affability he displayed, endeared him to the army. Charles arrived at Lauder the same night, and took up his residence in Thirlstane castle, the seat of the earl of Lauderdale. Hearing that some of his men had lagged behind, he got on horseback about day break, and, riding back two or three miles, brought up the most of the stragglers.

After despatching part of his men by a middle course towards Selkirk and Hawick, the prince next day marched to Kelso. As Marshal Wade was supposed to be on his way north from Newcastle, Charles sent his life-guards across the Tweed, not so much for the purpose of reconnoitering, as for amusing the enemy. After advancing several miles on the road to Newcastle, they halted at a village, and made some inquiries as to quarters and accommodation for the army, which they stated was on its march to Newcastle. Charles even sent orders to Wooler, a town on the road to Newcastle, to provide quarters for his army. The design was to keep Wade in suspense, and draw off his attention from the movements of the Highland army upon Carlisle. While at Kelso, Charles sent a party of between thirty and forty men across the Tweed, to proclaim his father upon English ground. Having performed the ceremony, they returned to Kelso.\* The prince remained at Kelso till the sixth of November, on the morning of which day he crossed the Tweed. The river was scarcely fordable, but the men were in high spirits, and when up to the middle in the water, they expressed the ardour they felt by setting up a loud shout and discharging their pieces.† After crossing the river, the prince turned to the left, and marched towards Jedburgh, where he arrived in a few hours.

As his next route lay through a dreary waste of considerable extent, he halted at Jedburgh for the night, to refresh his men, and departed early next morning. Marching up Rule water, Charles led his men into Liddisdale over the *Knot o' the Gate*, and after a fatiguing march

\* Marchant, p. 161.

† Kirkconnel MS.



of about twenty-five miles, arrived at Haggiehaugh upon Liddel water, where he slept. Charles marched down Liddel water on the following day, being Friday the eighth of November, and entered England in the evening. When crossing the border, the Highlanders drew their swords, and gave a hearty huzza; but a damp came over their spirits, on learning that Lochiel had cut his hand in the act of unsheathing his sword, an occurrence which the Highlanders, with superstitious proneness, regarded as a bad omen.\* Charles lay at Reddings in Cumberland that night. The division belonging to the prince's column, consisting of horse, which had taken the middle route by Hawick and Langholm, reached Longtown the same day.†

While the eastern division was thus moving in a circuitous direction to the appointed place of rendezvous near Carlisle, the western column, which started on the road to Peebles, was following a more direct route by Moffat, and down Annandale. This division entered England near Longtown. On the ninth of November, Charles marched with his division to Rowcliff, four miles below Carlisle, where he crossed the river Eden, and quartered his men in the villages on the west side of the city. In the afternoon, Charles was joined by the greater part of the other division, under the marquis of Tullibardine. This march was judiciously planned, and was executed with such precision, that scarcely two hours elapsed between the arrival of the two main divisions at the appointed place of rendezvous. The march, according to the Chevalier Johnstone, resembled on a small scale that of Marshal Saxe, a few years before, when he advanced to lay siege to Maestricht.

The plan for deceiving Marshal Wade succeeded so well, that that commander, who had now an army of eleven thousand men under him, had no idea that the Highland army was marching on Carlisle, and accordingly directed his whole attention to the protection of Newcastle. Such was the secrecy with which the motions of the army were conducted, that, with the exception of Charles and his principal officers, no person knew its real destination.‡ On arriving in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, the prince's army had been diminished some hundreds by desertion.

The city of Carlisle, the capital of Cumberland, had formerly been a place of great strength, and had, during the wars between England and Scotland, been considered as one of the keys of England on the side of Scotland; but since the union of the crowns, its fortifications had been allowed to fall into decay. It was surrounded by walls flanked with towers, and a fosse or ditch. The city was protected by a castle on the north-west, supposed to be as old as the time of William Rufus, and by a citadel on the south-east, erected in the reign of Henry the Eighth. The castle, on the present occasion, was well furnished with artillery, and was garrisoned by a company of invalids; but, like the city, its fortifications were not in good repair. To aid the inhabi-

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 455. † Kirkconnel MS. ‡ Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 56.



tants in defending the city, the whole militia of Cumberland and Westmoreland had been assembled within its walls.

When approaching the city on the ninth, a party of the prince's horse advanced to Stanwix Bank, a small hill near Carlisle, to reconnoitre ; but they were forced to retire by a few shots from the castle. The whole of the army having passed the Eden next day, Charles proceeded to invest the city on all sides. One of his parties, in marching round from the Irish to the English gate, was fired upon both from the castle and the town, but did not sustain any loss. Having completed the investment, the prince, about noon, sent a letter to the mayor of the city, requiring him to open its gates, and allow the army to enter in a peaceable manner, and promising, in case of compliance, to protect the city from insult ; but threatening an assault in the event of a refusal. The prince stated, that should an assault be made, he might not have it in his power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually befall a city captured in that way. An answer was required within two hours, but none was given, and a discharge of cannon from the besieged announced their determination to hold out. In consequence of this reception, the trenches were opened at night, under the orders of the duke of Perth, at the distance of eighty yards from the walls. Mr Grant, an Irish officer, of Lally's regiment, who had lately arrived from France, and who was an experienced engineer, ably availing himself of some ditches, approached close to the city without suffering from the fire of the besieged. The artillery consisted of six Swedish field pieces, which had been received from France, and of the pieces which had been taken at Preston.\*

Having received intelligence that Marshal Wade was advancing from Newcastle to relieve Carlisle, and that he had already arrived at Hexham, Charles resolved to meet him on some of the hilly grounds between Newcastle and Carlisle. Leaving, therefore, a sufficient force to blockade Carlisle, he departed with the remainder of the army on the morning of the eleventh, and reached Warwick castle about ten o'clock. He then despatched Colonel Ker forward with a party of horse, in the direction of Hexham, to reconnoitre, and ordered his men to take up their quarters for the night. Ker having ascertained that the news of Wade's march was false, returned to Brampton, and made his report. After waiting two days at Brampton without hearing any thing of Wade, a council of war was held, at which several opinions were offered. One opinion, in which Charles concurred, was that the army should advance to Newcastle, and give battle to Wade. Some of the council thought that this would be a dangerous step ; for even were they to defeat the marshal, his army might take refuge in Newcastle, which it was in vain for them to think of taking, as, besides the strength of the place, the army had lost many men upon its march. Others were for returning to Scot-

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 57.

land till joined by a greater body of their friends; but Lord George Murray opposed all these views, and proposed, that while one part of the party should besiege and blockade Carlisle, the other should remain at Brampton. The duke of Perth seconded this opinion, and offered to undertake the charge of the battery, if Lord George would take the command of the blockade. The council having all agreed to Lord George's proposal, six of the Lowland regiments were sent to blockade the town, besides the duke of Perth's, which was to be employed on the battery.\*

Whilst the main body of the army was at Brampton, the party left before the city occupied themselves in cutting down wood in Corby and Warwick parks, with which they made scaling-ladders, fascines, and carriages. On the thirteenth, about noon, the regiments appointed for the blockade and siege of the city, reappeared before it. Lord George Murray took up his quarters at Harbery, and posted his men in the villages around the city to stop all communication with it. The besieging party broke ground in the evening within musket-shot of the walls, about half way between the English and Scotch gates.† A constant firing was kept up from the city; but as these operations were carried on under cloud of night, the party in the trenches received no injury. Having completed their battery, the besiegers brought up their whole cannon, consisting of thirteen pieces, to play upon the town. Next morning the fire from the garrison was renewed, but with little effect, and the besiegers, instead of returning the fire, held up their bonnets on the end of their spades in derision.‡

Alarmed by the preparations of the Highlanders, and the state of affairs within the city, a meeting of the inhabitants was held, at which it was resolved to surrender the town. For seven days the garrison of the city, kept in constant alarm by the Highlanders, had scarcely enjoyed an hour's continued repose; and while many of the men had, from illness, absolutely refused to assist any longer in the defence of the city, numbers were hourly leaving the city clandestinely by slipping over the walls; so that in several cases the officers of some companies had not more than three or four men left. In this state of matters the only alternative was a surrender; and as a crisis appeared to be at hand, a white flag was exhibited from the walls, and a messenger despatched to the duke of Perth to request terms. His Grace sent an express to Brampton to know the prince's pleasure; but his Royal Highness refused to grant any terms to the city unless the castle surrendered at the same time. At the request of the mayor, a cessation of arms was granted till next day; but before the time expired, Colonel Durand, the commander of the castle, agreed to surrender the fortress along with the town. The conditions were, that the liberties and properties of the inhabitants, and all the privileges of the town, should be preserved in-

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, pp. 47, 48.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 493.

‡ Ray, p. 96.

violate;—that both garrisons, on taking an oath not to serve against the house of Stuart for one year, should be allowed to retire,—and that all the arms and ammunition in the castle and the city, and all the horses belonging to the militia, should be delivered up to the prince. This capitulation was signed by the duke of Perth and Colonel Durand on the night of the fourteenth.\*

Next morning at ten o'clock the duke of Perth entered the city at the head of his regiment, and was followed by the other regiments at one o'clock in the afternoon. The castle, however, was not given up till next morning. The duke of Perth shook hands with the men of the garrison, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them a large bounty to enlist in the service of the prince.† The mayor and his attendants went to Brampton, and delivered the keys of the city to the prince.‡ Besides the arms of the militia, the duke found a thousand stand in the castle. He also found two hundred good horses in the city, and a large quantity of valuable effects in the castle, which had been lodged there by the gentry of the neighbourhood for safety.§

On the day following the surrender, the Chevalier de St George was proclaimed in the city with the usual formalities; and, to give greater éclat to the ceremony, the mayor and aldermen were compelled to attend with the sword and mace carried before them. Along with the other manifestoes formerly noticed, the following declaration for England, dated from Rome, twenty-third of December, seventeen hundred and forty-three, was also read:—

“ The love and affection we bear to our native country are so natural and inherent to us, that they could never be altered or diminished by a long and remote exile, nor the many hardships we have undergone during the whole course of our life, and we almost forget our own misfortunes, when we consider the oppression and tyranny under which our country has laboured so long. We have seen our people, for many years, groaning under the weight of most heavy taxes, and bearing many of the calamities of war, while the rest of Europe enjoyed all the blessings of peace. We have seen the treasures of the nation applied to satiate private avarice, and lavished for the support of German dominions, or for carrying on of ambitious views, always foreign, and often contrary to the true interest of the nation. We have since seen the nation involved in wars, which have been and are carried on, without any advantage to Britain, and even to the manifest detriment and discouragement of its trade, and a great many of Hanoverians taken into the English pay and service in a most extraordinary manner, and at a most expensive rate; nor could we behold, without indignation, the preference and partiality shown, on all occasions, to these foreigners, and the notorious affronts put on the British troops. We have beheld with

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Marchant, p. 169.

‡ Boyse, p. 100.

§ Marchant, p. 169.

astonishment an universal corruption and dissolution of manners, encouraged and countenanced by those whose example and authority should have been employed to repress it, and a more than tacit connivance given to all irreligion and immorality. Bribery and corruption have been openly and universally practised, and no means neglected to seduce the great council of the nation, that it might be the more effectually enslaved by those who ought to be the guardians of its liberty. The manufactures of England are visibly going to decay; trade has been neglected, and even discouraged; and the very honour of the nation made a sacrifice to the passions of those who govern it.

“The unhappy state to which our subjects have been reduced by these and many other unjust and violent proceedings, has constantly filled our royal heart with grief and concern, while our whole thoughts and study have been employed towards procuring the most speedy and effectual remedy to them, which we were always sensible could only be compassed by our restoration. This has ever been the principal view of the several attempts we have made for the recovery of our just rights, without being discouraged by the disappointments with which we have hitherto met; but though Providence has permitted that iniquity and injustice should long prevail, we have all reason to hope that the time is at last come, in which the Divine mercy will put a period to these misfortunes. We see, with a sensible satisfaction, the eyes of the greatest part of our people opened to their present deplorable situation, and that they are convinced they can find no relief but by restoring their natural born prince, whose undoubted title will of course put an end to the many calamities they have suffered during the usurpation; and our satisfaction would be complete, could we owe our mutual happiness to ourselves and subjects alone, without the assistance of any foreign power; but should we find it necessary to employ any such, let our good subjects be assured, it is only to protect ourselves and them against those shoals of foreign mercenaries with which the Elector fills the kingdom whenever he thinks himself in danger; and, therefore, to disperse all fears and jealousies from the hearts and minds of our subjects, and to convince them, as much as in us lies, of the happiness they may enjoy under our government, we have thought fit to unfold to them, in this solemn and public manner, the sincere sentiments of our royal and truly English heart.

“We hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon for all offences whatsoever hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves; to the benefit of which we shall deem justly entitled all such of our subjects as shall, after our appearing in arms by ourselves, our dearest son the prince of Wales, our deputies, or the commanders of our auxiliary forces, testifying their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our troops with all convenient diligence, by setting up our standard in other places, by repairing to any place where it shall be put up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all



obedience to his order, or those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him.

“As soon as the public tranquillity shall permit, we solemnly promise to call and assemble a free parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influence of any kind whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected; and with a sincere and impartial advice and concurrence of the said parliament, we shall be ready to settle all that may relate to the welfare of the kingdom, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

“We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, possessions, and immunities whatsoever; and we shall, on all occasions, bestow marks of our royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on those whose principles and practices shall best correspond with the dignity of their profession. We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all protestant dissenters, being utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of conscience and religion.

“And as we are desirous to reign chiefly over the affections of our people, we shall be utterly averse to the suspending the habeas corpus act, as well as to the loading our subjects with unnecessary taxes, or raising any in a manner burdensome to them, and especially to the introducing of foreign excises, and to all such methods as may have been hitherto devised and pursued to acquire arbitrary power, at the expense of the liberty and property of the subject.

“It is our fixed resolution and intention, to distinguish, recompense, and employ men of merit and probity, who are true lovers of their country and of the church of England, as by law established. By such a conduct we hope the native genius and honour of the nation may be soon retrieved; and that those party-prejudices, divisions, and distinctions, which have so long prevailed, and have been so pernicious to the nation, may be buried in perpetual oblivion.

“As for the foreign troops employed in the present expedition, effectual care shall be taken to make them observe the strictest discipline while they stay, without offering the least injury to peaceable people; and we solemnly engage to send them home, as soon as the public tranquillity shall be judged by parliament to allow of it, and even before a parliament is assembled, if the posture of affairs shall permit it.

“In the meantime, we strictly charge and require all persons, who at the first news of our troops entering the kingdom, shall be seized of any sum or sums of money raised in the name, and for the use of the usurper, to keep the same in their hands, to be accounted for to us, or to pay it, when required, into the hands of any person of distinction, publicly appearing and acting for our service, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the said person or persons, their heirs, &c. But if they shall refuse or neglect to comply with these our orders, we



hereby authorize and require all our generals, lieutenant-generals, and other officers, and all our faithful adherents, to seize, for our use, such sum or sums of money, as well as all horses, arms, artillery, accoutrements and ammunition, forage and provisions, as shall be found in the hands of those who shall not be willing to employ them in our service.

“We also command and require all those who bear any military commission of arms, whether in the fleet, army, or militia, to use and employ them for our service; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to us, their natural sovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post, in our service, than that which they at present enjoy, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to them at the time of their declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year’s pay to be given each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdom shall be in a state of tranquillity.

“And lastly, that this undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to our subjects, we hereby authorize and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue till farther orders to execute their respective employments in our name and by our authority, and to give strict obedience to such orders and directions, as may be issued out by those who will be vested with our authority and power.

“It is a subject of unspeakable concern to us to find ourselves, by a complication of different circumstances, under an absolute impossibility of heading ourselves this just and glorious undertaking, for the relief and happiness of our country. But we are in hopes, that the youth and vigour of our dearest son, the prince of Wales, may abundantly enable him to supply our place. And therefore we have invested him with the title and power of regent of all our dominions, until such time as we can ourselves arrive in them, which we shall do with all possible speed.

“Having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared our true sentiments and intentions in this expedition, we once more charge and require all our loving subjects to concur with us to the utmost of their power, towards obtaining such desirable ends: for those who shall wilfully persist in their unnatural attachment to the usurper, and continue to act in consequence of it, they cannot but be sensible, that they are to expect no benefit from a pardon so graciously offered to them. But we heartily wish that none such may be found, but that all may be as ready to accept of our act of grace and oblivion as we are to grant it; it being our earnest desire that the very memory of past misfortunes and errors may be effaced, and that no obstacle may remain

to perfect union betwixt king and people; which will be the more easily compassed, when they compare what they have suffered under the dominion of foreigners with what we here offer to them, and are firmly resolved to perform. Let therefore all true Englishmen join with us on this occasion in their country's cause, and be fully convinced, that we neither do nor shall propose to ourselves any other happiness or glory, but what shall arise from our effectually providing for the honour and welfare of the nation, and maintaining every part of its happy constitution both in church and state."

After the chevalier had been proclaimed, and the different manifestoes read, the corporation went out to meet the prince, who entered the city under a general salute of artillery.\*

In many points of view the capture of Carlisle would have been of great importance to the prince, if he had been strong enough to have availed himself of the state of terror which that event, and his subsequent advance into the very heart of England, had thrown the people of that kingdom; but his means were soon found quite inadequate to accomplish his end. Even if his resources had been much greater than ever they were, it seems doubtful whether the jealousies and dissensions, which, at an early period, began to distract his councils, would not have rendered all his exertions, for obtaining the great object of his ambition, unavailable.

The *origo mali*, the source of the discord, and all the misfortunes, as the Jacobites would say, that flowed from it, are attributed by an individual† who had good opportunities of judging, and whose narrative appears to be impartial, to "the unbounded ambition of Secretary Murray, who from the beginning aimed at nothing less than the whole direction and management of every thing. To this passion he sacrificed what chance there was of a restoration, though that was the foundation on which all his hopes were built. He had an opportunity of securing the prince's favour long enough before he could be rivalled. He was almost the only personal acquaintance the prince found in Scotland. It was he that had engaged the prince to make this attempt upon so slight a foundation, and the wonderful success that had hitherto attended it was placed to his account. The duke of Perth, whose character indeed was well-known to the prince, judging of Murray's heart by his own, entertained the highest opinion of his integrity, went readily into all his schemes, and confirmed the prince in the esteem he had already conceived for Murray. After Mr Kelly was gone, there was only Sir Thomas Sheridan and Mr Sullivan, of those that had come along with the prince that had any thing to say with him, and them Murray had gained entirely. Lord George Murray was the man the secretary dreaded most as a rival. Lord George's birth, age, capacity, and experience, would naturally give him great advantage over the secretary;

\* Ray, 99. Boyse, p. 100.

† Maxwell of Kirkconnell.

but the secretary had got the start of him, and was determined to stick at nothing to maintain his ground.

“He began by representing Lord George as a traitor to the prince. He assured him that he had joined on purpose to have an opportunity of delivering him up to the government. It was hardly possible to guard against this imposture. The prince had the highest opinion of his secretary’s integrity, and knew little of Lord George Murray, so the calumny had its full effect. Lord George soon came to know the suspicion the prince had of him, and was affected as one may easily enough imagine. To be sure, nothing could be more shocking to a man of honour, and one that was now for the third time venturing his life and fortune for the royal cause. The prince was partly undeceived by Lord George’s gallant behaviour at the battle (of Preston), and had Lord George improved that opportunity, he might perhaps have gained the prince’s favour, and got the better of the secretary; but his haughty and overbearing manner prevented a thorough reconciliation, and seconded the malice and malicious insinuations of his rival. Lord George did not altogether neglect making his court. Upon some occasions he was very obsequious and respectful, but had not temper to go through with it. He now and then broke out into such violent sallies, as the prince could not digest, though the situation of his affairs forced him to bear with them.

“The secretary’s station and favour had attached to him such as were confident of success, and had nothing in view but making their fortunes. Nevertheless, Lord George had greater weight and influence in the council, and generally brought the majority over to his opinion, which so irritated the ambitious secretary, that he endeavoured all he could to give the prince a bad impression of the council itself, and engaged to lay it entirely aside. He had like to have prevailed at Carlisle, but the council was soon resumed, and continued ever after to be held upon extraordinary emergencies. It was not in this particular only that Murray’s ambition was detrimental to the prince’s affairs. Though he was more jealous of Lord George Murray than of any body (else,) Lord George was not the only person he dreaded as a rival. There were abundance of gentlemen in the army, in no respect inferior to Mr Murray, but his early favour gave him an opportunity of excluding most of them from the prince’s presence and acquaintance. All those gentlemen that joined the prince after Murray were made known under the character he thought fit to give of them, and all employments about the prince’s person, and many in the army, were of his nomination. These he filled with such as, he had reason to think, would never thwart his measures, but be content to be his tools and creatures without aspiring higher. Thus some places of the greatest trust and importance were given to little insignificant fellows, while there were abundance of gentlemen of figure and merit, that had no employment

at all, and who might have been of great use had they been properly employed."\*

Till the siege of Carlisle, Secretary Murray had been able to disguise his jealousy of Lord George Murray, who, from his high military attainments, had been able hitherto to rule the council; but, on that occasion, the secretary displayed his hostility openly, and Lord George thereupon resigned his command as one of the lieutenant-generals of the army. The circumstances which led to the resignation of Lord George were these. It appears that, before the blockading party left Brampton, he desired Charles to give him some idea of the terms his royal highness would accept of from Carlisle, not with the view of obtaining powers to conclude a capitulation, but merely to enable him to adjust the terms according to the prince's intentions, and thereby save a great deal of time. Charles not being able to come to any resolution before Lord George's departure, his lordship begged of him to send his instructions after him, that he might know how to conduct himself in the event of an offer of surrender by the city; but the secretary interposed, and told Lord George plainly, that he considered the terms of capitulation as a matter within his province, and with which Lord George had no right to interfere.† Lord George has not communicated the answer he gave to Murray on this occasion. The part of the army destined for the blockade, though willing to take their turn along with the rest of the army, was averse to bear the whole burden of it. Their commander was aware of this feeling, and, in a letter written to his brother, the marquis of Tullibardine, from his head-quarters at Harberty, on the fourteenth of November, at five o'clock in the morning, proposed a plan which he thought would satisfy both parties. After alluding to the indefatigable exertions of the duke of Perth, who had himself wrought in the trenches to encourage his men to erect the battery, and the great difficulties he had to encounter from the nature of the ground, Lord George requested the marquis to represent to the prince, that the men posted upon the blockade would not expose themselves, either in trenches or in the open air within cannon shot, or even within musket shot of the town, but by turns with the rest of the army; and he proposed that it should be decided by lot who should mount guard the first night, second night, and so on. To carry the views of his men into effect, Lord George proposed the following plan, subject to the approval of a council of war, viz. that fifty men should be draughted out of each of the battalions that remained at Brampton, with proper officers, and at least two majors out of the six battalions; and that these should be sent to Butcherly, within a mile of the battery; and that as one hundred and fifty men might be a sufficient guard for the battery the six battalions would in this way furnish two guards, in addition to which, he proposed that two additional guards should be draughted, one

\* Kirkcounell MS.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 49.



from the Athole brigade, and the other from General Gordon's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments; and, by the time these four guards had served in rotation, he reckoned that the city would be taken, or the blockade removed. A council of war was held at Brampton upon this proposal, which came to the resolution, that as soon as the whole body, which formed the blockade, had taken their turn as guards, the division of the army at Brampton should march in a body, and form the blockade, but that no detachments should be sent from the different corps; nor did the council think it fair to order any such, as these corps had had all the fatigue and danger of the blockade of Edinburgh.\*

Such were the circumstances which preceded the resignation of Lord George Murray, who, in a letter to Prince Charles, dated the fifteenth of November, threw up his commission, assigning as his reason the little weight which his advice, as a general officer, had with his royal highness. He, however, stated, that as he had ever had a firm attachment to the house of Stuart, "and in particular to the king," he would serve as a volunteer, and that it was his design to be that night in the trenches. In a letter, which he wrote the same day to the marquis of Tullibardine, he stated that he was constantly at a loss to know what was going on in the army, and that he was determined never again to act as an officer; but that as a volunteer, he would show that no man wished more to the cause, and that he would do all in his power to advance the service. At the request of the marquis, who informed Lord George that Charles wished to see him, Lord George waited upon the prince, who appears to have received him dryly. On being informed by Lord George, that he had attended in consequence of a message from the prince, Charles denied that he had required his attendance, and told him that he had nothing particular to say to him. His lordship then repeated his offer to serve as a volunteer. Charles told him he might do so, and here the conversation ended. In a conversation which took place afterwards, between Lord George and Sir Thomas Sheridan, the former entered into some details, to show that in his station, as lieutenant-general, he had had no authority, and that others had usurped the office of general, by using the name of the prince. He complained that, while he was employed in the drudgery, every thing of moment was done without his knowledge or advice. He concluded by observing, that he had ventured his all,—life, fortune, and family,—in short, every thing but his honour,—that, as to the last, he had some to lose, but none to gain, in the way things were managed, and that, therefore, he had resolved upon a private station.†

Although it does not appear from the letters of Lord George Murray, referred to, that he resigned his commission from a dislike to serve under the duke of Perth, who had, in reality, acted as commander-in-chief at the siege; yet it is generally understood, that this was one of

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 49 50.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 52.

the reasons, if not the principal, which induced him to resign. This view seems to derive support from the circumstance of his accepting the chief command, which was conferred upon him on the resignation of the duke of Perth. Mr Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was with the army at the time, gives the following statement in relation to this affair :—

“ This command of the duke of Perth had like to have had bad consequences. It was not so much relished by some of the prince's friends as it had been by his enemies. It seems it had not gone well down with Lord George Murray ; for about the time Carlisle surrendered, he had resigned his commission of lieutenant-general, and acquainted the prince, that henceforward he would serve as a volunteer. It would be rash in me to pretend to determine whether ambition, or zeal for the prince's service, determined Lord George to take this step ; or,—if both had a share in it,—which was predominant. It belongs only to the Searcher of hearts to judge of an action which might have proceeded from very different motives. The duke of Perth was an older lieutenant-general than Lord George Murray. Hitherto they had had separate commands, and did not interfere with one another till this siege, when the duke of Perth acted as principal commander, having directed the attack, signed the capitulation, and given orders in the town till the prince's arrival. This was a precedent for the rest of the campaign : it was perhaps not agreeable for Lord George to serve under the duke of Perth, who was certainly much inferior to him in years and experience. He thought himself the fittest man in the army to be at the head of it, and he was not the only person who thought so. Had it been left to the gentlemen of the army to choose a general, Lord George would have carried it by vast odds against the duke of Perth ; but there was another pretext which was more insisted on, as less offensive to the duke of Perth, who was much beloved and esteemed, even by those who did not wish to see him at the head of the army ; and that was his religion, which, they said, made him incapable of having any command in England. It was upon this the greatest stress was laid by those that complained of the duke's command. They said that in England, Roman catholics were excluded from all employments, civil and military, by laws anterior to the Revolution,—that these laws, whether reasonable or not, ought to subsist until they were repealed,—that a contrary conduct, without a visible necessity for it, would confirm all which had been spread of late, from the pulpit and from the press, of the prince's designs to overturn the constitution, both in church and state,—that indeed the prince, in his present circumstances, could not be blamed for allowing a Roman catholic the command of a regiment he had raised, or even a more extensive command, if a superiority of genius and military experience entitled him to it ; but these reasons could not be alleged for the duke of Perth. A good deal to this purpose was commonly talked in the army, and by some people with great warmth. A gentleman who had been witness to such conversation, and dreaded nothing so

much as dissension in a cause that could never succeed but by unanimity, resolved to speak to the duke of Perth upon this ungrateful subject. He had observed, that those that were loudest in their complaints were least inclined to give themselves any trouble in finding out a remedy. The duke, who at this time was happy, but not elevated by his success, reasoned very coolly upon the matter. He could never be convinced, that it was unreasonable that he should have the principal command. But when it was represented to him, that since that opinion prevailed, whether well or ill founded, the prince's affairs might equally suffer, he took his resolution in a moment, said he never had any thing in view but the prince's interest, and would cheerfully sacrifice every thing to it. And he was as good as his word, for he took the first opportunity of acquainting the prince with the complaints that were against him, insisted upon being allowed to give up his command, and to serve henceforth at the head of his regiment. A plain narrative of the duke of Perth's behaviour on this delicate occasion, is the best encomium that can be made of it. By this means, Lord George Murray, who had resumed his place, became general of the army, under the prince; for his brother, the duke of Athole, \* who was in a bad state of health, took nothing upon him." †

\* Marquis of Tullibardine.

† Kirkconnel MS.

The following is a copy of a note, or memorandum holograph of the prince, among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his Majesty, in relation to Lord George Murray. That part of it which relates to the battle of Culloden, will be afterwards noticed.

"L<sup>d</sup> G(eorge consider(ed) being very bad before joining y<sup>e</sup> P(rince) at P(erth.) His refusing to make the siege of Carlisle, which P(rince) undertook himself, after he layd down his comition, and y<sup>e</sup> D(uke) of P(erth) opened the trenches, by y<sup>e</sup> P's orders they surrendered at discretion, as by the countenance the P. made, it made them believe his army was Ten T(housand) M(en) and cannon of four-and twenty, tho' in reality he had bearly Three T. fitting all, and only four Swedish field pieces of 4 pounders. A little before y<sup>e</sup> last unfortunate B(attle) L<sup>d</sup>. G. M. undertook the attack of the Poste of Bler Castell, where y<sup>e</sup> Hessian T(roops) were, and he took an officer, which he sent back without so much as consulting the P. This is a thing so contrary to all rule, or any military practice, that no one that has the least sense can be guilty of without some privat reson of his own. When y<sup>e</sup> enemy was so much aproching, and seeming to be determined to atack us lastly at Inverness, iff wee did not them y<sup>e</sup> P. caled a Council of war on y<sup>e</sup> 16 May, (should be 15th April,) when all y<sup>e</sup> chiffs were assembled, and L<sup>d</sup>. G. M.—y<sup>e</sup> P. let every one spake before him. L<sup>d</sup>. G. M. was the last, and he proposed to atack him that night as y<sup>e</sup> best expedient: this was just what y<sup>e</sup> P. intended, but had kept it in his brest. Y<sup>e</sup> P. then embraced, L<sup>d</sup>. G. M. aproved it, and oned it was his project; it was agreed upon. But then it was question of y<sup>e</sup> maner. It is to be observed, that y<sup>e</sup> P. proposed to keep F. Augustus, and to make it searve as a plecte of ralleing in case of a defete. But that was unanimously reject by y<sup>e</sup> chiffs, so it was bloon up."

## CHAPTER VI.

Inexplicable conduct of Marshal Wade—Charles holds a council of war, which resolves to march south—Departure of the Highland army from Carlisle—Arrives at Manchester—Formation of the Manchester regiment—Departure of the Highland army from Manchester, and arrival at Derby—Alarm at London—Council of war held at Derby—Determination of Charles to march to London—He is overruled by his council, which resolves to retreat—Proposal of Charles to march into Wales also rejected—Extraordinary conduct of Sir Thomas Sheridan, Secretary Murray, and others—Second meeting of the council—Resolution to retreat adhered to—Negotiations of the Chevalier's agents with France—Arrival of Prince Henry, brother of Charles, in France—Treaty of Fontainebleau—French expedition under Lord John Drummond—His arrival and proceedings—Retreat of the Highland army to Scotland—Skirmish at Clifton—Re-capture of Carlisle.

ALTHOUGH Marshal Wade must have been duly apprized of the arrival of the Highland army in England, yet it was not until he had received intelligence of their march to Brampton, and of their probable advance upon Newcastle, that he began to move. He set out from Newcastle on the sixteenth of November, the day after the surrender of Carlisle; but a deep snow, which had just fallen, retarded his march so much, that his army did not reach Ovington till eight o'clock that night. Next day he advanced to Hexham, where the first column of his army arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon; but the rear did not get up till near midnight. The army, unable to proceed farther on account of the snow, encamped on a moor near the town, and the men were provided with a sufficient quantity of straw to repose upon by the inhabitants, who kindled large fires all over the ground to protect the troops from the cold, which was unusually severe.\* At Hexham, Wade was informed of the reduction of Carlisle. He remained there three days in the expectation of a thaw; but the road to Carlisle continuing impassable, he returned to Newcastle, which he reached on the twenty-second of November.† The conduct of Marshal Wade, in delaying his march from Newcastle, has been justly censured, for there can be no doubt that had he made a movement in advance upon Car-

\* Professor Maclaurin, the celebrated mathematician, in returning to Edinburgh from York, whither he had fled on the entrance of the Highland army into the capital, caught a cold on the road, during Thursday, the 14th of November, and the two following days, from the effects of which he never recovered.—*Culloden Papers*, p. 262.

† Boyse, p. 101.



lisle about the time the insurgents marched to Brampton, that town would have been saved.

The sudden and unexpected success which had attended Charles's arms in England, spread a general alarm through all the northern and western parts of that kingdom, and extended even to the capital itself. Such was the alternation of hope and fear in the minds of the people of all classes, that whilst the most trifling article of good news led them to indulge in the most extravagant manifestations of joy, the smallest reverse of fortune plunged them into the most abject distress. Sir Andrew Mitchell, alluding to this circumstance in a letter to President Forbes, says, that if he had not lived long enough in England to know the natural bravery of the people, he should have formed a very false opinion of them from their demeanour at the period in question.\*

As soon as the news of the surrender of Carlisle was known in London, the government resolved to assemble an army of ten thousand men in Staffordshire, under Sir John Ligonier, an officer of considerable military experience. For this purpose, Sir John left London on the twenty-first of November, taking along with him nine old battalions, two regiments of dragoons, and part of his own regiment of horse. In addition to this and the other army under Wade, a third army, to be placed under the immediate command of his majesty, was ordered to be raised, and encamped in the vicinity of London for its protection. The city and castle of Chester were put in a proper state of defence, and the town of Liverpool raised a regiment of seven hundred men, who were clothed and maintained at the expense of the inhabitants.

When mustered at Carlisle, the prince's army amounted only to about four thousand five hundred men.† The idea of marching to London and overturning the government with such a force, in the face of three armies and a numerous militia, amounting in all to upwards of sixty thousand men, could scarcely have been entertained by any adventurer, however sanguine his hopes may have been; but Charles was so full of his object, that he shut his eyes to the great difficulties of the enterprise, which he imagined would be surmounted by the tried valour of his troops, and the junction of a considerable party in England devoted to his cause.

To determine upon the course to be next pursued, Charles called a council of war a few days after the capture of Carlisle, in which different opinions were maintained. As there was no appearance of either an invasion from France, or an insurrection in England, some of the members proposed returning to Scotland, where a defensive war could be carried on till such time as the prince should be in a condition to resume offensive operations. Others were for remaining at Carlisle, and quartering the army in the neighbourhood till they saw whether there

\* Culloden Papers, p. 255.

† The Chevalier Johnstone says it did not exceed 4,500; and Maxwell of Kirkconnel, that it amounted to 4,400.

should be any indications of a rising in England. A third party proposed that they should march to Newcastle and engage Wade's army. A fourth, that the army should continue its route to London by the west or Lancashire road, in support of which opinion they urged this argument, that being now in possession of Carlisle, they had, at the worst, a safe retreat. This last proposal being quite in accordance with the prince's own sentiments, he declared that his opinion of marching directly to London, in terms of the resolution entered into at Edinburgh, was in no respect altered since he entered England. Lord George Murray, who had hitherto remained silent, was then desired by the prince to give his opinion. His lordship entered at some length into the question; stated the advantages and disadvantages of each of the different opinions; and concluded, by observing, that for himself he could not venture to advise his royal highness to march far into England, without receiving more encouragement from the country than he had hitherto got; but he was persuaded, that if his royal highness was resolved to make a trial of what could be expected, and would march south, his army, though small, would follow him. After Lord George had done speaking, Charles immediately said he would venture the trial. In giving his opinion, Lord George says he spoke with the more caution, in consequence of the recent circumstances which had led to his resignation.\*

As a considerable number of men had been collected at Perth since the prince's departure from Scotland, and more were on their way thither from the north, Charles, before leaving Carlisle for the south, sent Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan to Scotland with an order to Lord Strathallan, to march with all the forces under his command, and join the army in England; but this order was disregarded.

Whilst encamped at Duddingston, the Highlanders preferred sleeping in the open air, and had with difficulty been prevailed upon to use the tents which had been captured at Preston, and provided at Edinburgh. These tents were packed up for the campaign in England; but the party, to whose care they were intrusted, most unaccountably left the whole of them at Lockerby along with other baggage. The whole, consisting of thirty cart-loads, were captured by a party of country people, who carried them to Dumfries. After the surrender of Carlisle, Lochiel went with a party to reclaim the baggage, failing which, he was ordered to exact two thousand pounds from the town; but before he reached Dumfries he was recalled. The army, therefore, being now without tents, and the season very severe, it was resolved so to arrange the order of march as to get the army accommodated in the towns. For this purpose, it was determined that one part of the army should precede the other by a day's march, the second division always occupying

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative, Jacobite Memoirs, p. 48. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 120.

the quarters evacuated by the first; but that, where the country would admit of it, there should be only half-a-day's march betwixt them.\*

Agreeably to this plan, the first division, commanded by Lord George Murray, left Carlisle on the twentieth of November. It consisted, with the exception of the duke of Perth's regiment, which being appointed to guard the thirteen cannon and ammunition, was not included in either division, of the whole of the low country regiments,† six in number, with the life-guards under Lord Elcho, who marched at the head of the division. Each of these regiments led the van in its turn. This division reached Penrith the same day, having performed a march of eighteen miles. The second division, consisting of the clan regiments and the remainder of the cavalry, headed by the prince in person, left Carlisle next day, and arrived at Penrith that night, and entered the quarters occupied by the first division, which marched the same day to Shap, where it passed the night.‡ In the march of the prince's division the cavalry always marched at its head, and each of the clan regiments led the van by turns, agreeably to the plan observed by the division under Lord George Murray. A garrison of about two hundred men was left in Carlisle under the command of one Hamilton, who had been made deputy-governor under the duke of Perth, on whom the governorship had been conferred.§

On reaching Penrith, Charles, for the first time, heard of the march of Wade from Newcastle, and of his arrival at Hexham. Resolved to return to Carlisle and give battle to Wade, should he advance upon that city, Charles remained all the next day at Penrith, waiting for further intelligence of the marshal's movements; but receiving information from Lord Kilmarnock, who still remained with his horse at Brampton, that the English general was on his way back to Newcastle, Charles marched to Kendal on the twenty-third. The van of the army, which had arrived at Kendal on the previous day, marched on the twenty-third to Lancaster, where it halted for the night. The prince resumed his march on the twenty-fifth, and reached Lancaster, on which day the first division went to Garstang. On the twenty-sixth the whole army reached Preston, where they halted till the twenty-seventh. Recollecting the

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† So called, to distinguish them from the clan regiments, though the greater part were Highlanders, and wore the Highland garb, which was indeed the dress of the whole army.—*Ibid.*

‡ Charles, during his stay at Carlisle, lived in the house of a Mr Hymer, an attorney, to whom he paid twenty guineas, being five guineas *per diem*, for the use of his house, as noted in the prince's household book, recently published in the Jacobite Memoirs. James Gib, his master of household, appears to have grudged Charles's liberality, as he observes that Hymer furnished nothing, not even coal or candle; and, moreover, that he and his wife had every day two dishes of meat at dinner, and as many at supper, at the cost of the prince. But Charles's liberality was not confined to landlords, for Gib states, that whenever he happened to pass even a night in a gentleman's house, his ordinary custom was to give at least five guineas of 'drink-money' to the servants.

§ Kirkconnel MS. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 49.

fate of the Highland army at Preston in seventeen hundred and fifteen, the Highlanders had imbibed an idea that they would never get beyond that town; but Lord George Murray, on being informed of it, dispelled this superstitious dread by crossing the bridge over the Ribble, and quartering a considerable number of his men on the other side of that river.\*

During his progress to Preston, Charles received no marks of attachment from the inhabitants of the towns and country through which he passed; but at Preston his arrival was hailed with acclamations and the ringing of bells. With the exception, however, of Mr Townley, a catholic gentleman who had been in the French service, and two or three other gentlemen, no person of any note joined him. By dint of entreaty a few recruits were indeed raised; but it was not with such levies that Charles could expect to strengthen his army. At Preston Charles held a council of war, at which he repeated the assurances he alleged he had received from his English partisans, and gave them fresh hopes of being joined by them on their arrival at Manchester. The Highland chiefs were prevailed upon to continue their march. Lord George Murray proposed to march with his column to Liverpool, and to join the other division at Macclesfield; but this proposal was overruled.†

Accordingly, on the twenty-eighth, the Highland army left Preston and marched to Wigan,‡ where they passed the night. Next day the whole army entered Manchester, amid the acclamations of the inhabitants, who illuminated their houses, and lighted up bonfires in the evening, to express their joy. The same evening one Dickson, a sergeant, enlisted by the Chevalier Johnstone, from the prisoners taken at Preston, presented a hundred and eighty recruits whom he had raised in the course of the day in Manchester. This young Scotchman, whom the Chevalier represents to have been "as brave and intrepid as a lion," disappointed at his own ill success in raising recruits at Preston, had requested permission from Johnstone, in whose company he was, to proceed to Manchester—a day's march before the army—to make sure of some recruits before it should arrive there. The Chevalier reproved him sharply for entertaining so wild and extravagant a project, which would expose him to the danger of being taken and hanged, and ordered him back to his company; but Dickson, reckless of consequences, quitted Preston on the evening of the twenty-eighth, with his mistress and a drummer, and travelling all night, entered Manchester next morning, and immediately began to beat up for recruits for "The Yellow Haired Lad-die." Conceiving that the Highland army was at hand, the populace at first did not interrupt him; but when they ascertained that the army

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 457.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 52.

‡ At Wigan, Charles gave "a woman" ten guineas for one night for the use of her house, her husband, "a squire, being from home."—*Household Book*.



would not arrive till the evening, they surrounded him in a tumultuous manner, with the intention of taking him prisoner dead or alive. Dickson presented his blunderbuss, charged with slugs, threatening to blow out the brains of those who first dared to lay hands on himself or the two who accompanied him; and by turning round continually, facing in all directions, and behaving like a lion, he soon enlarged the circle which a crowd of people had formed around him. Having contrived for some time to manœuvre in this way, those of the inhabitants of Manchester, who were attached to the house of Stuart, took arms, and flew to the assistance of Dickson, to rescue him from the fury of the mob; so that he had soon five or six hundred men to aid him, who dispersed the crowd in a very short time. Dickson now triumphed in his turn; and putting himself at the head of his followers, he proudly paraded undisturbed the whole day with his drummer, enlisting all who offered themselves. That evening, on presenting his recruits, it was found that the whole amount of his expenses did not exceed three guineas. This adventure gave rise to many a joke, at the expense of the town of Manchester, from the singular circumstance of its having been taken by a sergeant, a drummer, and a girl.\*

The van of the prince's army, consisting of a hundred horse, entered Manchester on the evening of the twenty-eighth of November, and, to magnify their numbers, ordered quarters to be prepared for ten thousand men. Another party of cavalry entered the town at ten o'clock next morning, and about two o'clock in the afternoon, Charles himself, accompanied by the main body, marched in on foot, surrounded by a select body of the clans. He wore on this occasion a light tartan plaid belted with a blue sash, a grey wig, and a blue velvet bonnet with silver lace, having a white rose in the centre of the top, by which latter badge he was distinguished from his general officers, who wore their cockades on one side.† Here, as in all the other towns through which the Highlanders had passed, the Chevalier de St George was proclaimed. The bells of the town were rung, and in the evening an illumination was made and bonfires lighted, by orders of the prince, who also issued a proclamation requiring all persons, who had public money in their hands, to pay it into his treasury. The army halted a day at Manchester and beat up for recruits. They were joined by some young men of the most respectable families in the town, by several substantial tradesmen and farmers, and by upwards of a hundred common men. These, with the recruits raised by Dickson, were formed into a corps called the Manchester regiment, the command of which was given to Mr Townley, on whom the rank of Colonel was conferred. This

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 63. This statement of the Chevalier Johnstone is corroborated in the main by a contemporary journal in Marchant, p. 197.

† Boyse, p. 103.

regiment never exceeded three hundred men, and were all the English who ever openly declared for the prince.\*

Though Charles's reception at Manchester had been rather flattering, yet the encouragement was not such as to encourage him to proceed, and a retreat now began to be talked of. One of Lord George Murray's friends ventured to hint to him that he thought they had advanced far enough, as neither of the events they had anticipated, of an insurrection in England, or a landing from France, were likely to take place. Lord George, who, it is understood, had always a retreat in view, if not supported by a party in England or by succours from abroad, said that they might make a farther trial by going as far as Derby, but that if they did not receive greater encouragement than they had yet met with, he would propose a retreat to the prince.†

Conceiving that it was the intention of Charles to march by Chester into Wales, the bridges over the Mersey, on the road to Chester, had been broken down by order of the authorities; but this precaution was quite unnecessary. After halting a day at Manchester the army proceeded to Macclesfield on the morning of the first of December, in two divisions. One took the road to Stockport, and the other that to Knottesford. The bridge near Stockport having been broken down, Charles passed the river with the water up to his middle. At Knottesford the other division crossed the river over temporary bridges, made chiefly out of poplar trees laid length-ways with planks across. The horse and artillery crossed at Chedle-ford. In the evening both divisions joined at Macclesfield, where they passed the night.‡

At Macclesfield Charles received intelligence that the army of Ligonier, of which the duke of Cumberland had taken the chief command, was on its march, and was quartered at Litchfield, Coventry, Stafford, and Newcastle-under-Line. The prince resolved to march for Derby. To conceal their intentions from the enemy, Lord George Murray offered to go with a division of the army to Congleton, which lay on the direct road to Litchfield, by which movement he expected that the duke would collect his army in a body at Litchfield, and thereby leave the road to Derby open.§ This proposal having been agreed to, Lord George went next day with his division to Congleton, whence he despatched Colonel Ker at night with a party towards Newcastle-under-Line, whither the duke of Kingston had retired with his horse, on the approach of the Highlanders, to get intelligence of the enemy. Ker came to a village within three miles of Newcastle, and had almost surprised a party of dragoons; but he succeeded in seizing one Weir, a noted spy, who had been at Edinburgh all the time the prince was there, and who had kept hovering about the army during its march to give intelligence of its motions.|| The main body of the

\* Kirkconnel MS. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 66. † Kirkconnel MS. ‡ Boyse, p. 104.

§ Lord George Murray's Narrative, in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 53.

|| When Weir was taken, Mr Maxwell says "he was immediately known to be the

royal army, which was posted at Newcastle-under-Line, on hearing of the march of the division of the Highland army upon Congleton, retreated towards Litchfield, and other bodies that were beyond Newcastle advanced for the purpose of concentrating near that town, by which movements the design of Lord George Murray was completely answered. Having thus succeeded in deceiving the duke, Lord George Murray, after passing the night at Congleton, went off early next morning with his division, and turning to the left, passed through Leek, and arrived at Ashbourne in the evening. Charles, who had halted a day at Macclesfield, took the road to Derby by Gawsorth, and entered Leek shortly after the other division had left it. He would have remained there till next morning; but as he considered it unsafe to keep his army divided at such a short distance from the royal forces, who might fall upon either division, he set out from Leek about midnight, and joined the other column at Ashbourne early in the morning.\* The duke of Devonshire, who had been posted in the town of Derby, with a body of seven hundred militia, on hearing of the approach of the Highland army had retired from the town on the preceding evening.†

On the fourth of December Charles put the first division of his army in motion, and at eleven o'clock in the forenoon his van-guard, consisting of thirty horse, entered Derby and ordered quarters for nine thousand men. About three o'clock in the afternoon Lord Elcho arrived with the life-guards and some of the principal officers on horseback. These were followed, in the course of the evening, by the main body, which entered in detached parties to make the army appear as numerous as represented. Charles himself did not arrive till the dusk of the evening; he entered the town on foot, and took up his quarters in a house belonging to the earl of Exeter.‡ During the day the bells were rung, and bonfires were lighted at night. The magistrates were

same person that had been employed in that business in Flanders, the year before. It was proposed to hang him immediately, in punishment of what he had done, and to prevent the mischief he might do in case the prince did not succeed. But the prince could not be brought to consent. He still insisted that Weir was not, properly speaking, a spy, since he was not found in the army in disguise. I cannot tell whether the prince, on this occasion, was guided by his opinion or by his inclination. I suspect the latter, because it was his constant practice to spare his enemies, when they were in his power. I don't believe there was one instance to the contrary to be found in his whole expedition." Kirkconnel MS.

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 54. Kirkconnel MS.

† Boyse, p. 164.

‡ Boyse also mentions the lodgings occupied by the principal officers being the best houses in the town. The marquís of Tullibardine resided at Mr Gisborne's; the duke of Perth at Mrs Revett's; Lord Elcho at Mr Storer's; Lord George Murray at Mr Heathcoat's; Lord Pittsligo at Mr Meynell's; Gordon of Glenbucket at Alderman Smith's; Lord Nairne at Mr Bingham's. Lady Ogilvy and Mrs Murray of Broughton, both of whom accompanied the army, lived at Mr France's. Some gentlemen had nearly 100 privates billeted upon them, and there were few houses that had less than from 30 to 50. An attempt was made to make a census of the army, which, according to the parochial register, amounted to 7,148, exclusive of women and boys; but the number was overrated upwards of 2000. A deception must have been practised by the officers to produce this erroneous result.

ordered to attend in the market-place, in their gowns, to hear the usual proclamations read; but having stated that they had sent their gowns out of town, their attendance was dispensed with, and the proclamations were made by the common crier.\*

The fate of the empire and his own destiny may be said to have now depended upon the next resolution which Charles was to take. He had, after a most triumphant career, approached within one hundred and twenty-seven miles of London, and there seemed to be only another step necessary to complete the chivalrous character of his adventure, and to bring his enterprise to a successful termination. This was, to have instantly adopted the bold and decisive measure of marching upon and endeavouring to seize the capital. The possession of the metropolis, where Charles had a considerable party, would have at once paralysed the government; and the English Jacobites, no longer afraid of openly committing themselves, would have rallied round his standard. The consternation which prevailed in London when the news of the arrival of the Highland army at Derby reached that capital, precludes the idea that any effectual resistance would have been offered on the part of the citizens; and it was the general opinion, that if Charles had succeeded in beating the duke of Cumberland, the army which had assembled on Finchley Common would have dispersed of its own accord.† Alluding, in a number of the ‘True Patriot,’ to the dismay which pervaded the minds of the citizens of London, Fielding says, that when the Highlanders, by “a most incredible march,” got between the duke of Cumberland’s army and the metropolis, they struck a terror into it, “scarce to be credited.” The Chevalier Johnstone, who collected information on the spot shortly after the battle of Culloden, says, that when the intelligence of the capture of Derby reached London, many of the inhabitants fled to the country, carrying along with them their most valuable effects, and that all the shops were shut,—that there was a prodigious run upon the bank, which only escaped bankruptcy by a stratagem,—that although payment was not refused, the bank, in fact, retained its specie, by keeping it continually surrounded by agents of its own with notes, who, to gain time, were paid in sixpences; and as a regulation had been made, that the persons who came first should be entitled to priority of payment; and as the agents went out by one door with the specie they had received, and brought it back by another, the *bona fide* holders of notes could never get near enough to present them,—that King George had ordered his yachts—on board of which he had put all his most precious effects—to remain at the Tower stairs in readiness to sail at a moment’s warning,—and that the duke of Newcastle, secretary of state for the war department, had shut himself up in his house a whole day, deliberating with himself upon the part it would be

\* Marchant, p. 202. Boyse, p. 164.

† Johnstone’s Memoirs, p. 78.



most prudent for him to take, doubtful even whether he should not immediately declare for the prince.\*

The only obstacle to Charles's march upon the capital was the army of the duke of Cumberland, which was within a day's march of Derby. From the relative position of the two armies, the Highlanders might, with their accustomed rapidity, have outstripped the duke's army, and reached the capital at least one day before it; but to Charles it seemed unwise to leave such an army, almost double his own in point of numbers, in his rear, whilst that of Wade's would advance upon his left flank. Of the result of a rencounter with Cumberland, Charles entertained the most sanguine hopes. His army was small, when compared to that of his antagonist; but the paucity of its numbers was fully compensated by the personal bravery of its component parts, and the enthusiastic ardour which pervaded the bosom of every clansman. At no former stage of the campaign were the Highlanders in better spirits than on their arrival at Derby. They are represented by the Chevalier Johnstone as animated to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, and breathing nothing but a desire for the combat; and were to be seen during the whole day waiting in crowds before the shops of the cutlers to get their broadswords sharpened, and even quarrelling with one another for priority in whetting those fearful weapons.† It was not without reason, therefore, that Charles calculated upon defeating Cumberland, and although there was a possibility that that bold and daring adventurer or his army, and perhaps both, might perish in the attempt to seize the capital; yet the importance of the juncture, and the probability that such a favourable opportunity of accomplishing his object might never again occur, seem to justify Charles in his design of advancing immediately upon London. But fortunately for the government, and, as has been generally and perhaps correctly supposed, for the liberties of the nation, other councils prevailed, and Charles reluctantly yielded to the entreaties of his friends, who advised a retreat.

On the morning after the arrival of the Highland army at Derby, Charles held a council of war at his quarters to deliberate upon the course to be pursued. This meeting was attended by almost all the officers who were members thereof. The prince, who never for a moment entertained the least idea of a retreat, and who considered his own personal safety a minor consideration, urged every argument in his power for an immediate advance, with all the vehemence and ardour characteristic of a bold and enterprising mind. He said that he did not doubt, that, as his cause was just, it would prevail,—that he could not think of retreating after coming so far,—and that he was hopeful there would be a defection in the enemy's army, and that some of their troops would join him. Lord George Murray, however, proposed a

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 75.

† Ibid. p. 67.

retreat, and used a variety of arguments, which appeared to him unanswerable, in support of that measure. He represented to his royal highness and the council, that they had advanced into England depending upon French succours, or an insurrection in that kingdom, and that they had been disappointed in both,—that the prince's army, by itself, was by no means a match for the troops which the government had assembled,—that besides the duke of Cumberland's army, which was between seven and eight thousand men strong, and which was expected that night at Stafford, Marshal Wade was coming up by hard marches by the east road with an army of ten thousand men, and that he was already at Ferrybridge, which was within two or three days' march of the Highland army,—that in addition to these two armies, there was a third at least equal to either of them already forming in the neighbourhood of London, consisting of guards and horse, with troops which the government would bring from the coast, where they were quartered; so that there would be three armies of regular troops, amounting together to about thirty thousand men, which would surround the Highland army, which was not above a sixth of that number,—that, admitting that the prince should beat Cumberland or Wade, he might, should he lose a thousand or fifteen hundred of the best of his men, be undone by such a victory, as the rest would be altogether unfit to engage a fresh army, which he must expect to encounter,—that, on the other hand, should the prince be defeated, it could not be supposed that he or any of his men could escape, as the militia, who had not hitherto appeared much against the Highland army, would, upon its defeat, possess themselves of all the roads, and the enemy's horse would surround them on all sides,—that as Lord John Drummond had lately landed in Scotland with his own regiment and some Irish troops from France, the prince would have a better chance of success by returning to Scotland,—that the forces under Lord John Drummond and the Highlanders assembled at Perth, would, when united, form an army almost as numerous as that under the prince,—that since the court of France had begun to send troops, it was to be hoped it would send considerable succours, and as the first had landed in Scotland, it was probable the rest would follow the same route,—that if the prince was cut off, all the succours France could send would avail nothing, and “the king's” affairs would be ruined for ever,—that the prince had no chance of beating in succession the armies opposed to him, unless the English troops should be seized with a panic, and run away at the sight of the Highlanders, a circumstance barely possible, but not to be depended upon,—that the whole world would blame the prince's counsellors as rash and foolish, for venturing an attempt which could not succeed,—and that the prince's person, should he escape being killed in battle, would fall into the enemy's hands. In fine, that nothing short of an absolute certainty of success could justify such a rash undertaking, but that retreat, which was still practicable, and of which Lord George offered to undertake the conduct, would give the

prince a much better chance of succeeding than a battle under such circumstances, and would do him as much honour as a victory.\*

Charles still persevered in his resolution, and insisted on giving battle next morning to the duke of Cumberland, and advancing to London; but the chiefs of the clans unanimously supported the views of Lord George Murray, and represented to his royal highness, that although they had no doubt the Highlanders could easily beat the army of the duke of Cumberland, though greatly superior in point of numbers; yet such a victory could not be obtained without loss; and that an army of four thousand five hundred men opposed to the whole force of England, could not admit of the smallest diminution, especially as they would soon have to fight another battle before entering London with the army on Finchley Common; but supposing that by some extraordinary occurrence they should arrive at the capital without losing a man, what a figure would such a small body of men make amidst its immense population? They added, that the prince ought now to perceive clearly how little he had to expect from his English partizans, since, after traversing all the counties reputed as to have been most attached to his family, not a single person of distinction had declared for him.† With the exception of the duke of Perth, who, from deference to the prince, concurred in his opinion, all the persons present were for a retreat; but he at last also declared for that measure.‡

Finding his council resolved upon a retreat, Charles proposed marching into Wales instead of returning to Carlisle; but this proposal was also opposed by all present. His royal highness at last reluctantly yielded to the opinion of his council. In conducting the retreat, Lord George Murray offered to remain always in the rear himself, and proposed that each regiment should take it by turns till the army reached Carlisle; and that it should march in such order, that if Lord George was attacked he might be supported as occasion required, and without stopping the army unless assailed by a great body of the enemy. He also stipulated that the cannon and carriages, with the ammunition, should be placed in the van, and that he should not be troubled with the charge of them.§

To prevent any unpleasant feeling on the part of the army on account of the retreat, and to conceal the intelligence of their movements as long as possible from the enemy, the council agreed to keep the resolution to retreat secret; but it was divulged to Sir John Macdonald,

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative. Kirkconnel MS.

† Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 71.

‡ There seems to be an apparent discrepancy between Lord George's statement, (*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 55,) and that of the Chevalier Johnstone, (*Memoirs*, p. 71,) relative to the conduct of the duke of Perth: but the account in the text agrees with the account of Charles himself, in Appendix, No. 33, to *Home's Works*, who says, that with the exception of himself, all the members of the council "were of opinion that the retreat was absolutely necessary."

§ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 56.

an Irish gentleman, and an officer in the French service, who had come over with the prince. In the course of the afternoon, Lord George Murray, Keppoch, and Lochiel, while walking together, were accosted by this gentleman, who had just dined heartily, and made free with his bottle, and were rallied by him a good deal about the retreat. "What!" addressing Keppoch, "a Macdonald turn his back!" and turning to Lochiel, he continued, "For shame! A Cameron run away from the enemy! Go forward, and I'll lead you." The two chiefs and Lord George endeavoured to persuade Sir John that he was labouring under a mistake; but he insisted that he was right, as he had received certain information of the retreat.\*

Disappointed at the result of the deliberations of the council, Charles was exceedingly dejected. To raise his spirits, or to ingratiate themselves with him, some of the council, and particularly Sir Thomas Sheridan and Secretary Murray, though they had approved highly of the motion to retreat in the council, now very inconsistently blamed it. They were, however, aware that the retreat would, notwithstanding their opposition, be put in execution, and to excuse themselves for agreeing to it, they alleged that they did so, because they knew the army would never fight well when the officers were opposed to its wishes. The prince was easily persuaded that he had consented too readily to a retreat, but he would not retract the consent he had given unless he could bring over those to whom he had given it to his own sentiments, which he hoped he might be able to do. With this view he called another meeting of the council in the evening, and in the mean time sent for the marquis of Tullibardine, who had been absent from the meeting in the morning, to ask his opinion. The marquis finding the prince bent upon advancing, declared himself against a retreat; but after hearing the arguments of the advocates of that measure at the meeting in the evening, the marquis retracted his opinion, and declared himself fully satisfied of its necessity. Having been informed of the conduct of those who had tampered with the prince, the rest of the officers told him at meeting, that they valued their lives as little as brave men ought to do, and if he was resolved to march forward, they would do their duty to the last; but they requested, for their own satisfaction, that those persons who had advised his royal highness to advance, would give their opinion in writing. This proposal put an end to farther discussion, and Charles, finding the members of council inflexible in their opinion, gave way to the general sentiment.†

In connexion with the arrival of Lord John Drummond, a short account of the negotiations of the agents of the Chevalier de St George with the French court, in reference to the prince's expedition, shall now be given.

When the intelligence of the prince's departure reached Rome, Prince

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 57.

† *Ibid.* Kirkconnel MS.



Henry, his brother, expressed a wish to follow him; but his father being averse to such a step, he relinquished that intention. In the expectation, however, that the French court would fit out an expedition for England, James sent Prince Henry to France, as he considered that "it would be highly proper on all accounts, and of great advantage, that he should be at the head" of any troops that might be sent to England.\* He accordingly took his departure from Rome, on the twenty-ninth of August, and was directed to proceed to Avignon, there to wait, "in a kind of incognito," the orders of the king of France, to whom he was requested to write on his arrival there. Henry reached Avignon about the end of September, and sent notice to the French court of his arrival; but the French ministers were opposed to the proposal of inviting him to Paris in the present posture of affairs. Meanwhile, Lords Marischal and Clancarty urged, with great assiduity, a supply of troops. During the summer, the Chevalier's agents had demanded a force of six thousand men to be landed near London; but Lord Marischal now required an army of six thousand men for Scotland alone, and Lord Clancarty demanded one of fourteen thousand for England. These demands were far beyond what the French court ever contemplated, and the vehemence with which they were urged by Lord Marischal, was by no means calculated to promote the object in view. The French ministry, however, promised to support the prince with a body of troops, and, as an earnest of their intentions, despatched vessels to Scotland at different times with small supplies of money, arms, and ammunition.

Hitherto the French court had not come under any written engagement to support the enterprise of Charles; but after the news of the capture of Edinburgh reached France, a treaty was entered into with the crown of France. By this treaty, which was signed at Fontainebleau, on the twenty-fourth day of October, seventeen hundred and forty-five, by the Marquis D'Argenson, on the part of the French king, and by Colonel O'Bryen, on the part of Prince Charles, as regent of Scotland, it was stipulated, 1mo. That there should be friendship and alliance between the crown of France, and the provinces which had already submitted, or should thereafter submit to the regency of the prince, and that they should mutually endeavour to strengthen and increase still farther the good understanding between the two kingdoms for the common advantage of both. 2do. That as his most Christian majesty was desirous to contribute to the success of the Prince Regent Charles Edward Stuart, and of placing him in a condition to act with greater energy against their common enemy, the elector of Hanover, he engaged to aid the prince in every practicable way. 3tio. With this view, his most Christian majesty agreed to furnish the prince with a body of troops to be taken from the Irish regiments in the service of France, along with other troops, to serve under his royal highness, to defend the provinces

\* Letter from the Chevalier de St George to Sempil, 30th Aug. 1745, in the Appendix.

which had submitted, or should submit, to the regency, to attack the common enemy, and to follow every movement which might be judged useful or necessary. 4to. In consideration of the alliance contracted between his most Christian majesty and the house of Stuart, the king of France and the prince royal mutually promised and engaged not to furnish any aid to their respective enemies, and to prevent as much as in their power any damage or prejudice to their respective states and subjects, and to labour with union and concert in establishing peace upon a footing of reciprocal advantage to both nations. 5to. For cementing still farther the union and good feeling between the crown of France and the states which had then submitted, or should thereafter submit themselves to the regency of Charles Edward, the contracting parties engaged as soon as tranquillity should be re-established, to enter into a treaty of commerce for procuring all the mutual advantages which might tend to the reciprocal good of the two nations. By a secret article in this treaty, it was stipulated, that as his most Christian majesty was to furnish Prince Charles with a body of troops taken from the Scotch and Irish regiments in France, and as it was the common interest of both to recruit the said troops, and perhaps to augment them, the prince, in consideration of that aid, would give every facility in his power to the officers of said troops, to raise levies and recruits in the provinces which had then submitted, or should thereafter submit to the regency.\*

Lord John Drummond, who commanded a regiment in the French service, known by the name of Royal Scots, was appointed to the command of the troops destined for Scotland. Preparations were immediately made to fit out the expedition, and Lord John received written instructions, dated from Fontainebleau, twenty-eighth of October, and signed by the French king, requiring him to repair immediately to Ostend, to superintend the embarkation of the troops. By these instructions, Lord John was directed to disembark the troops if possible upon the coast between Edinburgh and Berwick, and as soon as he had landed to give notice of his arrival to Prince Charles, and that the succours which he had brought were entirely at the disposal of the orders of the prince, to which Lord John himself was directed to conform, either by joining his army, or acting separately, according to the views of Charles. Lord John was also instructed to notify his arrival to the commander of the Dutch troops lately arrived in England, and to intimate to him to abstain from hostilities, agreeably to the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde. He was required to ask a prompt and categorical answer as to how he meant to act without sending to the Hague, as the states-general had declared to the Abbè de la Ville, that they had given positive orders to the commanders of these troops not to infringe the said capitulations; and if, notwithstanding such notification, the Dutch troops should com-

\* See a copy of this treaty in the Appendix, as well as the requisition by Colonel O'Brien on which it proceeded, both taken from original copies among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

mit acts of hostility against those of the king of France, his lordship was ordered to confine closely such Dutch prisoners he might make, and to listen to no terms which would recognise a violation of the capitulations, or dispense the king of France from enforcing the engagement that had been entered into with the Dutch, as to the exchange of prisoners of war.\*

Lord John Drummond accordingly proceeded to the coast, and having completed the embarkation of the troops, he set sail from Dunkirk about the middle of November, carrying along with him his own regiment, a select detachment from each of the six Irish regiments in the service of France, and Fitz-James's regiment of horse, so called from the duke of Berwick, natural son of James the Second, who had been their colonel. Along with these troops were embarked a train of artillery, and a considerable quantity of arms and ammunition. The forces embarked amounted to about a thousand men, but they did not all reach their destination, as some of the transports were taken by English cruizers, and others were obliged to return to Dunkirk.†

Lord John Drummond arrived at Montrose about the end of November, and on the second of December he issued the following manifesto: "We, Lord John Drummond, commander-in-chief of his most Christian

\* See these instructions in the Appendix, with an order from the king of France to the troops destined for the expedition, both taken from original copies among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

† Before embarking, Lord John addressed the following letter to the Chevalier de St George:—

DUNKERQUE, 13th Nov. 1745.

SIR,—I send to your Majesty, here inclosed, a copy of the orders and instructions I have got from the king of France, and tho' the number of troopes is not considerable, at least we have obtaint a positive and open declaration of ther intentions. Mr O'brien has, I suppose, given your Majesty a full account how this negotiation went one.

I embark to-day for Scotland at the head, I may say, of about a thousand men that ar full of zeal and desire of shedding the last drop of their blood in contributing to your Majesty's restoration. I will add nothing more, but that I am inflamed with the very same desire, and am with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble and obedient servant and subject,

J. DRUMMOND.

The foregoing letter was inclosed in another, of which the following is a copy, to Mr Edgar, the Chevalier's private Secretary:—

DUNKERQUE, 13th Nov. 1745.

SIR,—I send you here inclosed a letter, you will be pleased to remit to his Majesty. I am so full of joy at going this moment on board that in the next land we come to, we will be fighting for our king and country, that I will say nothing, but will do my endeavours that we may express in a stronger manner than by words.

I will write to you as often as I can find proper oportunitys, who am with great value and esteem, &c.

J. DRUMMOND.

I hope you will have obtained for me a commission of Major-General, which may send to Mr O'bryen for me.

*From the originals among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his Majesty.*

majesty's forces in Scotland, do hereby declare, that we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make war against the king of England, elector of Hanover, and his adherents ; and that the positive orders we have from his most Christian majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom, whom he has declared to be those who will not immediately join or assist as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of Wales, regent in Scotland, &c. and his ally ; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the king of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary, at the expense of all the men and money he is master of ; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his most Christian majesty's positive orders are, that his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his royal highness's cause."

From Montrose, Lord John despatched part of his forces to Aberdeen to aid Lord Lewis Gordon, and proceeded with the rest to Perth, where he established his head-quarters. In terms of his instructions, he sent a messenger to England with a letter to Count Nassau, the commander-in-chief of the Dutch auxiliaries, notifying his arrival, and requiring him to observe a neutrality. He also carried letters to the commanders of the royal forces. The bearer of these despatches, having obtained an escort of eight dragoons at Stirling, proceeded to Edinburgh, and having delivered a letter to General Guest, the commander of the castle, went on to Newcastle, and delivered letters to the Count and Marshal Wade. The Marshal, however, refused to receive any message "from a person who was a subject of the king, and in rebellion against his majesty." At the same time his lordship sent another messenger with a letter to Lord Fortrose, announcing his arrival, and urging him to declare for the prince as the only mode he had of retrieving his character. To induce him to join, Lord John informed his lordship that the prince had entered Wales, where he had about ten thousand friends, and that "his royal highness, the duke of York," accompanied by Lord Marischal, would immediately join him at the head of ten thousand men.\*

Apprehensive that Lord John would cross the Forth above Stirling, two regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, which had arrived at Edinburgh from Berwick, on the fourteenth of November, began their march to Stirling, on the seventh of December, to guard the passages of the Forth, and were joined at Stirling by the Glasgow regiment of six hundred men, commanded by the earl of Home. Lord John Drummond, however, it appears, had no intention of crossing the Forth at this time.

Almost simultaneous with Lord John Drummond's expedition, the French ministers appear to have contemplated a descent upon England,

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 227. Appendix, No. 35.



under Lord Marischal, preparatory to which, Prince Henry repaired, by invitation, to Paris. Twelve thousand men were to have been employed upon this expedition; but the retreat of Charles from Derby, and the difficulty of transporting such a large force to England, seem to have prevented its execution. Had Charles penetrated to London, the French court would certainly have made the attempt, and had it succeeded in landing a considerable body of troops, the Hanoverian dynasty must have ceased to exist in England.\*

On arriving at Derby, Charles had sent forward a party on the road to London to take possession of Swarkstone bridge, about six miles from Derby. Orders had been given to break down this bridge, but before these orders could be put in execution, the Highlanders had possessed themselves of it. The duke of Cumberland, who, before this movement, had left Stafford with the main body of his army for Stone, returned to the former place, on the fourth of December, on learning that the Highland army was at Derby. Apprehending that it was the intention of Charles to march to London, he resolved to retire towards Northampton, in order to intercept him; but finding that the young Chevalier remained at Derby, his royal highness halted, and encamped on Meriden Common, in the neighbourhood of Coventry.†

Agreeably to a resolution which had been entered into the previous evening, the Highland army began its retreat early in the morning of the sixth of December, before daybreak. Scarcely any of the officers, with the exception of those of the council, were aware of the resolution, and all the common men were entirely ignorant of the step they were about to take. To have communicated such a resolution to the army all at once, would, in its present disposition, have produced a mutiny. To keep the army in suspense as to its destination, a quantity of powder and ball was distributed among the men, as if they were going into action, and by some it was insinuated that Wade was at hand, and that they were going to fight him; whilst by others it was said that the duke of Cumberland's army was the object of their attack.‡ At the idea of meeting the enemy, the Highlanders displayed the greatest cheerfulness; but as soon as they could discriminate by day-light the objects around them, and could discover by an examination of the road, that they were retracing their steps, nothing was to be heard throughout the whole army, but expressions of rage and lamentation. Had it sustained a defeat, the grief of the army could not have been more acute. Even some of those who were in the secret of the retreat, and thought it the only reasonable scheme that could be adopted, could scarcely be reconciled to it when about to be carried into effect.§

Charles himself partook deeply of the distress of his men. Over-

\* Vide extracts from the correspondence of Sempil and Drummond, in relation to the proposed expedition, in the Appendix.

† Boyse, p. 166. ‡ Kirkconnel MS. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 78. § Kirkconnel MS.

come by the intensity of his feelings, he was unable for a time to proceed with the army, and it was not until his men had been several hours on their march that he left Derby. Forced in spite of himself to give a reluctant assent to a measure, which, whilst it rendered useless all the advantages he had obtained, rendered his chance of gaining the great stake he was contending for extremely problematical; his spirits sunk within him, and an air of melaucholy marked his exterior. In marching forwards, he had always been first up in the morning, put his men in motion before break of day, and had generally walked on foot; but in the retreat, the scene was totally changed. Instead of taking the lead, he allowed the army to start long before he left his quarters, kept the rear always behind waiting for him, and when he came out mounted his horse, and rode straight forward to his next quarters with the van.\*

After the first burst of indignation had in some degree subsided, and when the men began to speculate upon the reasons which could have induced the retreat, a statement was given out that the reinforcements expected from Scotland were on the road, and had already entered England,—that Wade was endeavouring to intercept them,—that the object of the retrograde movement was to effect a junction with them,—and that as soon as these reinforcements had joined the army, the march to London would be resumed. It was hinted that they would probably meet these reinforcements about Preston or Lancaster. The prospect thus held out to them of a speedy advance upon London, tended to allay the passions of the men, but they continued sullen and silent during the whole of the day.†

The army lay the first night at Ashburne. It reached Leek next day; but that town being too small to accommodate the army, Elcho's and Pitsligo's horse, and Ogilvy's and Roy Stuart's regiments of foot, went on to Macclesfield, where they passed the night. The remainder of the army came next day to Macclesfield, and the other division, which had passed the night there, went to Stockport. On the ninth both divisions met on the road to Manchester, and entered that town in a body. There had been considerable rioting and confusion in Manchester on the preceding day. Imagining from the retreat that the Highland army had sustained a reverse, a mob had collected, and, being reinforced by great numbers of country people with arms, had insulted the Jacobite inhabitants, and seemed disposed to dispute the entrance of the Highland army into the town; but upon the first appearance of the van, the mob quietly dispersed, and order was restored.‡ In the retreat some abuses were committed by stragglers, who could not be prevented from going into houses. As Lord George Murray found great difficulty in bringing these up, he

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 59.

† Kirkeconnel MS.

‡ Ibid.

found it necessary to appoint an expert officer out of every regiment to assist in collecting the men belonging to their different corps who had kept behind, a plan which he found very useful.\*

It was Charles's intention to have halted a day at Manchester, and he issued orders to that effect; but on Lord George Murray representing to him that delay might be dangerous, the army left that town on the forenoon of the tenth, and reached Wigan that night. Next day the army came to Preston, where it halted the whole of the twelfth. From Preston the duke of Perth was despatched north with a hundred horse, to bring up the reinforcements from Perth.†

The prince arrived at Lancaster late in the evening of the thirteenth. On reaching his quarters, Lord George Murray found that orders had been given out, that the army was to halt there all the next day. On visiting Charles's quarters next morning, Lord George was told by the prince that he had resolved to fight the enemy, and desired him to go along with O'Sullivan, and reconnoitre the ground in the neighbourhood for the purpose of choosing a field of battle. His lordship, contrary to the expectations of those who had advised Charles to fight, and who supposed that Lord George would have opposed that measure, offered no advice on the subject. He merely proposed that as the ground suitable for regular troops might not answer the Highlanders, some Highland officers should also inspect the ground, and as Lochiel was present, he requested that he would go along with him,—a request with which he at once complied. With an escort of horse and foot, and accompanied by Lochiel and O'Sullivan, Lord George returned back about two miles, where he found a very fine field upon a rising ground sufficiently large for the whole army, and which was so situated, that from whatever quarter the enemy could come, the army would be completely covered till the enemy were close upon them. After surveying these grounds very narrowly, and taking three of the enemy's rangers prisoners, the reconnoitering party returned to Lancaster. From the prisoners Lord George received information that the corps called the rangers was at Garstang, and that a great body of Wade's dragoons had entered Preston a few hours after he had left it. His lordship reported to the prince the result of the survey, and told him that if the number of his men was sufficient to meet the enemy, he could not wish a better field of battle for the Highlanders; but Charles informed him that he had altered his mind, and that he meant to proceed on his march next day.‡

It is now necessary to notice the movements of the duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade. By retaining possession of Swarkstone bridge for some time after his main body left Derby, Charles deceived Cumberland as to his motions, and the Highland army was two days' march distant from the duke's army before he was aware of its departure from

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 58.

† *Kirkcounel MS.*

‡ *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 60. *Kirkcounel MS.*

Derby. As soon, however, as he was apprized of the retreat, the duke put himself at the head of his horse and dragoons, and a thousand volunteers mounted upon horses, furnished by some of the gentlemen of Warwickshire, for the purpose of stopping the Highlanders till the royal army should come up, or, failing in that design, of harassing them in their retreat. He marched by Uttoxeter and Cheadle; but the roads being excessively bad, he did not arrive at Macclesfield till the night of the tenth, on which day the Highland army had reached Wigan. At Macclesfield the duke received intelligence that the Highlanders had left Manchester that day. His royal highness thereupon sent orders to the magistrates of Manchester to seize all stragglers belonging to the Highland army: he directed Bligh's regiment, then at Chester, to march to Macclesfield, and, at the same time, ordered the Liverpool Blues to return to Warrington, where they had been formerly posted. Early on the eleventh, he detached Major Wheatly with the dragoons in pursuit of the Highlanders. Meanwhile Marshal Wade having held a council of war on the eighth, at Ferrybridge, in Yorkshire, had resolved to march by Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the insurgents in their retreat northwards. He accordingly came to Wakefield on the tenth at night, where, learning that the van-guard of the Highland army had reached Wigan, he concluded that he would not be able to overtake it, and therefore resolved to return to his old post at Newcastle by easy marches. He, however, detached General Oglethorpe with the horse to join the duke. This officer crossed Blackstone-Edge with such expedition, that he reached Preston on the same day that the Highlanders left it, having marched about one hundred miles in three days, over roads at any time unfavourable, but now rendered almost impassable by frost and snow. At Preston, Oglethorpe found the Georgia rangers, and was joined by a detachment of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Mordaunt. Here these united forces halted nearly a whole day, in consequence of an express which the duke of Cumberland had received from London, announcing that a French expedition from Dunkirk had put to sea, and requiring him to hold himself in readiness to return to the capital. This information was afterwards found to be erroneous; but it was of service to the Highlanders, who, in consequence of the halt of the royal forces, gained a whole day's march a-head of their pursuers.\*

In his retreat, the chief danger the prince had to apprehend was from the army of Wade, who, by marching straight across the country into Cumberland, might have reached Penrith a day at least before the prince; but by the information he received of the route taken by Wade's cavalry, he saw that the danger now was that the united cavalry of both armies might fall upon his rear before he could reach Carlisle. He therefore left Lancaster on the fifteenth; but the rear of his army was

\* Boyse, p. 125.



scarcely out of the town when some of the enemy's horse entered it. The town bells were then rung, and the word being given from the rear to the front, that the enemy was approaching, the Highlanders formed in order of battle; but the alarm turning out to be false, the army continued its march to Kendal. The enemy's horse, however, followed two or three miles, and appeared frequently in small parties, but attempted nothing. The army entered Kendal that night, where they were met by the duke of Perth and his party. In his way north, the duke had been attacked in this town by a mob, which he soon dispersed by firing on them; but in the neighbourhood of Penrith, he met with a more serious obstruction, having been attacked by a considerable body of militia, both horse and foot, and being vastly outnumbered, was obliged to retreat back to Kendal.\*

As Lord George Murray considered it impossible to transport the four-wheeled waggons belonging to the army to Shap, he proposed to the prince to substitute two-wheeled carts for them,† and as he was afraid that no provisions could be obtained at Shap, he suggested that the men should be desired to provide themselves with a day's provision of bread and cheese. Orders were accordingly issued agreeably to these suggestions, but that regarding the waggons seems not to have been attended to; and by some oversight, the order about the provisions was not communicated to many of them till they were on their march next morning. The consequence was, that the men who were unprovided returned to the town, and much confusion would have ensued, had not Lord George Murray sent some detachments of the rear with officers into the town to preserve order, and to see the men return to the army. This omission retarded considerably the march of the army. The difficulties which Lord George Murray had anticipated in transporting the waggons across the hills were realized, and by the time he had marched four miles and got among the hills, he was obliged to halt all night, and take up his quarters at a farm house about a gun-shot off the road. The Glengary men were in the rear that day, and though reckoned by his lordship not the most patient of mortals, he says he "never was better pleased with men in his life," having done all that was possible for men to do.‡

With the exception of the Glengary regiment, the army passed the

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 460. Kirkconnel MS.

† Maxwell of Kirkconnel gives a different version of this matter from that of Lord George Murray. After stating that his lordship represented to Charles the dangerous situation he might be in if the united armies of Wade and Cumberland overtook him before reaching Carlisle, he says that Lord George "proposed to avoid them by sacrificing the cannon and all the heavy baggage to the safety of the men, which was now at stake. He observed that the country is mountainous betwixt Kendal and Penrith, and the roads, in many places, very difficult for such carriages; but the prince was positive not to leave a single piece of his cannon. He would rather fight both their armies than give such an argument of fear and weakness. He gave peremptory orders that the march should be continued in the same order as hitherto, and not a single carriage to be left at Kendal."

‡ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 63.

night between the sixteenth and seventeenth at Shap.\* On the morning of the seventeenth, Lord George received two messages from Charles, ordering him upon no account to leave the least thing, not so much as a cannon ball behind, as he would rather return himself than that any thing should be left. Though his lordship had undertaken to conduct the retreat on the condition that he should not be troubled with the charge of the baggage, ammunition, &c. he promised to do every thing in his power to carry every thing along with him. To lighten the ammunition waggons, some of which had broken down, his lordship prevailed upon the men to carry about two hundred cannon balls, for which service he gave the bearers sixpence each. With difficulty the rear-guard reached Shap that night at a late hour. Here he found most of the cannon, and some of the ammunition with Colonel Roy Stuart and his battalion.† The same night, the prince with the main body arrived at Penrith. Some parties of militia appeared at intervals; but they kept at a considerable distance, without attempting hostilities.‡

Early in the morning of the eighteenth, the rear-guard left Shap; but as some of the small carriages were continually breaking, its march was much retarded. It had not proceeded far when some parties of English light-horse were observed hovering at some distance on the eminences behind the rear-guard. Lord George Murray notified the circumstance to the prince at Penrith; but as it was supposed that these were militia, the information was treated lightly. No attempt was made to attack the rear-guard, or obstruct its progress, till about mid-day, when a body of between two and three hundred horse, chiefly Cumberland people, formed in front of the rear-guard, behind an eminence near Clifton Hall, and seemed resolved to make a stand. Lord George Murray was about to ascend this eminence, when this party was observed marching two and two abreast on the top of the hill. They suddenly disappeared as if to form themselves in order of battle behind the eminence, and made a great noise with trumpets and kettle-drums. At this time two of the companies of Roy Stuart's regiment, which the duke of Perth had attached to the artillery, were at the head of the column. The guns and ammunition waggons followed, behind the two other companies of the same regiment. The Glengary regiment, which marched with Lord George Murray at its head, was in the rear of the column.§ Believing, from the great number of trumpets and kettle-drums, that the English army was at hand, the rear-guard remained for a short time at the bottom of the hill, as if at a loss how to act in a conjuncture which appeared so des-

\* In the prince's Household Book, printed among the Jacobite Memoirs, the following entries occur:—

Dec. 17th, At Shape, Tuesday

To ale, wine, and other provisions, . . . £4 17.

The landlady for the use of her house, . . . 2 2.

N.B. The landlady a sad wife for imposing.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 65.

‡ Kirkconnel MS.

§ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 65. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 85.

perate. It was the opinion of Colonel Brown, an officer of Lally's regiment, who was at the head of the column, that they should rush upon the enemy sword in hand, and either open a passage to the army at Penrith, or perish in the attempt. The men of the four companies adopting this opinion, immediately ran up the hill, without informing Lord George Murray of their resolution; and his lordship, on observing this movement, immediately ordered the Glengary men to proceed across the inclosure, and ascend the hill from another quarter, as they could not conveniently pass the waggons which had almost blocked up the roads. The Glengary men, throwing off their plaids, reached the summit of the hill almost as soon as the head of the column, on gaining which, both parties were agreeably surprised to find, that the only enemy in view was the light horse they had observed a few minutes before, and who, alarmed at the appearance of the Highlanders, galloped off in disorder. One of the fugitives fell from his horse, and was cut to pieces in an instant by the Highlanders.\*

The rear-guard resumed its march, and on reaching the village of Clifton, Lord George Murray sent the artillery and heavy baggage forward to Penrith under a small escort. Being well acquainted with all the inclosures and parks about Lowther Hall, the seat of Lord Lonsdale, about the distance of a mile from Clifton, Lord George Murray, at the head of the Glengary regiment and some horse, examined these parks and inclosures in the hope of falling in with the light horse; but, although he saw several of them, he only succeeded in making two prisoners. One of these appeared to be a militia officer, and was clothed in a green uniform, and the other was a footman of the duke of Cumberland. By these prisoners Lord George was informed that the duke himself, with a body of four thousand horse, was about a mile behind him. As Clifton was a very good post, Lord George Murray resolved to remain there; and on his return to the village he sent Colonel Roy Stuart with the two prisoners to Penrith, to inform Charles of the near approach of the duke, and that he would remain at Clifton till further orders. In the event of the prince approving of his intention of making a stand at Preston, his lordship requested that a thousand men might be sent him from Penrith. On returning to Clifton from Lowther parks, Lord George found the duke of Perth there; and, besides Colonel Roy Stuart's men, who amounted to about two hundred, he also found the Macphersons with their chief, Cluny Macpherson, and the Stewarts of Appin, headed by Stewart of Ardshiel.†

Before the return of Colonel Roy Stuart from Penrith, the enemy appeared in sight, and proceeded to form themselves into two lines upon Clifton moor, about half a mile from the village. The duke of Perth thereupon rode back to Penrith to bring up the rest of the army to support Lord George, who he supposed would, from the strength of his position, be able to maintain himself till joined by the main body. The

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 87.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 66.

duke was accompanied by an English gentleman who had attended Lord George during the retreat, and, knowing the country perfectly well, had offered to lead without discovery the main body a near way by the left, by which movement they would be enabled to fall upon the enemy's flank. Had Lord George received the reinforcement he required, his design was to have sent half of his men through the inclosures on his right, so as to have flanked the duke's army on that side, whilst it was attacked on the other by the other half. He expected that if he succeeded in killing but a small number of Cumberland's horse that the rest would be thrown into disorder, and that as they would be obliged to retreat through a lane nearly a mile long, between Lord Lonsdale's inclosures, that they would choke up the road, and that many of them would be unable to escape. In absence of this reinforcement, however, the Lieutenant-general was obliged to make the best dispositions he could with the force he had with him, which amounted to about a thousand men in all, exclusive of Lord Pitsligo's horse and hussars, who, on the appearance of the enemy, shamefully fled to Penrith.\*

The dispositions of Lord George were these. Within the inclosures to the right of the highway he posted the Glengary men, and within those to their left he placed the Stewarts of Appin and the Macphersons. On the side of the highway, and close to the village of Clifton, he placed Colonel Roy Stuart's regiment. As some ditches at the foot stretched farther towards the moor on the right than on the left, and as that part was also covered by Lord Lonsdale's other inclosures, the party on the right could not easily be attacked; and they had this advantage, that they could with their fire flank the enemy when they attacked the left. To induce the enemy to believe that his numbers were much greater than they were, Lord George, after exhibiting the colours he had at different places, caused them to be rolled up, carried to other places, and again unfurled.†

About an hour after the duke of Cumberland had formed his men, about five hundred of his dragoons dismounted and advanced forward to the foot of the moor, in front of a ditch at the bottom of one of three small inclosures between the moor and the places where Roy Stuart's men were posted at the village. At this time Colonel Stuart returned from Penrith, and, after informing Lord George that the prince had resolved to march immediately to Carlisle, and that he had sent forward his cannon, he stated that it was his royal highness's desire that he should immediately retreat to Penrith. From the situation in which the Lieutenant-general was now placed, it was impossible to obey this order without great danger. The dismounted horse were already firing upon the Highlanders, who were within musket shot; and, if retreat was once begun, the men might get into confusion in the dark, and become discouraged. Lord George proposed to attack the dismounted party, and stated his

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 68.

† *Ibid.* p. 67.



confidence that he would be able by attacking them briskly to dislodge them: Cluny Macpherson and Colonel Stuart concurring in Lord George's opinion, that the course he proposed was the only prudent one that could be adopted, they agreed not to mention the message from the prince.

In pursuance of this determination, Lord George Murray went to the right where the Glengary men were posted, and ordered them, as soon as they should observe him advance on the other side, to move also forward and keep up a smart fire till they came to the lowest ditch. He observed that if they succeeded in dislodging the enemy from the hedges and ditches, they could give them a flank fire within pistol shot; but he gave them particular injunctions not to fire across the highway, nor to follow the enemy up the moor. After speaking with every officer of the Glengary regiment, his lordship returned to the left, and placed himself at the head of the Macphersons, with Cluny by his side. It was now about an hour after sun-set, and the night was somewhat cloudy; but at short intervals the moon, which was in its second quarter, broke through and afforded considerable light. The Highlanders had this advantage, that whilst they could see the disposition of the enemy, their own movements could not be observed. In taking their ground the dismounted dragoons had not only lined the bottom inclosures which ran from east to west, directly opposite the other inclosures in which the Highlanders were posted, but some of them had advanced up along two hedges that lay south and north.

The Highlanders being ready to advance, the Stewarts and Macphersons marched forward at the word of command, as did the Macdonalds on the right. The Highlanders on the right kept firing as they advanced; but the Macphersons, who were on the left, came sooner in contact with the dragoons, and received the whole of their fire. When the balls were whizzing about them, Cluny exclaimed, "What the devil is this?" Lord George told him that they had no remedy but to attack the dragoons, sword in hand, before they had time to charge again. Then drawing his sword, he cried out, "Claymore," and Cluny doing the same, the Macphersons rushed down to the bottom ditch of the inclosure, and clearing the diagonal hedges as they went, fell sword in hand upon the enemy, of whom a considerable number were killed at the lower ditch. The rest fled across the moor, but received in their flight the fire of the Glengary regiment. In this skirmish only twelve Highlanders were killed; but the royal forces sustained a loss of about one hundred in killed and wounded, including some officers. The only officer wounded on the side of the Highlanders was Macdonald of Lochgary, who commanded the Glengary men. Lord George Murray made several narrow escapes. Old Glenbucket, who, from infirmity, remained at the end of the village on horseback, had lent him his target, and it was fortunate for Lord George that he had done so. By means of this shield, which was convex, and covered with a plate of metal painted, his lordship protected himself from the bullets of the dragoons, which cleared away the paint off

the target in several places.\* The only prisoner taken on this occasion was another footman of the duke of Cumberland, who stated that his master would have been killed, if a pistol, with which a Highlander took aim at his head, had not missed fire. This man was sent back to his royal highness by the prince.†

After remaining a short time at Clifton after the skirmish, Lord George went to Penrith, where he found the prince ready to mount for Carlisle. His royal highness was very well pleased with the result of the action. The men that had been engaged halted at Penrith a short time to refresh themselves; and the prince, after sending Clanranald's and Keppoch's regiments as far back as Clifton bridge, to induce the inhabitants to believe that he meant to fight the duke of Cumberland, left Penrith for Carlisle with the main body. Next morning the whole army reached Carlisle, where the prince found letters, though rather of an old date, from Lord John Drummond and Lord Strathallan. Lord John gave him great encouragement from the court of France, and informed his royal highness that it was the desire of the king of France that the prince should proceed with great caution, and if possible avoid a decisive action till he received the succours the king of France intended to send him, which would be such as to put his success beyond all doubt, and that, in the mean time, he, (Lord John), had brought over some troops and a train of artillery, sufficient to reduce all the fortresses in Scotland. Lord Strathallan gave a very favourable account of the state of the army assembled at Perth, which he represented as better than that which the prince had with him. As nothing positive, however, was known at Carlisle of the operations of the Jacobite forces in the north, Charles resolved to continue the retreat into Scotland. Contrary to the opinion of Lord George Murray, who advised him to evacuate Carlisle, Charles resolved to leave a garrison there to facilitate his return into England, of which at the time he had strong hopes when joined by the forces under Lords Strathallan and Drummond.‡ As Carlisle was not tenable, and as the Highland army could easily have re-entered England independent of any obstruction from any garrison which could be put into it, the conduct of Charles in leaving a portion of his army behind, has been justly reprehended; but there is certainly no room for the accusation which has been made against him, of having wilfully sacrificed the unfortunate garrison.§ It was not without difficulty that Charles

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 72.—Kirkconnel MS.—Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 463.

† Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 92.

‡ Kirkconnel MS.

§ Alluding to the retention of Carlisle, Mr Maxwell observes, "This was perhaps the worst resolution the prince had taken hitherto. I cannot help condemning it, though there were specious pretexts for it. It was, to be sure, much for the prince's reputation upon leaving England, to keep one of the keys of it, and he was in hopes of returning before it could be taken; but he could not be absolutely sure of that, and the place was not tenable against a few pieces of artillery, of battering cannon, or a few mortars. It's true he had a good many prisoners in Scotland, and might look upon them as pledges for the lives of those he left in garrison; but that was not enough. He did not know what kind of people he had to deal with, and he ought to be prepared against the worst

could make up a garrison. The duke of Perth was unwilling to allow any of his men to remain; and appearing to complain in the presence of the prince that a certain number of the Athole men had not been draughted for that service, Lord George Murray told him, also in the prince's presence, that if his royal highness would order him, he would stay with the Athole brigade, though he knew what his fate would be.\* The number of men left in garrison amounted to about four hundred. Mr Hamilton was continued in the command of the castle, and Mr Townley was made commandant of the town.

The Highland army halted the whole of the nineteenth in Carlisle, and departed next day for Scotland. The Esk, which forms part of the boundary between England and Scotland on the west, was, from an incessant rain of several days, rendered impassable by the nearest road from Carlisle; but at the distance of about eight miles from Carlisle it was still fordable. The army reached the place, where they intended to cross, about two o'clock in the afternoon. Before crossing the water, the following route was fixed upon by the advice of Lord George Murray, whose opinion had been asked by Charles in presence of some of his officers, viz., that Lord George, with six battalions, should march that night to Ecclefechan, next day to Moffat, and there halt a day; and after making a feint towards the Edinburgh road, as if he intended to march upon the capital, to turn off to Douglas, then to Hamilton and Glasgow,—that the prince should go with the clans and most of the horse that night to Annan, next day to Dumfries, where they should rest a day; then to Drumlanrig, Leadhills, Douglas, and Hamilton, so as to be at Glasgow the day after the arrival in that city of Lord George's division.†

Though the river was usually shallow at the place fixed upon for passing, it was now swollen, by continued rains, to the depth of four feet. The passage was not without its dangers; but as the river might be rendered impassable by a continuation of the rain during the night, and as it was possible that the duke of Cumberland might reach the Esk next morning, it was resolved to cross it immediately. After trying the water to ascertain that the ford was good, a body of cavalry formed in the river, a few paces above the ford, to break the force of the stream, and another body was likewise stationed in the river below the ford to pick up such of the infantry as might be carried away by the violence of the current. This arrangement being completed, the infantry entered the river a hundred men abreast, each holding one another by the neck of the coat, by which plan they supported one another against the rapidity of the river, leaving sufficient intervals between their ranks for the passage of the water. Lord George Murray, who was among the first

that could happen. The lives of so many of his friends ought not to have been exposed without an indispensable necessity, which was not the case; for blowing up the castle, and the gates of the town, would have equally given him an entry into England."

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 73

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 73.

to enter the water in his philibeg, says, that when nearly across, there were about two thousand men in the water at once. The appearance of the river, in the interval between the cavalry, presented an extraordinary spectacle. As the heads of the Highlanders were generally all that was seen above the water, the space of water occupied in the passage looked like a paved street. Not one man was lost in the transit; but a few girls who had followed their lovers in their adventurous campaign, were swept away by the current. After the army had passed, the pipes began to play; and the Highlanders, happy on setting their feet again on Scottish ground, forgot for a time the disappointment they had suffered at Derby, and testified their joy by dancing reels upon the northern bank of the Esk.\*

The expedition into England, though not signalized by any great military achievement, will always hold a distinguished place in the annals of bold and adventurous enterprise. It was planned and carried through in all its details with great judgment; and if circumstances had not delayed its execution, it might have terminated in success. From the consternation into which the English people were thrown by the invasion of the Highland army,† it seems certain, that without the aid of a regular army their militia would scarcely have ventured to oppose the march of the Highlanders to the metropolis; but after the return of the British forces from Flanders, and the arrival of the Dutch auxiliaries, and the assembling of the armies under Wade and Ligonier, the attempt appeared to be hopeless. The crown of England, however, was still in jeopardy; and it was not until the retreat from Derby that the government was relieved from its anxiety for the safety of the monarchy.

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 74.—Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 99.

† "The terror of the English," says the Chevalier Johnstone, Memoirs, p. 101, "was truly inconceivable, and in many cases they seemed quite bereft of their senses. One evening, as Mr Cameron of Lochiel entered the lodgings assigned to him, his landlady, an old woman, threw herself at his feet, and, with uplifted hands and tears in her eyes, supplicated him to take her life, but to spare her two little children. He asked her if she was in her senses, and told her to explain herself; when she answered, that every body said the Highlanders ate children, and made them their common food. Mr Cameron having assured her that they would not injure either her or her little children, or any person whatever, she looked at him for some moments with an air of surprise, and then opened a press, calling out with a loud voice, 'Come out children; the gentleman will not eat you.' The children immediately left the press where she had concealed them, and threw themselves at his feet. They affirmed in the newspapers of London that we had dogs in our army trained to fight, and that we were indebted for our victory at Gladsmuir to these dogs, who darted with fury on the English army. They represented the Highlanders as monsters, with claws instead of hands. In a word, they never ceased to circulate, every day, the most extravagant and ridiculous stories with respect to the Highlanders. The English soldiers had indeed reason to look upon us as extraordinary men, from the manner in which we had beaten them with such inferior numbers, and they probably told these idle stories to the country people by way of palliating their own disgrace." The able editor of Johnstone's Memoirs relates in a note to the above, that the late Mr Halkston of Rathillet, who was in the expedition, stated that the belief was general among the people of England, that the Highlanders ate children:—"While the army lay at Carlisle he was taken ill, and went with a few of his companions to a farmer's house in the neighbourhood, where he remained several days. Perceiving his landlady



The duke of Cumberland halted at Penrith on the twentieth of December, and marched next day to Carlisle, which he invested the same day. As he was under the necessity of sending to Whitehaven for heavy cannon, the fire from his batteries did not commence till the morning of the twenty-eighth. During the blockade the garrison fired repeatedly upon the besiegers, but with little effect. A fire was kept up by the besiegers from a battery of six eighteen pounders, during the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth. Another battery of three thirteen pounders was completed on the thirtieth; but on the first fire from the old battery that day, the besieged hung out a white flag, and offered hostages for a capitulation. The duke of Cumberland, on observing this signal, sent one of his aides-de-camp with a note, desiring to know its meaning; to which Governor Hamilton answered, that the object was to obtain a cessation for a capitulation, and desiring to know what terms his royal highness would grant to the garrison. The only condition the duke would grant was, that the garrison should not be put to the sword, but he reserved for the king's pleasure; and Hamilton, seeing the impossibility of holding out, surrendered the same day. The garrison, including officers, consisted of one hundred and fourteen men of the Manchester regiment; of two hundred and seventy-four men, also including officers, chiefly of the Scotch low country regiments, and a few Frenchmen and Irishmen. The number of cannon in the castle was sixteen, ten of which had been left by the Highland army on its return to Scotland. Among the prisoners were found twelve deserters from the royal forces, who were immediately hanged. The officers were kept prisoners in the castle, but the privates were confined in the cathedral and town-jail. The whole were afterwards dispersed in several jails through England. The duke of Cumberland, after putting Bligh's regiment in garrison at Carlisle, returned to London, in consequence of an order from court.\*

to be a young woman, he asked her if she had any children, and where they were. When she found that he was no cannibal, she told him the truth was, that all the children were sent out of the way for fear the Highlanders should devour them."

A Derby gentleman, who had a party of forty men quartered in his house, in a letter which appeared in all the newspapers of the period, describes most of them as looking "like so many fiends turned out of hell to ravage the kingdom and cut throats; and under their plaids nothing but various sorts of butchering weapons were to be seen." He complains that they had eaten up "near a side of beef, eight joints of mutton, four cheeses, with abundance of white and brown bread, (particularly white,) three couples of fowls, and would have drams continually, as well as strong-ale, beer, tea, &c." In the midst of this general devastation our host was convulsed with "unavoidable laughter to see these desperadoes, from officers to the common men, at their several meals, first pull off their bonnets, and then lift up their eyes in a most solemn manner, and mutter something to themselves, by way of saying grace, as if they had been so many pure primitive Christians!!!" This is merely a specimen of the many ridiculous stories with which the English journals of the period were crammed.

\* Boyse, p. 129.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Highland army returns to Scotland—The Prince enters Dumfries—Arrival of the army at Glasgow—Proceedings of the Jacobites in the north—Arrest of Lord Lovat, who escapes—Skirmish at Inverury between the Macleods, under the laird of Macleod, and the forces under Lord Lewis Gordon—Disagreement among the Jacobite officers at Perth—Alarm at Edinburgh—Arrival of an English army, under General Hawley, at Edinburgh—Proceedings of the Prince at Glasgow—Marches his army to Bannockburn and Falkirk, and invests Stirling—Surrender of the town—Skirmishing on the Frith of Forth—The Highland army reinforced from the north—Arrival of Hawley's army at Falkirk—Preparations of both armies for battle—Battle of Falkirk.

PURSUANT to the plan of march fixed upon at crossing the Esk, the Highland army separated, and Lord George Murray, at the head of the low country regiments, proceeded to Ecclefechan, where he arrived on the night of the twentieth, and marched next day to Moffat. The prince, at the head of the clans, marched to Annan, where he passed the night of the twentieth. The horse of the prince's division under Lord Elcho were, after a short halt, sent to take possession of Dumfries, which they accomplished early next morning, and the prince, with the clans, came up in the evening. In no town in Scotland had there been greater opposition displayed to the restoration of the house of Stuart than in Dumfries, from the danger to which the inhabitants supposed their religious liberties, as presbyterians, would be exposed under a catholic sovereign. This feeling, which was strongly manifested by them in the insurrection of seventeen hundred and fifteen, had now assumed even a more hostile appearance from the existence of the new sect or body of religionists called "Seceders," which had lately sprung from the bosom of the established church of Scotland, and which professed principles thought to be more in accordance with the gospel than those of their parent church. A body of these dissenters had volunteered for the defence of Edinburgh shortly after Charles had landed, and, on his march for England, a party of these religionists had taken up arms, and had captured and carried to Dumfries thirty waggons belonging to the Highland army, which had been left at Lockerby by the escort appointed to protect them. To punish the inhabitants for their hostility, Charles ordered them to pay two thousand pounds in money, and to contribute one thousand pairs of shoes. About eleven hundred pounds only were raised; and, in security for the remainder, Mr Crosbie, the provost, and a Mr Walter Riddel, were carried off as hostages.

He also levied the excise at Dumfries, and carried off some arms, horses, &c. Some outrages were committed in the town by the Highlanders, who told the inhabitants that they ought to think themselves gently used, and be thankful that their town was not laid in ashes.

After halting a day at Dumfries, the prince proceeded with his division up Nithsdale on the evening of the twenty-third, and passed the night at Drumlanrig, the seat of the duke of Queensberry. Next day he entered Clydesdale, and halted at Douglas. The prince slept that night in Douglas castle. He reached Hamilton on the twenty-fifth, and took up his residence in the palace of the duke of Hamilton. Next day the Chevalier occupied himself in hunting, an amusement of which he was uncommonly fond, and to which he had been accustomed from his youth. The division under Lord George Murray, after halting a day at Moffat, where, being Sunday, his men heard sermon in different parts of the town from the episcopal ministers who accompanied them; proceeded by Douglas and Hamilton, and entered Glasgow on Christmas day. On the evening of the twenty-sixth the prince also marched into Glasgow on foot at the head of the clans. Here he resolved to halt and refresh his men for a few days after their arduous march, and to provide them with clothing, of which they stood greatly in need. In passing through Douglas and Lesmahago, the Highlanders pillaged and burnt some houses, in revenge for the capture of Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, who, in his way south from the Highlands, had been seized on Brokenscross-moor, near Lesmahago, by the country people, headed by a student of divinity named Linning, and carried to Edinburgh castle.\*

Before noticing Charles's proceedings at Glasgow, it is necessary to give a short summary of those of his friends in the north, up to the period of his arrival in that city.

When intelligence of the Chevalier's march into England, and his unexpected success at Carlisle was received in the north, the zeal of the Jacobites was more and more inflamed. Whilst the Frasers, headed by the master of Lovat, blockaded Fort Augustus, Lord Lewis Gordon was busily employed in raising men, and levying money by force and threats of military execution, in the shire of Banff and Aberdeen. Of two battalions which his lordship raised, one was placed under the command of Gordon of Abbachie, and the other under Moir of Stonywood. To relieve Fort Augustus, the earl of Loudon left Inverness on the third of December with six hundred men of the independent companies, and passing through Stratherrick during a very severe frost, reached Fort Augustus without opposition, and having supplied the garrison with every thing necessary for its defence, returned to Inverness on the eighth, after notifying to the inhabitants of Stratherrick the risk they would incur should they leave their houses and join the insurgents.†

\* Culloden Papers, p. 263.

† Ibid. p. 461.

As the future progress of the insurrection in the Highlands depended much upon the Frasers, Lord Loudon, in conjunction with lord-president Forbes, resolved to march to Castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, and to obtain the best satisfaction that could be got for the peaceable behaviour of that powerful clan. For this purpose, two companies of the Mackenzies, which had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness on the ninth of December; and after allowing the detachment, which had been at Fort Augustus, one day's rest, his lordship left Inverness on the tenth, taking along with him that detachment and the two companies, amounting together to eight hundred men, and proceeded to Castle Downie. The earl prevailed upon Lord Lovat to go with him to Inverness, and to live there under his own eye, until all the arms of which the clan were possessed, (and of which he promised to obtain the delivery,) were brought in. But instead of delivering the arms on the day fixed, being the fourteenth of December, he made excuses and fresh promises from day to day till the twenty-first, when Lord Loudon, thinking that he was deceived, placed sentries at the door of the house where Lord Lovat resided, intending to commit him to the castle of Inverness next morning; but his lordship contrived to escape during the night through a back passage, and, being very infirm, was supposed to have been carried off on men's shoulders.\*

Next in importance to the keeping down of the Frasers, was the relief of the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, from the sway of Lord Lewis Gordon. To put an end to the recruiting and exactions of this nobleman, the laird of Macleod was sent the same day that Lord Loudon proceeded to the seat of Lord Lovat with a body of five hundred men, composed of four hundred of his own kindred, and one hundred of the Macleods of Assint, towards Elgin, and these were to be followed by as many men as could be spared from Inverness, after adjusting matters with Lord Lovat. Accordingly, on the thirteenth, two hundred men were detached under Captain Munro of Culcairn, to follow Macleod to Elgin and Aberdeen, and these were again to be followed successively by other small bodies, and by Lord Loudon himself, as soon as matters were finally settled with Lovat. The escape of that crafty chief, however, put an end to this part of the plan, as it was considered dangerous to reduce the force near Inverness any farther, while Lord Lovat was at large.

In the meantime Macleod reached Elgin, where he received intelligence that a party of two hundred of the insurgents had taken possession of the boats on the Spey at Fochabers, and that they intended to dispute the passage with him. Macleod advanced to the banks of the Spey on the fifteenth; but the insurgents, instead of waiting for him, retired on his approach, and he passed the river without molestation. On the sixteenth and seventeenth he marched to Cullen and Banff. Meanwhile Munro of Culcairn arrived with his detachment at Keith, where he was joined by

\* Culloden Papers, p. 461.



Grant of Grant at the head of five hundred of his clan, and on the eighteenth they proceeded, in conjunction, to Strathbogie. Next day it was agreed upon between Macleod and Culcairn, that whilst the former should march next morning from Banff to Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles from Aberdeen, the latter, with Grant and his men, should at same time proceed to Inverary, which is about the same distance from Aberdeen; but Grant, apprehensive that his own country would be harassed in his absence, returned home.\*

When Lord Lewis Gordon heard of the arrival of Macleod at Inverury, he resolved to attack him. With his own regiment, the men whom Lord John Drummond had sent, and a battalion of three hundred Farquharsons, commanded by Farquharson of Monaltry, he left Aberdeen on the twenty-third, and arrived near Inverury with such expedition and secrecy, that he almost surprised Macleod in his quarters. It was late before Lord Lewis reached the place, and Macleod had barely time to put his men under arms, and to seize some advantageous posts in the town. Day-light had disappeared before the action commenced; but the light of the moon enabled the combatants to see one another. Both sides continued to fire for some time; but Lord John Drummond's soldiers and the Farquharsons having advanced close upon the Macleods, the latter fled, and never halted till they had recrossed the Spey. Very few men were killed on either side; but the victors took forty-one prisoners, among whom were Mr Gordon, younger of Ardoch; Forbes of Echt; Maitland of Petrichie; and John Chalmers, one of the regents of the university of Aberdeen.†

Shortly after this skirmish, Lord Lewis Gordon marched his men to the general rendezvous at Perth, where, about the time of Prince Charles's return from England, about four thousand men were collected. These consisted of the Mackintoshes, the Frasers, the part of the Mackenzies attached to Charles, and the Farquharsons; of recruits sent from the Highlands to the clan regiments that had gone to England; of the forces raised by Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir James Kinloch, and other gentlemen in the low country of the north; and of the troops brought over from France by Lord John Drummond.

While this mixed body lay at Perth, a disagreement occurred between the Highlanders and the other troops, which might have led to serious consequences if the arrival of an order sent by the prince from Dumfries, requiring them to hold themselves in readiness to join him, had not put an end to the dispute. This disagreement was occasioned by the conduct of Lord Strathallan and his council of officers, on receiving the order which Charles had sent from Carlisle by Maclauchlan of Maclauchlan, to march with all their forces, and to follow the army into England. This order, contrary to the opinion of Maclauchlan and all the Highland officers, they had considered it inexpedient to obey. The result

\* Colloeden Papers, p. 462.    † Kirkconnel MS. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 138.

was, that the Highland officers caballed together, and resolved to march; but as the Highlanders had no money; as many of those who had come last from the Highlands wanted arms, and as Lord Strathallan was in possession of the money, arms, ammunition, and stores, they could not proceed. In this dilemma they entered into a combination to seize the money and arms, and, persisting in their resolution to march, matters were proceeding to extremities when Rollo of Powhouse arrived at Perth with the order alluded to, which at once put an end to the dispute.\*

The inhabitants of Edinburgh, relieved from the presence of the Highland army, had lived for five weeks in a state of comparative security. Public worship had been resumed in several of the city churches on the third of November, and in all of them on the tenth. The state officers, who had retired to Berwick, did not, however, return till the thirteenth, when they entered the city with an air of triumph, which accorded ill with their recent conduct as fugitives. Attended by the sheriffs of East Lothian and Berwickshire, and a great number of the gentlemen of these counties, the officers of state walked into the city in procession, and were saluted by a round from the great guns of the castle. The music-bells kept up a merry peal during the whole of the procession, which was responded to by the acclamations of the inhabitants. On the following day, Lieutenant-general Handasyd arrived, as before stated, at Edinburgh with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (lately Gardiner's,) dragoons; and, on the seventh of December, these troops were sent west to Stirling, where, in conjunction with the Glasgow and Paisley militia, amounting to nearly seven hundred men, commanded by the earl of Home, they guarded the passes of the Forth. In the mean time, exertions were made to re-embodied the Edinburgh regiment; but these do not appear to have been attended with success. With the exception of some young men who formed themselves into a volunteer company, few of the inhabitants were disposed to take up arms, as they were fully sensible, that without a sufficient force of regular troops, no effectual resistance could be opposed to the Highlanders, should they return to the city.

In this situation of matters, the news of the Highlanders having crossed the Esk in their retreat from England, reached Edinburgh, and threw the civil and military authorities into a state of consternation. Ignorant of the route the Highlanders meant to follow, they were extremely perplexed how to act. They naturally apprehended another visit, and their fears seemed to be confirmed by the return to Edinburgh of the regular troops from the west, on the twenty-third of December, and by the arrival of the Glasgow regiment the next day, all of whom had retreated to Edinburgh on the approach of the Highlanders. Afraid of a second visit from the Highlanders, the directors of the banks

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 139.

and the heads of the public offices had, during the twenty-second and the twenty-third, transferred them to the castle, whither the inhabitants had also removed their most valuable effects. A resolution was adopted by the public authorities to put the city in a proper state of defence, and, on the twenty-ninth, a paper was read in the city churches, acquainting the inhabitants, that it had been resolved in a council of war to defend the city. Next day a considerable number of men from the parishes in the neighbourhood, who had been provided with arms from the castle, entered the city, and were drawn up in the High street. The men of each parish marched by themselves, and were attended in most instances by their respective ministers.\* These were joined by other small corps, one of the most remarkable of which was a body of seceders, belonging to the associated congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, carrying a standard with this inscription, "For Religion, Covenants, King, and Kingdoms." The ministers of these fanatical religionists, not being of such a pugnacious disposition as their brethren of the establishment, did not appear in the ranks.

Had the Highlanders chosen to march upon Edinburgh, the resolution to defend it would not have been carried into effect, as it was the intention of the regular troops to have retired to Berwick on their approach; but, fortunately for the reputation of the new defenders of the capital, an army under Lieutenant-general Hawley was now on its march into Scotland. This gentleman, who had just been appointed commander-in-chief in Scotland, though described by the duke of Newcastle as "an officer of great ability and experience,"† was in fact a man of very ordinary military attainments, and in no way fitted for the important duty which had been assigned him. His whole genius lay, as Mr John Forbes of Culloden observed to his father, the president, in the management of a squadron, or in prosecuting with vigour any mortal to the gallows.‡ He had a very sorry opinion of the prowess of the Highlanders, whom he was confident of beating, if his troops were in good condition, without regard to the numbers of their opponents;§ but he was destined soon to find out his mistake.

To expedite the march of the English army, the gentlemen and farmers of Teviotdale, the Merse, and the Lothians furnished horses, by means of which the first division of the royal army, consisting of a battalion of the Scots Royals and Battereau's foot, reached Edinburgh as early as the second of January, where they were joined in succession by Fleming's and Blackeney's regiments on the third; that of Major-general Huske on the fourth; by Hawley himself on the sixth; by the regiments of Wolfe (not, as has been supposed, the immortal general of that name) and Cholmondeley on the seventh; by Howard's (the old Buffs) and Monro's on the eighth; and by Barrel's and Pulteney's on the tenth. At Dunbar, Aberlady, and other places, these troops were

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 140.

† Culloden Papers, p. 264.

‡ Ibid. p. 468.

§ Ibid. p. 265.

entertained by the proprietors in East Lothian, who allowed each soldier a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of spirits, and a bottle of ale.\* They were also feasted at Edinburgh at the expense of the city, where they were courteously received by the terrified inhabitants, who furnished them with blankets, and evinced great anxiety to make them comfortable.† The citizens also illuminated their houses; and such as declined had their windows broken by the mob, who also demolished with an unsparing hand all the windows of such houses as were uninhabited. On his arrival in the city, the commander-in-chief justified Mr Forbes's opinion by causing one gallows to be erected in the Grassmarket, and another between Leith and Edinburgh, on which it is supposed he meant to hang such unfortunate victims as might fall into his hands.‡

To return to Charles. On his arrival at Glasgow, his first care was to provide for the necessities of his men, who were in a most pitiable plight from the want of clothing. He ordered the magistrates to furnish the army with twelve thousand shirts, six thousand cloth coats, six thousand pairs of stockings, and six thousand waistcoats. Enraged at the conduct of the citizens for having subscribed to the fund for raising troops against him, the prince sent for Buchanan the provost, and demanded the names of the subscribers, and threatened to hang him in case of refusal; but the provost, undismayed, replied that he would name nobody except himself, that he had subscribed largely, as he thought he was discharging a duty, and that he was not afraid to die in such a cause. The provost had to pay a fine of five hundred pounds as the penalty of his refusal.§

The mansion which Charles occupied during his residence in Glasgow belonged to a rich merchant named Glassford. It was the best house in the city, and stood at the western extremity of the Trongate, but has long since disappeared. While in Glasgow he ate twice a day in public. The table was spread in a small dining-room, at which he sat down without ceremony with a few of his officers in the Highland dress. He was waited upon on these occasions by a few Jacobite ladies. Charles courted popularity, and, to attract attention, dressed more elegantly in Glasgow than at any other place;|| but the citizens of Glasgow kept up a reserve, which made Charles remark, with a feeling of mortifying disappointment, that he had never been in a place where he found fewer friends. Though dissatisfied with the people, he seemed, however, greatly to admire the regularity and beauty of the buildings.¶

Having refitted his army, Charles, within a few days after his arrival,

\* Scots Magazine, vol. viii. p. 32.

† "The zeal (says General Wightman) which the inhabitants have shown in accommodating the troops, will help to ridd us of the suspicion of Jacobitism; but we have a pack of vermin (Qu. Jacobites?) within our walls, who take unaccountable libertys, of whom I hope we shall be for ever ridd ere long."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 470.

‡ *Culloden Papers*, p. 270.

§ Boyse, p. 131.

|| Household Book in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 155.

¶ Boyse, p. 132.



reviewed it on Glasgow Green, in presence of a large concourse of spectators, and had the satisfaction to find that, with the exception of those he had left at Carlisle, he had not lost more than forty men during his expedition into England. Hitherto he had carefully concealed his weakness, but now, thinking himself sure of doubling his army in a few days, he was not unwilling to let the world see the handful of men with whom he had penetrated into the very heart of England, and returned in the face of two powerful armies almost without loss.\*

Abandoning, in the mean time, his project of returning to England, Charles resolved to lay siege to the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh. He depended much for success upon the artillery and engineers brought over by Lord John Drummond, and looked confidently forward for additional succours from France in terms of the repeated assurances he had received. Having determined on beginning with Stirling, he sent orders to Lord Strathallan, Lord John Drummond, Lord Lewis Gordon, and other commanders in the north, to join him forthwith with all their forces.† To accelerate a junction with the forces at Perth, the prince marched his army from Glasgow on the fourth day of January, seventeen hundred and forty-six, in two divisions; one of which, commanded by the prince, took the road to Kilsyth, where it passed the night. Charles himself took up his quarters in Kilsyth house, then belonging to Mr Campbell of Shawfield. Mr Campbell's steward, it is said, was ordered to provide every thing necessary for the comfort of the prince, under a promise of payment, but was told next morning that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, which was a forfeited estate. Next day Charles marched towards Stirling, and encamped his division at Denny, Bannockburn, and St Ninians. He passed the night at Bannockburn-house, the seat of Sir Hugh Pater-son, where he was received with Jacobite hospitality. The other division, consisting of six battalions of the clans, under Lord George Murray, spent the first night at Cumbernauld, and the next at Falkirk, where they fixed their quarters.

Preparatory to the siege of the castle, Charles resolved to reduce the town of Stirling. The inhabitants, encouraged by General Blackney, the governor of the castle, came to the determination of defending it; and a body of about six hundred volunteers, all inhabitants of the town, was supplied by the governor with arms and ammunition from the castle, and promised every assistance he could afford them. He told them, at same time, that if they should be overpowered they could make a good retreat, as he would keep an open door for them. Animated by the activity of the magistrates and the clergymen of the town—among whom the Rev. Ebenezer Erskine, the father of the Secession, who commanded two companies of Seceders, was particularly distinguished—the inhabitants proceeded to put the town in a posture of defence.

In the afternoon of Saturday the fourth of January the Highlanders

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Ibid.

had nearly surrounded the town; but they did not complete the investment till next day, which was partly occupied in cutting down some trees intended for fascines, on which they meant to construct a battery. About eight o'clock in the evening they sent a drummer to the east gate with a message; but, being fired upon by the sentinels, he threw away his drum and fled. The insurgents fired several shots into the town during the night, which were responded to by the volunteers, who were all under arms, and posted in different parties at the different bye-entries and paths into the town, and at such parts of the wall as were deemed insufficient. During the night the utmost alarm prevailed among the inhabitants, and few of them went to bed. Some fled from the town, and others retired into the castle; but the magistrates and the other principal inhabitants remained all night in the council chamber in which they had assembled, to give such direction and assistance as might be necessary, in case an assault should be attempted during the night.\*

Next morning the insurgents were discovered erecting a battery within musket shot of the town, almost opposite to the east gate, in a situation where the cannon of the castle could not be brought to bear upon them. The volunteers kept up a constant fire of musketry upon them; but, in spite of this annoyance, the Highlanders completed the battery before noon. Charles, thereupon, sent a verbal message to the magistrates, requiring them instantly to surrender the town; but, at their solicitation, they obtained till ten o'clock next day to make up their minds. The message was taken into consideration at a public meeting of the inhabitants, and the question of surrender was long and anxiously debated. The majority having come to the resolution that it was impossible to defend the town with the handful of men within, two deputies were sent to Bannockburn, the head-quarters of the Highland army, who offered to surrender on terms; and they stated that, rather than surrender at discretion, as required, they would defend the town to the last extremity. After a negotiation, which occupied the greater part of Tuesday, the following terms of capitulation were agreed upon: viz. that no demand should be made upon the town revenues,—that the inhabitants should not be molested in their persons or effects,—and that the arms in the town should be returned to the castle. Pending this negotiation, the Highlanders, to terrify the inhabitants into a speedy submission, as is supposed, discharged twenty-seven shots from the battery into the town, which, however, did no other damage than beating down a few chimney tops. After the arms were carried into the castle, the gates were thrown open on Wednesday the eighth, and the Highlanders entered the town about three o'clock in the afternoon.†

Being in want of battering cannon for a siege, Charles had, before his departure from Glasgow, sent orders to Lord John Drummond, to bring

\* History of Stirling, p. 146.

† Ibid. p. 150.

up the pieces which he had brought over from France. As General Blakeney had broken down part of Stirling bridge, to prevent the insurgents at Perth from crossing the Forth at Stirling; some of the battering cannon were sent to the Frews, and were transported across that ford by means of floats, while the rest were brought to Alloa as a nearer road for the purpose of being transported across the Frith of Forth. Great difficulty was experienced in getting over these pieces, and as there was but a small guard along with them, they might have fallen into the hands of a party of troops sent up the Frith by Hawley, had not Lord George Murray, on hearing of their embarkation, sent over Lochiel with his regiment, which had lately been augmented by recruits, and was now seven hundred strong.\*

As there were no ships at Alloa, Lord George seized a vessel lying off Airth to transport his cannon across the Frith. This was a fortunate circumstance, as two sloops of war, the *Pearl* and *Vulture*, sailed up the Frith next tide from Leith roads to seize all the vessels and boats in the neighbourhood, and otherwise to obstruct the conveyance of the cannon. General Hawley, about the same time, viz. on the eighth of January, sent up some armed boats, and a small vessel with cannon from Leith, manned with three hundred men under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Leighton, to destroy all the works the Highlanders had made to cover the passage of their cannon. The sloops of war anchored in Kincardine roads, whence, on the morning of the eighth, two long boats well manned were sent up towards Airth, in conjunction with the other boats and small armed vessel, to burn two vessels lying in the neighbourhood which could not be launched till the spring tides. This service they effected without the loss of a single man, though the boats were fired upon by the Highlanders who were posted in the village. Having been prevented returning to the station off Kincardine, by the lowness of the tide, the Highlanders opened a battery of three pieces of cannon next morning upon the flotilla, but without doing it any damage. The Highlanders are said to have had two of their cannon dismounted on this occasion by the fire from the sloop, and to have sustained a loss of several men, including their principal engineer.†

Apprehensive that the flotilla would next attempt to set fire to the other vessel, Lord George Murray erected a battery of four guns at Elphinstonepens to command the river, and to keep off the sloops of war, should they attempt to come up. In addition to the troops stationed at Airth, his lordship sent a reinforcement of between three and four hundred men from Falkirk, which arrived at Elphinstone and Airth on the tenth. At this time the vessel which had been seized at Airth was

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 77.

† General Hawley, alluding to this affair, in a letter to the lord-president, 12th Jan. 1745-6, says, "We have had a small brush with them (the Highlanders) yesterday at Airth, up the Forth with 300 men in boats; killed and wounded about fifty, with their chief French engineer; crippled two of their guns, burnt all their boats, and hindered their transporting their great cannon from Alloway for some days."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 266.

lying at Alloa, and had taken two, out of seven pieces of cannon, with some ammunition on board. To capture this vessel, a large boat, having fifty soldiers on board, along with the boats belonging to the sloops of war, well manned and armed, were sent up the river during the night of the tenth, with instructions to lie all night a mile above Alloa, in order to intercept the vessel should an attempt be made to carry her up the river during the night. Unfortunately, however, for this design, the boats grounded after passing the town, and the Highlanders who were posted in the town, having, by this accident, come to the knowledge that the enemy was at hand, immediately beat to arms, and commenced a random fire from right to left, which forced the boats to retreat down the river. Next morning, however, the two sloops of war, accompanied by some smaller vessels, went up the river with the tide, and casting anchor opposite to, and within musket-shot, of the battery, opened a brisk fire. Three of the smaller vessels anchored in a convenient place to play upon the village of Elphinstone, and two more hovered along as if inclined to land some soldiers, with which they were crowded. The firing was kept up on both sides, for upwards of three hours, without much damage on either side. The cable of one of the sloops of war having been cut asunder by a cannon shot, an accident which forced her from her station, and the two pilots in the other having each lost a leg, the assailants abandoned the enterprise, and fell down the river with the ebb-tide. Being now relieved from the presence of the enemy, Lord George brought over the cannon and stores without further opposition.\*

On the twelfth of January, two days after he had taken possession of the town, Charles broke ground before Stirling castle, between the church and a large house at the head of the town, called *Marr's work*. Here he raised a battery against the castle, upon which he mounted two sixteen pounders, two pieces of eight, and three of three. The prince thereupon summoned General Blakeney to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity; that as honour had hitherto been his rule through life, he would rather die than stain it by abandoning his post, and that his royal-highness would assuredly have a very bad opinion of him, were he to surrender the castle in such a cowardly manner.† To prevent any intelligence of their operations being carried to the enemy, the Highlanders shut the gates of the town, and placed guards at all the outlets. The siege went on very slowly, and Charles soon perceived that he had chosen a bad situation for his battery, which was so exposed to the fire of the castle, that its works were speedily demolished, and the cannon dismounted.

While the siege was going on, the forces in the north under Lord Strathallan and Lord John Drummond began to arrive at Stirling. By these reinforcements the prince's army was increased to nine thousand

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 78. Kirkconnel MS. Scots Magazine, vol. viii.

† Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 116.



men, all in the highest spirits. The Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stuarts, were now twice as numerous as they were when the Highland army entered England, and Lord Ogilvy had got a second battalion, under the command of Sir James Kinloch, as lieutenant-colonel, much stronger than the first. The Frasers, the Mackintoshes, and Farquharsons, were reckoned three hundred men each, and in addition to these, the earl of Cromarty, and his son, Lord Macleod, had also brought up their men.\*

Conceiving himself in a sufficiently strong condition to give battle to the Highlanders, General Hawley began to put the troops he had assembled at Edinburgh in motion towards the west. His force amounted to upwards of nine thousand men, of whom thirteen hundred were cavalry, and he might in a few days have increased it considerably by the addition of some regiments which were on their march to join him. He had also reason to expect the immediate arrival in the Frith of Forth of a body of six thousand Hessians who had embarked at Williamstadt on the first of January, by which accession his army would have been almost doubled; but impatient to acquire a renown which had been denied to Cope, his predecessor, of whose capacity he had been heard to speak very contemptuously; Hawley resolved not to wait for his expected reinforcements, but to seize the laurels which were in imagination already within his grasp.

Accordingly, on the morning of the thirteenth of January, the first division of the royal army, consisting of five regiments of foot, together with the Glasgow regiment of militia, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's, (late Gardiner's) dragoons, all under the command of Major-general Huske, left Edinburgh and marched westward to Linlithgow. Hearing that preparations had been made at Linlithgow for the reception of these troops, and that provisions and forage had been collected in that town for the use of Hawley's army, Lord George Murray left Falkirk at four o'clock the same morning for Linlithgow, with five battalions of the clans for the purpose of capturing these stores. He was joined on the road by Lord Elcho's and Lord Pittligo's troops of life-guards, whom he had ordered to meet him. Before sunrise he had completely surrounded the town, and as Lord George had been informed that Huske's division was to enter the town at night, he called his officers together before marching into town, and having told them the object for which they had come, he desired that they would continue ready to assemble in the street on a moment's warning, in order to march wherever they might be directed. After taking possession of the town, and apprehending a few militia, Lord George sent forward some patrols on the road to Edinburgh, to reconnoitre while the Highlanders were engaged in seizing the articles prepared for the royal forces; but they had scarcely been an hour in town when these advanced parties discovered a body of dragoons advanc-

ing towards the town. Two of the patrols came back at full speed, and having given Lord George notice of their approach, he marched with his men out of the town. The dragoons retired as the Highlanders advanced. Their horse, with two hundred of the best foot, followed them about two miles; but the main body returned to Linlithgow, where they dined. With the exception of a few small reconnoitering parties, the advanced body also returned to the town; but in less than an hour one of these parties came in with information that the dragoons were again returning with a large body of horse and foot. Lord George resolved to attack them when the half of them should pass the bridge, half a mile west from the town, and after waiting with his men on the streets till Huske had reached the east end of the town, he retired in the expectation that the royalist general would follow him; but Huske, who marched above the town, though he followed the Highlanders to the bridge, did not pass it. Lord George returned to Falkirk, and by orders of the prince marched next day to Bannockburn.\*

On the fourteenth other three regiments marched from Edinburgh towards Borrowstowness, to support the division under Huske, and these were followed next day by three additional regiments. With these forces Huske marched on the sixteenth to Falkirk, and encamped to the north-west of the town with his front towards Stirling. In the evening he was joined by the remainder of the army, and the artillery, consisting of ten pieces of cannon. General Hawley himself arrived at Calander house the same evening. Next morning the army was joined by Cobham's dragoons, who had just arrived from England, and by about a thousand Argyleshire men, chiefly Campbells, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyle. Besides this corps, this whig clan furnished another of a thousand men, which was posted about Inverary, under Major-general Campbell, the colonel's father, to guard the passes. Along with the army was a company called the Yorkshire Blues, raised, maintained, and commanded, by a gentleman of the name of Thornton. Several volunteers, among whom were several clergymen, also accompanied the army on this occasion.

Having received intelligence of the advance of the royalists to Falkirk, Charles, on the evening of the sixteenth, ordered the different detachments of his army to concentrate upon Plean moor, about seven miles from that town, and two miles to the east of Bannockburn, where his head-quarters were. He, however, left several battalions, amounting to about a thousand men, in Stirling, under the duke of Perth, to push on the siege of the castle. Nobody supposed that the prince, in issuing this order, had any other object in contemplation than to review his army, and of such little importance was it considered, that although the order was made immediately known on all sides, it was near twelve o'clock next day before the different parts of the army arrived from

their cantonments.\* After the army had been drawn up in line of battle, Charles called a council of war, and for the first time stated his intention of giving immediate battle to Hawley. That general had, it is believed, been informed of the probability of an attack, but he treated the information lightly, and instead of attending to the affairs of his camp, spent the morning at Callander-house with the countess of Kilmarnock, with whom he breakfasted.† The Torwood, once a forest of great extent, celebrated as the chief retreat of the heroic Wallace, but now greatly decayed, lay between the two armies; and through what was once the middle of the forest, the high road from Stirling to Falkirk, by Bannockburn, passes.

From information which Charles had received, he supposed that Hawley would have advanced and offered him battle; but seeing no appearance of him, he put his army in motion about mid-day, towards Falkirk. While the main body of the army marched in two columns along the moor, on the west side of the Torwood, where they could not be seen from Hawley's camp, a third body of horse and foot, under Lord John Drummond, appeared upon the high road which runs through the centre of the Torwood, and moved about, displaying their colours in view of the enemy, as if they intended to attack Hawley's camp. The object of this parade was to draw off the attention of the enemy from the main body, which was advancing unperceived towards Falkirk, by a different route. After the two columns had advanced about half a mile, Lord George Murray received an order from the prince to delay passing the water of Carron till night, as he did not think it advisable to cross in the face of the enemy, but his lordship having satisfied his royal highness of the impropriety of the order, he was allowed to proceed. Ignorant of the approach of the main body of the Highlanders, Hawley's officers thought the demonstration made by the body on the high road unworthy of attention, but they were aroused from their apathy by a countryman, who arrived in the camp with intelligence that the Highlanders were close upon them. Two of the officers immediately ascended a tree, and, by means of a telescope, descried the Highland army marching towards Falkirk, by the south side of the Torwood. This was a little before one o'clock, and the officers having communicated the circumstance to Lieutenant-colonel Howard, their commanding officer, he went to Callander-house and informed the general of it. Instead, however, of ordering his men to get under arms, Hawley directed that they should merely put on their accoutrements. This order was obeyed, and the troops sat down to dinner, but before they had finished their repast, the *Generale* beat to arms.

When the Highlanders came in sight of the water of Carron, the town of Falkirk, and the enemy's camp, also opened upon their view. It was now between one and two o'clock, and some well mounted scouts,

\* Kirkcounell MS.

† Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 120.

who were on the opposite side of the water, on observing the Highlanders, immediately rode off at full gallop, and reported that the Highland army was about to cross the Carron at Dunnipace. The alarm which this intelligence produced in the royalist camp, was very great. Hawley was instantly sent for, and the commanding officers, who were exceedingly perplexed, formed their regiments as quickly as possible upon the ground in front of the camp. The general, instantly mounting his horse, galloped to the camp, and in his haste left his hat behind him.

In taking the circuitous route by the south side of the Torwood, Charles had a double object in view—to conceal his approach from the enemy as long as he could, and to obtain possession of Falkirk moor, about two miles south-west of Hawley's camp, and which, from the nature of the ground, was considered well fitted for the operations of a Highland army. Suspecting that it was the prince's design to secure the heights of the moor, Hawley at once determined to prevent him, if possible, and accordingly on his arrival at the camp he ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march towards the moor, and take possession of the high ground between them and the insurgents. He also directed the infantry to follow them with fixed bayonets. This was a rash and inconsiderate step, as Hawley had never examined the ground, which he found, when too late, was by no means a suitable field of battle for his troops. In ordering his army to march up the moor, the English commander is said to have been impressed with the idea that the Highlanders did not mean to attack him, but to give him the slip, and march back to England, and that his object was to intercept them and bring them to action.\* This explanation, however, is by no means satisfactory.

After crossing the Carron at Dunnipace Steps, the main body of the Highlanders stretched along the moor in two parallel lines, about two hundred paces asunder. The column next the royal army consisted of the clan regiments which had been in England, and of the recruits which had lately arrived from the Highlands, with the Frasers, and a battalion of the Farquharsons. The other column, which was to the right of the last mentioned, consisted of the Athole brigade, the Maclauchlans, the battalions of Ogilvy and Gordon, and Lord John Drummond's regiment. After reaching the bottom of the hill, the columns faced to the left, and began to ascend the eminence. Almost simultaneous with this movement, Hawley's dragoons, proceeding along the eastern wall or Bantaskin inclosures, rapidly ascended the hill also, followed by the foot with fixed bayonets. At this instant, the sky, which till then had been unusually serene, became suddenly overcast, and before the foot had advanced far, a violent storm of wind and rain burst from the south-west, which beat directly in the faces of the soldiers, and retarded their march up the hill. A running contest seemed now to take place between the

\* Home's works, vol. iii. p. 157.



dragoons and the advanced divisions of the Highland columns, consisting of the Macdonalds and the Athole men, to gain the summit of the ridge of the moor. Both parties reached the top of the hill about the same time, and possessed themselves of two eminences, within musket shot of each other. To prevent the dragoons gaining the advantage of the ground and the wind, the Macdonalds and Athole men had advanced with such rapidity, that they had left the rear of the columns considerably behind, and on reaching the height of the moor, they halted to give time to the rear to come up.

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, proceeded to make the necessary arrangements for battle. In forming, the two columns merely faced to the left, by which simple movement the eastern column at once became, as originally designed, the front line. When completed, the order of battle of the Highland army was as follows. On the extreme right of the first line, stood the Macdonalds of Keppoch, next to these the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and in succession the regiment of Glengary, a battalion of Farquharsons under Farquharson of Bumarrel,\* the Mackenzies, the Mackintoshes, the Macphersons under Cluny their chief, the Frasers under the Master of Lovat, the Stuarts of Appin, and the Camerons, who formed the extreme left of this line. The second line, which chiefly consisted of the low country regiments, was composed of the Athole brigade, which formed the right wing, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment of two battalions in the centre, and of the regiment of Lord Lewis Gordon, also of two battalions, which formed the left of the line. At the distance of about twenty yards in the rear of the centre of the second line, the prince was stationed with some horse and foot, and was joined before the commencement of the action by Lord John Drummond, with a large body of horse, the Irish piquets and the other troops, with which he had made the feint, as a corps de reserve. Some of the horse guards under Lords Elcho and Balmerino, and also some of the hussars, who were on the right of the prince, were sent farther to the right to protect the flank, but they were prevented from extending farther, by a morass, which covered the right wing, and were obliged to draw up behind the Athole men. At the opposite extremity on the left of the prince, Lords Pitsligo's and Kilmarnock's horse were stationed.†

The infantry of the royal army was also formed in two lines, with a body of reserve in the rear; but the disposition of the cavalry, as will be seen, was altogether different from that of the insurgent army. The first line consisted of the regiments of Ligonier, Price, Royal Scots, Pulteney, Cholmondeley, and Wolfe, and the second of those of Bat-

\* There was another battalion of the Farquharsons under Farquharson of Monaltry, which, having the charge of the cannon belonging to the insurgent army, was not in the battle.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 501. Kirkconnel MS. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 174. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 85.

tereau, Barrel, Fleming, Munro, and Blakeney. The names of the regiments are here given according to the order they stood, beginning with the right. Behind the right of the second line, Howard's regiment was stationed as a reserve. The Glasgow regiment, and other Lowland militia, were posted as another body of reserve, near some cottages behind the left of the dragoons; and the Argyleshire men were placed at some distance from the right of the royal army, to watch the motions of the forces under Lord John Drummond, who seemed, before they joined the two columns on the moor, to threaten an attack upon the camp. The left of the dragoons was directly opposite to Keppoch's regiment, but by keeping large intervals between their squadrons, their right extended as far down as the centre of Lord Lovat's regiment, which stood the third from the left of the insurgent army. In consequence of this extension of the front line of the royal army, Lochiel's regiment, which was upon the left extremity of the opposite line, was outflanked by three of the royal regiments.\* With the exception of one or two regiments in each line, which, by their proximity to the top of the moor, had reached ground somewhat level, the rest of the king's infantry stood on the declivity of the hill, and so great was the inequality of the ground, that the opposite wings alone of either army were visible to each other. Between the right of the royal army and the left of that of the insurgents, there was a ravine, which, beginning on the declivity of the hill, directly opposite the centre of the Fraser battalion, ran in a northerly direction, and gradually widened and deepened till it reached the plain. The right of the royal army was commanded by Major-general Huske, the centre by Hawley himself, and the left by Brigadier Cholmondeley, but the three regiments of dragoons on the left were under the immediate command of Lieutenant-colonel Ligonier. The colonel's own dragoon regiment, formerly Gardiner's, was stationed on the extreme left. Hamilton's dragoons were posted on the right, and Cobham's in the centre.

In the action about to commence, the combatants on both sides were deprived of the use of their artillery. The Highlanders, from the rapidity of their march, left their cannon behind them, and those belonging to Hawley's army, consisting of ten pieces, stuck fast in a swamp at the bottom of the hill. The royal forces were greatly superior to the Highlanders in numbers, but the latter had the advantage of the ground, and having the wind and the rain in their backs, were not annoyed to the same extent as their adversaries, who received the wind and rain directly in their faces.†

The right wing of the Highland army and Hawley's cavalry had re

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 84.

† Some accounts make Hawley's forces of all descriptions at fifteen thousand, being nearly double the numbers of the Highlanders, who amounted to eight thousand; but these statements are exaggerated. Hawley's army, including the Argyleshire men, did not probably exceed ten thousand men.

mained upwards of a quarter of an hour within musket shot of each other, waiting the coming up of the other forces, when General Hawley sent an order to Colonel Ligonier, to attack the Highlanders. At the time this order was despatched, some of his troops destined for the centre of his second line had not reached their posts, but Hawley, impatient of delay, and led astray by a mistaken though prevalent idea, that the Highlanders could not stand the shock of cavalry, resolved to commence the action with the dragoons only. Ligonier, who appears to have entertained more correct notions on this subject than the generalissimo, was surprised at the order; but he proceeded to put it in execution.\*

Before advancing, Colonel Ligonier made several motions, with the design of drawing off the fire of the Highlanders, and riding in among them, and breaking their ranks; but they did not fire a shot. Conjecturing that the dragoons were to be supported by a body of infantry in their rear, Lord George Murray, to whom no such description of force was discernible at the time, sent Colonel Roy Stuart and Anderson, the guide at the battle of Preston, forward on horseback to reconnoitre. On receiving their report that they had not observed any foot, Lord George resolved to anticipate his opponent Ligonier, by attacking the dragoons. Accordingly he gave orders to the right wing to advance slowly, and, passing along the line, desired the men to keep their ranks, and not to fire till he gave them orders. Lord George, with his sword in his hand, and his target on his arm, then took his station at the head of the first line, which, with the second, continued to advance in good order. The dragoons, on observing the approach of the Highlanders, also began to move forward, and were instantly at the full trot. They came up in very good order, till within pistol-shot of the first line of the Highlanders, when Lord George Murray presented his piece as the signal to fire. The Highlanders, thereupon, discharged a volley with such precision and effect, that the dragoons were entirely broken, and many of them were killed and wounded. Hamilton's and Ligonier's regiments instantly wheeled about, and galloped down the hill, riding over and trampling upon some of their party, and carrying along with them a company of the Glasgow regiment. Cobham's regiment, which had just returned from foreign service, however, stood its ground for some time, and breaking through the first line of the Highlanders, trampled many of them under foot. A singular combat then ensued. Deprived of the use of their broadswords, some of the Highlanders, who lay stretched on the ground, had recourse to their dirks, which they plunged into the bellies of the horses. Others seized the riders by their clothes, and dragging them from their horses, stabbed them with the same weapon. In this *melée* the chief of Clanranald made a narrow escape, having been trodden down, and before he was able to rise a dead horse fell upon him, the weight of which prevented him

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 156.

from extricating himself without assistance. While in this perilous situation, he saw a dismounted dragoon and a Highlander struggling near him, and for a time the issue seemed doubtful. The anxiety of the chief, whose own preservation seemed to depend on the success of his clansman, was soon relieved, when he saw the Highlander throw his antagonist, and instantly despatch him with his dirk. The Highlander thereupon came up to the prostrate chief, and drew him from under the horse. The dragoons, unable any longer to contend with the Macdonalds, galloped off to the right between the two armies, and received the fire of the remainder of the front line of the Highlanders, as they went along, as far down as Lord Lovat's regiment.\*

Afraid that, after the flight of the dragoons, the Highlanders would commence a disorderly pursuit, Lord George Murray ordered the Macdonalds of Keppoch to keep their ranks, and sent a similar order to the two other Macdonald regiments. But notwithstanding this command of the lieutenant-general, and the efforts of the officers, who, with drawn swords and cocked pistols, endeavoured to restrain them from an immediate pursuit, a considerable number of the men of these two regiments, along with all the regiments on their left, as far down as the head of the ravine, rushed down the hill in pursuit of the enemy. They were received with a volley from some of the regiments, on the left of the first line of the royal army, and having returned the fire, the Highlanders threw away their muskets, and drawing their swords, rushed in upon the enemy. Unable to resist the impetuosity of the attack, the whole of the royal army, with the exception of Barrel's regiment, and part of the regiments of Price and Ligonier, gave way. At first the Highlanders supposed that the route was complete, and General Hawley himself, who was huddled off the field among a confused mass of horse and foot, was of the same opinion; but the Highlanders were undeceived, when coming near the bottom of the hill, they received a fire in flank from these regiments, which threw them into great disorder; and obliged them to retire up the hill. The Camerons and the Stuarts, who were on the opposite side of the ravine, suffered also from the fire of this body, and were likewise obliged to fall back.†

Meanwhile Lord George Murray, who observed the confusion in Hawley's army, was moving down the hill with the Athole men in good order, for the purpose of attacking it on its retreat. He had sent orders by Colonel Ker, to the reserve to advance on the left, and having met scattered parties of the Macdonalds returning up the hill, he endeavoured to rally them as he marched down, but without effect. Before reaching the bottom of the hill, Lord George obtained a complete

\* Lord George Murray's Narrative in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 85. Kirkconnel MS. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 151. Culloden Papers, p. 272. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 122.

† Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 502. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 153.



view of the disorder which prevailed in the enemy's ranks. With the exception of the three regiments of foot, and Cobham's dragoons, which were marching rapidly towards Falkirk, and covering the rear of the other fugitives, the remainder of the royal army was running off to the right and left, by forties and fifties; but as Lord George had not more than six or seven hundred men with him, and as the rest of the Highland army was scattered over the face of the hill, he resolved to halt at its foot. Here he was joined by the Irish piquets, and by Lord John Drummond, and other officers. Some of the officers advised a retreat towards Dunnipace, that the men might obtain shelter during the night from the rain, which was excessive; but his lordship strongly advised that they should endeavour to obtain possession of Falkirk immediately, while the confusion lasted, and he concluded with Count Mercy's expression at the battle of Parma, that he would either lie in the town or in paradise. While this discussion was going on, the prince arrived, and approved highly of the views of his lieutenant-general. Charles was advised, in the meantime, to retire to some house on the face of the hill, till the result of the attempt should be known.\*

It was now almost dark, and as the fires of Hawley's camp indicated an apparent intention on his part to retain possession of the town, the officers assembled at the bottom of the hill, considered it unsafe to advance farther, till they had ascertained the state of matters. To procure intelligence, Mr Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, and Oliphant, younger of Gask, entered Falkirk, disguised as peasants, and having ascertained that General Hawley, after issuing orders to set fire to his tents, had abandoned the town, and was retreating on Linlithgow, they immediately returned to their friends with the information. The body collected at the foot of the hill, now advanced upon Falkirk, in three detachments, one of which, under Lochiel, entered the town at the west end, another under Lord George Murray, at the centre, and the other, under Lord John Drummond, by a lane called the Cow wynd, at the east end. Some stragglers, who had remained behind, were taken prisoners, one of whom fired at Lord John Drummond, when about to seize him, and wounded him slightly in the arm. Information of the occupation of the town, by the Highlanders, was sent to the prince, who immediately repaired thither, and took up his residence in the house now occupied as the post-office, which fronts the steeple.

So great was the disorder that existed in the Highland army, occasioned by the rash and impetuous conduct of the Macdonalds, in leaving their ranks, and by the check received from the three regiments, that it was about four hours after the close of the battle, which lasted scarcely twenty minutes, before the greater part of the army had any information of the result. The Highlanders were dispersed in every direction over the hill, and the different clans were mingled together pell-mell.

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 87.

The confusion was greatly increased by the obscurity of the night, and for several hours they wandered over the moor, uncertain whether they were to meet friends or foes. Early in the evening, many of the Highlanders had retired from the field of battle, either thinking it lost, or intending to seek shelter from the weather. During this disorder, the fate of the prince himself was equally unknown. Early in the action, he had sent one of his aides-de-camp with an order; but, on returning with an answer, the prince was no more to be seen. The officer, in searching for him, fell in with the prince's own life-guards, drawn up in order of battle, near a cottage on the edge of the hill, with their commander, Lord Elcho, at their head; but his lordship could give him no information respecting the prince. Lord Lewis Gordon, and several chiefs of the clans, ignorant even of the fate of their own regiments, met together at the seat of Mr Primrose, at Dunnipace, where they were joined every instant by other officers all equally ignorant of the result of the battle. At length about eight o'clock in the evening, all doubt was removed from the minds of this party, by the arrival of Macdonald of Lochgarry, who announced that the Highland army had obtained a complete victory,—that the English were flying in disorder towards Edinburgh,—and that the prince was in possession of Falkirk, and in the quarters which had been occupied by General Hawley. He added, that he had been sent to Dunnipace, by the prince, with orders to the rest of the army to repair to Falkirk next morning by break of day.\*

Partly from the darkness of the evening, and partly from the impossibility of collecting a sufficiently numerous body of the Highlanders together, the prince was unable to continue the pursuit. About fifteen hundred of them had entered the town, but so intent were they upon securing the spoils of the English camp, that it was with difficulty that sufficient guards could be got for the town, and the prince's person, during the night. Besides, the Highlanders had been upon their legs for twelve hours, without receiving any refreshment, and were completely drenched to the skin, so that even had pursuit been otherwise practicable, they must have speedily desisted from excessive fatigue, and might probably have suffered from the dragoons which covered the rear of Hawley's foot.

In addition to seven pieces of cannon which had been abandoned by the captain of the train at the commencement of the action, Hawley left behind him all his baggage, and a large quantity of military stores. Owing to the rain, very few of his tents, to which he had set fire, were consumed. Besides the *materiel* of the royal army, several standards and stands of colours fell into the hands of the victors. According to the official returns, the loss of the English, in killed, wounded, and missing, was two hundred and eighty, including a considerable number

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 127.

of officers ; but these returns are supposed to be greatly underrated.\* There were sixteen officers killed, on the government side, viz. Colonel Sir Robert Munro of Foulis ; Lieutenant-colonel Whitney of Ligonier's regiment of dragoons ; Lieutenant-colonel Biggar of Munro's regiment ; Lieutenant-colonel Powell of Cholmondeley's regiment ; five captains and one lieutenant of Wolfe's ; and four captains and two lieutenants of Blakeney's regiment. Sir Robert's regiment, which consisted chiefly of his own clan, had particularly distinguished itself at the battle of Fontenoy ; but on the present occasion it partook of the panic which had seized the other regiments on the left, and fled, leaving its colonel alone and unprotected. In this situation Sir Robert was attacked by six men of Lochiel's regiment, and, for some time gallantly defended himself with his half-pike. He killed two of his assailants, and would probably have despatched more, had not a seventh come up and shot him in the groin with a pistol. On falling, the Highlander struck him two blows across the face with his broadsword, which killed him on the spot. Dr Munro of Obsdale, his brother, who, from fraternal affection, had attended Sir Robert to the field to afford him any medical assistance he might require, was standing close by his brother when he fell, and shared his fate at the hands of the same Highlander, who, after firing another pistol into his breast, cut him down with his claymore. The bodies of the two brothers having been recognised the next day, were honourably interred in one grave in the church-yard of Falkirk in presence of all the chiefs.†

The loss on the side of the Highlanders amounted only to about forty men, among whom were two or three captains, and some subaltern officers. They had, however, near double that number wounded. Besides Lord John Drummond, young Lochiel and his brother, Dr Archibald Cameron, were slightly wounded. Hawley's army could boast only of one prisoner, who fell into their hands by mere accident. This was Major Macdonald of Keppoch's regiment, cousin to the chief. Having pursued the flying English farther than any other person, he was in the act of returning to his corps, when in his way he observed, in the dusk of the evening, a body of men at some distance standing in a hollow near the bottom of the hill. Imagining this body to be Lord John Drummond's regiment and the French piquets, he ran forward towards the party with his sword still drawn, and when near them, cried out with a feeling of strong emotion, "Gentlemen, what are you doing here ? Why don't ye follow after the dogs, and pursue them ?" Scarcely, however, had he uttered these words, when he discovered that the body he accosted was

\* Mr Home, who was in the engagement, states, that Hawley had about 300 or 400 private men killed. Maxwell of Kirkconnel, who was also present, reckons his loss at between 400 and 500 killed, and some hundreds of prisoners. The Chevalier Johnstone makes, men 600 killed, and 700 prisoners. Such also is the estimate of the author of the *Journal and Memoirs* printed among the Lockhart Papers.

† Culloden Papers, p. 268.

an English regiment, (Barrel's,) and the cry, "Here is a rebel! here is a rebel!" at once met his ears. Escape being impossible, the major, thinking that he would not be discovered by the colour of his white cockade, which was quite dirty with the rain and the smoke of the firing, pretended that he was one of their own Campbells; but General Huske observed that it was easy to discover what the prisoner was by his sword, the blade of which was covered over with blood and hair. Huske gave orders, "to shoot the dog instantly," and a party of musketeers immediately presented their pieces at the major's breast; but Lord Robert Ker generously interposed, and, beating down the muskets, saved the major's life. The general having refused to receive the major's arms, they were accepted by Lord Robert. When pulling his pistol from his belt, previously to surrendering his arms, Huske was alarmed, and exclaimed with an oath, that "the dog" was going to shoot him; but Macdonald indignantly observed, that he was more of a gentleman than to do any such thing, and that he was only pulling off his pistol to deliver it up.\* The major was carried to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle next day, and, after a few months' confinement, tried, convicted, and executed.

The victory would have been complete by the utter annihilation of the English army, had the prince taken the usual precautions to preserve unity of action among the different sections of his undisciplined host. Early in the morning, Lord George Murray had submitted a plan of the battle to his royal highness, and requested that he would name the officers that were to command, and assign them their different stations; but with the exception of Lord George himself, who was appointed to march at the head of the army, and who consequently had the command of the right wing, no other appointment appears to have been made. It seems to have been understood by Charles himself, that Lord John Drummond was to have commanded the left wing; but if such was the case, Lord John could have obtained no distinct notification thereof, as he never appeared in his place. It is maintained by Lord George Murray, that had there been an officer in command on the left, to have brought up two or three battalions from the second line, or from the *corps de reserve* so as to have extended the first line still farther to the left, and thus to have faced the English regiments which outflanked them, the whole of Hawley's foot must have been taken or destroyed, and that few even of the horse would have escaped, as the Highlanders would not have given over the chase till they had reached Linlithgow,—and that, in short, had the three regiments which outlined the Highlanders been faced, the battle would not have lasted ten minutes, as these regiments, instead of keeping their ground, pouring in

\* Note in the prince's household book in Jacobite Memoirs, p. 153. The above, which is a correct version of the story, is at variance with that usually told of the major, who is said to have fallen a victim to his desire to obtain possession of a fine horse, which is said to have run off with him to the enemy.



part of their fire on the left flank of the Highlanders, and compelling those who attacked the right and centre of Hawley's foot sword in hand to retire to their former ground, would have given way with the rest of the main body. In the absence of Lord John Drummond, it was the duty of O'Sullivan, who, as adjutant-general, was chiefly intrusted by the prince with the formation of the left wing, to have brought up men for the purpose of extending the line; but instead of riding along the line as he should have done before the action, none of the officers of the first line of the Highland army saw him till the battle was over.\* While Lord John Drummond could not but be sensible of the error which had been committed on the left, he retaliated upon the lieutenant-general, by ascribing the escape of Hawley's army to the conduct of Lord George himself, who prevented part of the right wing from joining in the charge upon the foot, after the flight of the dragoons.

The English imputed their defeat chiefly to the violence of the storm, which was full in their faces during the action; but this, though certainly a formidable difficulty, was not the only one they had to encounter. To a combination of unfortunate circumstances, and not to any particular incident, is to be ascribed the unfortunate result which ensued. To Hawley's ignorance of the resistance which the Highlanders could oppose to cavalry, the loss of the battle was mainly owing. He had been major of Evans's dragoons at the battle of Sheriffmuir, where that regiment and the Scots Greys, led by the duke of Argyle, after getting over a morass, which the intense frost of the preceding night had rendered passable, attacked the flank of the insurgent army, which conceived itself secure from that quarter, and rode down, and drove off the field several regiments of Highlanders. Imagining from this occurrence, that the Highlanders could not withstand the charge of cavalry, he observed one day in a company of officers in Flanders, who were talking of the battle of Preston, that "*he* knew the Highlanders; they were good militia; but he was certain that they could not stand against a charge of dragoons, who attacked them well."† Under this impression, he began the battle with his dragoons, before his infantry had been fully formed into line, and he soon saw the consequences of his indiscretion.‡

\* Jacobi's Memoirs, p. 91, 92, 94.

† Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 158.

‡ In a pamphlet published at London in 1746, entitled, "A few passages showing the sentiments of the prince of Hesse and General Hawley, with relation to the conduct, measures, and behaviour of several persons, both civil and ecclesiastic, in the city of Edinburgh, since the commencement of the present civil war and rebellion;" the following address is said to have been delivered by Hawley in Holyrood-house, a few days after the battle, to the civil authorities of Scotland, which, if correct, shows that that event had altered his opinion of the Highlanders: "Gentlemen, you pretend to have an extraordinary zeal for his Majesty's service, and seem to be very assiduous in promoting it; but let me tell you, you have either been mistaken in your own measures, or have been betraying his cause. How often have you represented the Highland army, and the multitude of noblemen and gentlemen, who have joined them from the low country with their followers, as a despicable pack of herds, and a contemptible mob of men of desperate fortunes? How have you, in your repeated advices, disguised and lessened the numbers and strength of his

Though the field of battle is about twenty-six miles distant from Edinburgh, the intelligence of Hawley's defeat was known there before nine o'clock at night, by the arrival of some spectators who had witnessed the action, and by some of the dragoons who, impelled by fear, did not halt till they reached the capital. The English general passed the evening of the battle at Linlithgow, and marched next morning with the mass of his army for Edinburgh, where he arrived about four o'clock in the afternoon. A prey to disappointment and vexation, the appearance of Hawley on the morning after the battle is said by an observer to have been most wretched, and even worse than that of Cope a few hours after his "scuffle," when the same person saw him at Fala on his retreat to Berwick.\*

Before the return of Hawley's army, the greatest consternation prevailed among the friends of the government at Edinburgh from the reports of the fugitives the preceding night, who brought accounts of the total route and dispersion of the army, exaggerated by the relation of circumstances which had no existence, save in their own terrified imaginations; but the arrival of the greater part of the army served to dissipate their fears in some measure. Since the commencement of the rebellion, however, to its final close, never were the apprehensions of the supporters of the existing government more alarmingly excited than on the present occasion, when they saw the veteran troops, who had fought the battles of Dettingen and Fontenoy, return from Falkirk discomfited

Majesty's enemies in your rebellious country? And how often have you falsely magnified and increased the power and number of his friends? These things you had the hardness to misrepresent to some of the ministers of state, and generals of the army. If the government had not relied on the truth of your advices, it had been an easy matter to have crushed this insurrection in the bud. If your information had not been unluckily believed, that most part of the Highlanders had run home with their booty after the battle of Gladsmuir, and that they who remained had absolutely refused to march into England, what would have hindered the king to send down a few troops from England to assist his forces in Scotland, to have at once dispersed and destroyed them? But you, out of your views or vanity, made him and his ministry believe that you were able to do it yourselves. And what are the consequences of your fine politics and intelligence? The rebels have got time to draw to such a head, that the king has been obliged to withdraw more than ten thousand of his own troops from the assistance of his allies abroad, and as many auxiliaries from Holland and Hesse, to defend his own person and dominions at home. As to your diminishing their numbers, and ridiculing their discipline, you see, and I feel the effects of it. I never saw any troops fire in platoons more regularly, make their motions and evolutions quicker, or attack with more bravery and better order than those Highlanders did at the battle of Falkirk last week. And these are the very men whom you represented as a parcel of raw undisciplined vagabonds. No Jacobite could have contrived more hurt to the king's faithful friends, or done more service to his inveterate enemies. Gentlemen, I tell you plainly, these things I am now blaming you for I shall represent at court, so that it may be put out of your power to abuse it for the future. I desire no answer, nor will I receive any. If you have any thing to offer in your defence or justification, do it *above*, and publish it here. It will not offend me. In the meantime I will deal with you with that openness and honour which becomes one of my station and character. I will send to you in writing what I have now delivered to you by word of mouth, that you may make any use of it that you think proper for your own advantage and exculpation.—Farewell."

\* Culloden Papers, p. 267.

by a body of undisciplined mountaineers whom they had been taught to despise. The Jacobites, on the other hand, exulted at the victory, and gave expression to their feelings by openly deriding the vanquished.\*

The prince spent the eighteenth, the day after the battle, at Falkirk; but, as the rain fell in torrents during the greater part of that day, few of the officers quitted their lodgings. Notwithstanding the unfavourable state of the weather, the slain were interred by orders of the prince, and a considerable body of Highlanders marched to Linlithgow, of which they took possession. Charles now took the advice of his friends as to the use he should make of his victory. Some were for following up the blow which had been struck, and driving Hawley out of Scotland. Others were for marching directly to London before the enemy had time to recover from their consternation. They argued that it was not to be supposed that Hawley would again face the prince and his victorious army till he should receive new reinforcements; that even then the troops which had been beaten would communicate terror to the rest; and that the prince's army, flushed with victory, could never fight with greater advantages on their side. There were others, however, who thought differently, and maintained that the capture of Stirling castle was the chief object at present; that it had never been before heard of that an army employed in a siege, having beaten those that came to raise it, had made any other use of their victory than to take the fortress in the first place; that any other conduct would argue a great deal of levity; and that it was of the utmost importance to obtain possession of the castle, as it opened an easy and safe communication between the prince, (wherever he might happen to be,) and his friends in the north. This last view was supported by M. Mirabelle de Gordon, a French engineer of Scotch extraction, who gave the prince the strongest assurances that the castle would be forced to surrender in a few days, and added, moreover, that if the prince went immediately upon another expedition he would be obliged to sacrifice all his heavy artillery which he could not carry with him into England.† The opinion of an individual, decorated with an order, and who was consequently considered a person of experience and talents, had great weight with the prince, who, accordingly, resolved to reduce the castle of Stirling before commencing any other operations; but Charles discovered, when too late, that Mirabelle's knowledge as an engineer was extremely limited, and that he had neither judgment to plan nor knowledge to direct the operations of a siege. This person, whose figure was as eccentric as his mind, was called, in derision, Mr Admirable by the Highlanders.‡

During the prince's short stay at Falkirk, a misunderstanding took place between a party of the Camerons and Lord Kilmarnock, which had nearly proved fatal to that nobleman. As this incident affords a

\* Culloden Papers, p. 272.

† Kirkconnel MS.

‡ Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 117.

remarkable illustration of clanship, the particulars cannot fail to be interesting. Lord Kilmarnock, having passed the evening of the battle in his house at Callander, came next morning to Falkirk with a party of his men, who had in their custody some Edinburgh volunteers, who, having fallen behind Hawley's army in its march to Linlithgow, had been taken and carried to Callander house. Leaving the prisoners and their guard standing in the street, opposite to the house where the prince lodged, his lordship went up stairs and presented to him a list of the prisoners, among whom was Mr Home, the author of the *Tragedy of Douglas* and the *History of the Rebellion*. Charles opened the window to survey the prisoners, and while engaged in conversation with Lord Kilmarnock about them, as is supposed, with the paper in his hand, a soldier in the uniform of the Scots Royals, carrying a musket and wearing a black cockade, appeared in the street, and approached towards the prince. The volunteers who observed this man coming up the street were extremely surprised, and, thinking that his intention in coming forward was to shoot the prince, expected every moment to see him raise his piece and fire. Observing the volunteers, who were within a few yards of the prince, all looking in one direction, Charles also looked the same way, and seeing the soldier approach appeared amazed, and, calling Lord Kilmarnock, pointed towards the soldier. His lordship instantly descended into the street, and finding the soldier immediately opposite to the window where Charles stood, the earl went up to him, and striking the hat off the soldier's head, trampled the black cockade under his feet. At that instant a Highlander rushed from the opposite side of the street, and, laying hands on Lord Kilmarnock, pushed him violently back. Kilmarnock immediately pulled out a pistol, and presented it at the Highlander's head; and the Highlander in his turn drew his dirk, and held it close to the earl's breast. They stood in this position about half a minute, when a crowd of Highlanders rushed in and drove Lord Kilmarnock away. The man with the dirk in his hand then took up the hat, put it on the soldier's head, and the Highlanders marched off with him in triumph.

This extraordinary scene surprised the prisoners, and they solicited an explanation from a Highland officer who stood near them. The officer told them that the soldier in the royal uniform was a Cameron. "Yesterday," continued he, "when your army was defeated he joined his clan; the Camerons received him with joy, and told him that he should wear his arms, his clothes, and every thing else, till he was provided with other clothes and other arms. The Highlander who first interposed and drew his dirk on Lord Kilmarnock is the soldier's brother; the crowd who rushed in are the Camerons, many of them his near relations; and, in my opinion," continued the officer, "no colonel nor general in the prince's army can take that cockade out of his hat, except Lochiel himself.\*

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 162.



An accident occurred about the same time, which had a most prejudicial effect in thinning the ranks of the Highland army. The Highlanders, pleased with the fire-arms they had picked up upon the field of battle, were frequently handling and discharging them. Afraid of accidents, the officers had issued orders prohibiting this abuse, but to no purpose. One of Keppoch's men had secured a musket which had been twice loaded. Not aware of this circumstance, he fired off the piece, after extracting one of the balls, in the direction of some officers who were standing together on the street of Falkirk. The other ball unfortunately entered the body of Æneas Macdonell, second son of Glengary, who commanded the Glengary regiment. He survived only a short time, and, satisfied of the innocence of the man that shot him, begged with his last breath that he might not suffer. To soothe the Glengary men, under their loss, the prince evinced by external acts that he participated in their feelings, and, to show his respect for the memory of this brave and estimable youth, attended his funeral as chief mourner; but nothing the prince could do could prevent some of the men, who felt more acutely than others the loss of the representative of their chief, from returning to their homes.

On Sunday the nineteenth, the prince returned to Bannockburn, leaving Lord George Murray with the clans at Falkirk. At Bannockburn he issued, by means of a printing-press which he had carried with him from Glasgow, an account of the battle of Falkirk, a modest document when compared with that of Hawley, who gravely asserted that had it not been for the rain his army would have continued in his camp, "being masters of the field of battle!"\*

\* The following is the account published by the Highland army:—"Falkirk, Jan. 17th.—Early this morning the Prince Regent, (having left the duke of Perth with several battalions to push on the siege of the castle of Stirling,) drew up his army in line of battle a mile east from Bannockburn, which was the head quarters; being informed that the enemy, who were encamped at four miles distance, a little below the town of Falkirk, were advancing to give him battle. But finding, about mid-day, they did not move, he resolved, in a council of war, to march and attack them. And immediately Lord George Murray marched at the head of the army in two columns, holding above the Torwood, as the high-road leading from Stirling to Falkirk was too narrow. The army passed the water of Carron at Dunnipace, the two columns keeping always an equal distance of about two hundred yards. They were then in sight of the enemy, being about two miles and a half distant. At the same time Lord John Drummond, who commanded the left wing, had gone with most of the horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and made a movement as intending to march the highway through the Torwood.

"The two columns continued their march without the least stop, and went up the hill of Falkirk to take the advantage of the wind and rising ground. The enemy were perceived to be in motion from the time we past the water, and were marching up the hill. Their cavalry being in their front, and a good way before them, had now taken possession of a rising ground opposite to our right, and within half cannon-shot; upon which we immediately formed, being betwixt three and four o'clock in the afternoon. As it was believed their foot were forming close behind them, orders were given by his royal highness for the first line to march softly forwards, (the second line keeping the usual distance,) to drive them from that eminence; which was done accordingly, with the utmost regularity and exactness; for when they were within pistol-shot, the dragoons bore down towards us at the trot, in order to break us; then our men gave part of their fire so a *propos*, that they entirely broke them, doing great execution.

After the battle of Falkirk, the duke of Perth again summoned the castle of Stirling to surrender, but the governor returned the same answer he had sent to the first message. The prince therefore resumed the siege on his return to his former head quarters, and fixed his troops in their previous cantonments. An able mathematician, named Grant, who had been employed many years with the celebrated Cassini, in the observatory at Paris, and who had conducted the siege of Carlisle, had at the commencement of the siege communicated to the prince a

“So soon as our men who had fired charged their muskets again, which they did in their march, they advanced to attack the infantry; but the ground was so unequal, being interspersed with risings and hollows, that they could not perceive what was doing on their left, only heard the firing upon that side.

“Our left not being fully formed when the attack began on the right, a considerable body of the enemy's horse came up also to attack them; but receiving part of their fire, they broke and ran off. Their infantry coming in upon that side with six pieces of cannon, were attacked by some battalions, who, receiving the fire of the enemy, went in sword in hand, and drove them down the hill with great impetuosity and slaughter. But not perceiving our right, (by reason of the unevenness of the ground,) they made a stop till such time as the two wings should join to the centre, and the second line come up.

“His royal highness, who was mostly in the centre, (attended by the French ambassador,) and whose attention was turned to all parts, seeing that the enemy had outlined us on the left wing, sent Brigadier Stapleton, and the piquets of the Irish brigade, with some other troops, to take up that space upon the left. Then the whole army marched down towards the enemy, who were retreating on all sides in great disorder; but by reason of the unevenness of the ground, and night coming on, with great wind and rain, they could not overtake them, as they were positively ordered to keep their ranks. Had the enemy staid a quarter of an hour longer on the ground they must have inevitably been cut to pieces; however, they went off with the utmost precipitation; and were just got to the east end of the town of Falkirk, when Lord John Drummond entered on that side, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the west end. Lord John Drummond was slightly wounded in the arm by a musket-shot, at the end of the town, by one of the soldiers whom he was taking prisoner.

“We took all their cannon, consisting of two large ones, five field-pieces, all of brass, three iron cannon, several mortars and cohorns, with a great number of shells, all their ammunition, waggons, tents, (which we found almost all standing, few of them having been consumed by the fire which they had themselves set to their camp,) three standards, two stand of colours, a kettle drum, many small arms, their baggage, clothing, and generally every thing they had not burned or destroyed. We made above seven hundred prisoners, besides officers; and we reckon above six hundred were killed on the field of battle, besides what we were told were drowned in fording the river Avon.

“We had not above forty men killed on our side, among whom were two or three captains and some subaltern officers. There was near double that number wounded, amongst whom was young Lochiel, on the ankle, but so slightly, that it did not hinder him from marching in pursuit of the enemy to the town of Falkirk. His brother was likewise wounded.

“His royal highness's first care, early next morning, was to send up to the field of battle, to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy as our own people; and some of their officers that could be distinguished, (of which it is said are Sir Robert Munro and Colonel Whitney,) were brought down to the town, to be decently interred in the same manner as our own officers were.

“Had not the night come on, and so stormy, his royal highness's army would have got betwixt them and Linlithgow, and would have utterly destroyed them. All the officers and private men behaved with invincible courage; and the order which they kept in their marching and attack surprised even the officers who had been in the former and present wars abroad.

“The Irish officers were of vast use in going through the different posts of the army, and assisting in the various dispositions that were made.”

plan of attack, by opening trenches and establishing batteries in the church-yard. He had assured the prince that this was the only place where they could find a parallel almost on a level with the batteries of the castle; and that if a breach were effected in the half-moon, which defended the entry to the castle, from a battery in the church-yard, the rubbish of the work would fill the ditch, and render an assault practicable through the breach. In consequence, however, of a remonstrance from the inhabitants, who stated that the fire from the castle in the direction of the church-yard, would reduce the greater part of the town to ashes, the prince abandoned this plan, and he consulted M. Mirabelle, with the view of ascertaining whether there was any other practicable mode of making an attack on the castle with effect. To borrow an expression of the Chevalier Johnstone, in reference to the conduct of Mirabelle on this occasion, that it is always the distinctive mark of ignorance to find nothing difficult, not even the things that are impossible, this eccentric person, without the least hesitation, immediately undertook to open the trenches on the Gowling or Gowan hill, a small eminence to the north of the castle, about forty feet below its level.\*

As there were not above fifteen inches depth of earth above the rock, it became necessary to supply the want of earth with bags of wool and earth, an operation which occupied several days. On breaking ground a fire was opened on the trenches from the castle, which was renewed from time to time during the progress of the works, and was answered from the trenches, but the fire from the castle was not sufficiently strong to hinder the operations, which, from the commanding position of the castle guns, could have been easily prevented. The design of General Blakeney in thus allowing the besiegers to raise their works, was, it is understood, to create a belief among them, that the castle would not be tenable against their batteries, and by this impression to induce the Highland army to remain before the fortress till Hawley should be again in a sufficiently strong condition to advance from Edinburgh. Having completed the battery on the Gowan hill, which consisted of three pieces of cannon, on the evening of the twenty-eighth, they quickly raised another on a small rocky eminence called the Ladies hill, on the south-east of the town. They were both unmasked on the morning of the twenty-ninth of February, and immediately opened with a brisk fire, which shattered two of the embrasures of the castle. As the guns of the batteries were pointed upwards the balls generally went over the castle, and the few that struck the walls produced little effect; but the case was totally different with the besieged, who, from their elevated situation, from which they could see even the shoe-buckles of the French artillerymen behind the batteries, poured down a destructive fire upon the besiegers from two batteries mounting together thirteen pieces, which dismounted their guns, broke their carriages, and forced the besiegers to

retire with considerable loss. Thus defeated in their attack, the besiegers abandoned the siege after wasting three weeks in a fruitless attempt to obtain possession of a post, which could have been of no essential service to them, and before which they lost some of their best men, chiefly among the French piquets, whom least of all they could spare.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Edinburgh—His march to the west—Siege of Stirling castle raised—Retreat of the Highlanders to the north—Reasons for the retreat—Council of war held at Crieff by Prince Charles—Arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Stirling—Crosses the Forth and marches to Perth—Arrival of the Hessian troops at Leith—Charles arrives at Moy castle—Ineffectual attempt of Lord Loudon to seize him—Rout of Moy—Flight of Lord Loudon from Inverness—Charles enters Inverness and takes the castle—Duke of Cumberland arrives at Aberdeen—Expeditions of the Highlanders, who take Fort Augustus—Expedition against Lord Loudon and dispersion of his forces—Expedition of Lord George Murray into Athole—Duke of Cumberland's advanced detachments take possession of Old Meldrum and Strathbogie—Retreat of the insurgents across the Spey—A party of the royalists surprised at Keith—Loss of the Prince Charles, formerly the Hazard, sloop-of-war—Siege of Fort William—Its abandonment.

UNWILLING any longer to intrust the management of the war to a general who had given such a signal proof of incapacity as Hawley had done, the government, immediately on receipt of his despatches, sent down the duke of Cumberland to Scotland, to take the command of the army, and to retrieve if possible the lost reputation of the heroes of Dettingen and Fontenoy. The duke was beloved by the army, and enjoyed its confidence, circumstances which rendered him peculiarly fitted to supersede Hawley, who, after his return to Edinburgh with his army, had by his severities become unpopular with the soldiers. Another reason for putting the duke at the head of the army opposed to Prince Charles, was the favourable effect which, it was supposed, the appearance of a prince of the blood would have upon the minds of the people of Scotland, and which, it was expected, would neutralize the influence of his kinsman. But apart from his rank as the son of the king, Prince William had little to recommend him to the especial notice of a nation, rather fastidious in its respect for princes. His conduct while in Scotland showed that humanity, the brightest ornament which can adorn the soldier and hero, had no place in the catalogue of his virtues. With a cruelty which fortunately has few parallels among civilized nations, he pursued his unfortunate victims, the misguided but highminded adherents of the fallen dynasty, with a relentless perseverance which disgusted even his own partizans; but a bare recital of his enormities, which shall be given in their proper place, will be the best justification for the execration in which his memory is held by the Scottish nation.

Having received his instructions, the duke lost no time in preparing for his journey. He left London on the twenty-fifth of January, at one

o'clock in the morning, attended by Lord Cathcart, Lord Bury, Colonels Conway and York his aides-de-camp, and arrived at Holyrood-house on the thirtieth, at three o'clock in the morning. He went to bed about five o'clock, and after sleeping nearly three hours he rose and entered on business with Generals Hawley and Huske, and the rest of the principal officers, before eight o'clock in the morning. He was afterwards waited upon by the state-officers, the magistrates of the city, the professors of the university, and the clergy, all of whom were graciously received. His royal highness was presented with the freedom of the city in a gold box. In the afternoon he held a sort of drawing-room, which was attended by a considerable number of ladies very richly dressed. The most conspicuous among them was a Miss Ker, who wore a busk, at the top of which was a crown done in bugles, surrounded with this inscription, "Britain's Hero, William, duke of Cumberland." To celebrate his arrival the city was illuminated in the evening, but although the Jacobites, from prudential motives, concurred in this demonstration, their windows were broken by the mob.\*

In the course of the day the duke inspected the army. His appearance revived the spirits of the troops, who, it is said, desired nothing so much as an opportunity of wiping away the disgrace of their late defeat. Such being the favourable disposition of the troops, it was resolved in a council of war held in the evening to march next morning to the relief of Stirling castle. Accordingly, early in the morning the army, which, by late reinforcements, had been increased to fourteen battalions of foot, and four regiments of dragoons, besides the Argyleshire men, left Edinburgh in two divisions, preceded by Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons. One of these divisions, comprising eight battalions, at the head of which the duke was to place himself, proceeded towards Linlithgow, and the other, consisting of six battalions under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, marched in the direction of Borrowstouness. The duke himself left Holyrood-house at nine o'clock in the morning, in presence of a large assemblage of citizens, who, from curiosity, had collected before the palace at an early hour to witness his departure. He entered a splendid coach, which, with twelve beautiful horses, had been presented to him by the earl of Hopetoun, and was accompanied in his progress through the city by many persons of distinction, and by a crowd of citizens. On reaching Castlebarns, a place about a quarter of a mile from the West-port, by which he left the city, the duke mounted his horse, and taking off his hat thanked the people for their attentions. He told them that he was in great haste to fulfil the object of his mission, and concluded by wishing them farewell. This short address was received with a loud huzza. The duke then took leave of the nobility and gentry who surrounded him, and at parting said, "Shall we not have one song?" He then began to sing an old Scotch song:—

\* Marchant, p. 328.

"Will ye play me fair?  
Highland laddie, Highland laddie."

But before he had finished the first stanza he stretched forth his hand, and putting spurs to his horse went off at full gallop to join the army.\*

The duke took up his quarters for the night at Linlithgow with the eight battalions, and Mordaunt stopped at Borrowstowness with the other division. The dragoons were quartered in the adjacent villages, and the Argyleshire men were posted in front towards the river Avon. Early next morning, the duke received intelligence that the main body of the Highland army, quartered at Falkirk, had retired to the Torwood, where they gave out they intended to make a stand. Determined that no time should be lost in following the insurgents, the duke, after reviewing his army in the morning, advanced towards Falkirk. Several parties of the Highlanders, who were seen hovering on the hills between Falkirk and Linlithgow, retired with precipitation on his approach; but some stragglers were brought in by his advanced scouts, who reported that the Highlanders, afraid to risk another battle, on account of the increase of the royal army, and the diminution of their own by desertion, were repassing the Forth in great confusion. Two great explosions, like the blowing up of magazines, which were heard from a distance, seemed to confirm this intelligence. On reaching Falkirk, the duke found that all the wounded soldiers who had been made prisoners in the late action, had been left behind by the insurgents in their retreat. His royal highness halted at Falkirk with the main body of his army, and immediately detached Brigadier Mordaunt with the Argyleshire men and all the dragoons, in pursuit of the Highlanders. The duke passed the night in the house which Charles had occupied on the evening of the late battle, and slept in the same bed on which the prince had reposed. Next morning Prince William marched to Stirling, of which Brigadier Mordaunt had taken possession the previous evening. He complimented General Blakeney on his defence of the castle, and was informed by him that, had the siege continued much longer, he (Blakeney) must have surrendered for want of ammunition and provisions.

In his march the duke was accompanied by several officers of the English army, who had been taken prisoners at Preston, and who, under the pretence of being forcibly released by armed parties of country people in Angus and Fife, had broken their parole, and returned to Edinburgh. The duke of Cumberland not only absolved these officers from their parole, but sent circulars to all the other officers, who continued prisoners of war, releasing them from the solemn obligation they had undertaken not to serve against Prince Charles for a certain time, requiring them to join their respective regiments, and threatening with the loss of their commissions such of them as should refuse to return immediately to the service. Such a command, if issued in the

present day, would be scouted with indignation by the whole army; but, to the disgrace of the age, the duke's unprincipled mandate was obeyed. A few officers, however, had the virtuous courage to refuse compliance, and declared their sense of the insult offered to men of an honourable profession, by remarking that the duke was master of their commissions, but not of their probity and honour.\*

It was not without considerable reluctance that Charles had been induced to consent to a retreat. So late as the twenty-eighth of January, on which day he received information at Bannockburn that the duke of Cumberland was expected at Edinburgh in a day or two, he had sent Secretary Murray to Falkirk to acquaint Lord George Murray, that it was his intention to advance and attack the duke of Cumberland, when he should reach Falkirk, and to request his lordship to remain there till the duke came to Linlithgow. Lord George did not express any disapprobation of Charles's design, but immediately drew up a plan of the battle in contemplation, which he carried to Bannockburn, and showed to Charles. The prince, who was in high spirits, expressed himself much pleased with the plan, which differed in some respects from that he had sketched previous to the late battle; but, to his utter astonishment, he received a packet from Lord George Murray by an aid-de-camp, containing a representation by his lordship and all the chiefs,† who were with him at Falkirk, advising a retreat to the north.

In this paper, after stating that they considered it their duty, "in this critical juncture," to lay their opinions in the most respectful manner before his royal highness, they proceeded to say, that they were certain that a vast number of his troops had gone home since the battle of Falkirk, and that, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the commanders of the different corps, they found that the evil was hourly increasing, and that they had it not in their power to prevent it,—that as they were afraid Stirling castle could not be taken so soon as was expected, they could, from the inequality of their numbers to that of the enemy, anticipate nothing but utter destruction to the few troops that might remain behind, should the enemy advance before the castle fell into Prince Charles's hands. For these reasons, they gave it as their opinion, that the only way to extricate his royal highness, and those who remained with him, out of the imminent danger which threatened them, was to retire immediately to the Highlands, where the army could be usefully employed the remainder of the winter in taking the forts in the north,—that they were morally certain they could keep as many men together as would answer that end, and would hinder the

\* Kirkconnel MS. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 167. Among the honourable few were Sir Peter Halket, lieutenant-colonel of Lee's regiment; Mr Ross, son of Lord Ross; Captain Lucy Scott; Lieutenants Farquharson and Cumming; and Mr Home has been justly censured for suppressing in his history this fact, and others equally well known to him.

† These were Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, Ardshiel, Lochgary, Scothouse, and the master of Lovat.



enemy from following them to the mountains at that season of the year,—and that, in spring, they had no doubt that an army of ten thousand effective Highlanders could be brought together, who would follow his royal highness wherever he might think proper,—that such a plan would certainly disconcert his enemies, and could not but be approved of by his royal highness's friends both at home and abroad,—and that if a landing should happen in the meantime, the Highlanders would immediately rise either to join the invaders, or to make a powerful diversion elsewhere,—that on considering the hard marches which the army had undergone, the season of the year, and the inclemency of the weather, his royal highness, as well as his allies abroad and his adherents at home, could not fail to approve of the proposal,—that the greatest objection to the retreat was the difficulty of saving the artillery, particularly the heavy cannon; but that it would be better that some of these were thrown into the Forth, than that his royal highness and the flower of his army should be exposed to the risk they inevitably would, should the proposed retreat not be agreed to, and put in execution without loss of time,—and that they thought that it would be the greatest imprudence to risk the whole on so unequal a chance, when there were such hopes of succour from abroad, besides the resources his royal highness would have from his adherents at home. In conclusion, they informed the prince that they had just been apprized, that numbers of their people had gone off, and that many were sick, and not in a condition to fight. They added, that nobody was privy to the address but the subscribers; and they assured his royal highness that it was with great concern and reluctance they found themselves obliged to declare their sentiments in so dangerous a situation,—a declaration which nothing could have prevailed upon them to make but the unfortunate diminution of the army by desertion.\*

According to a statement made by John Hay, who occasionally acted as secretary to the prince, Charles was so transported with rage, after reading this paper, that he struck his head against the wall of the room till he staggered, and exclaimed most violently against Lord George Murray. To dissuade the subscribers from their resolution, Charles sent Sir Thomas Sheridan to Falkirk, who, not succeeding in his mission, returned to Bannockburn, accompanied by Keppoch and several other chiefs. These argued the matter with Charles himself, and ultimately prevailed upon him to consent to a retreat.† This retreat was condemned by some of the prince's flatterers; but the simple fact, stated by Patullo the muster-master of the prince's army, that, before the retreat, the army had been diminished by desertion to five thousand men, fully justifies the advice given by Lord George Murray and the chiefs at Falkirk.‡ Even Sir Thomas Sheridan, the especial

\* No. 39 of Appendix to Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 335.

† No. 40 of Appendix, vol. iii. p. 338.

‡ No. 30 of Appendix, vol. iii. p. 317.

favourite of the prince, admitted the necessity of the retreat, for reasons apart from the reduction of the army.\*

In order to make the retreat with as little loss as possible, horses and carriages were ordered in from all quarters, under the pretext of carrying the field artillery and ammunition towards Edinburgh, whither it was given out that the army was to march immediately. The army, however, began to suspect the design, and every person, not in the secret, looked dejected. During the thirtieth, a great deal of bustle took place in the country in collecting horses and carriages, but with little effect, as the country people, who also began to conjecture that a retreat was intended, were not disposed to attend to the order.† At length the design of these preparations became apparent when, in consequence of a previous arrangement, Lord George Murray left Falkirk with the clans on the evening of the thirty-first for Bannockburn, leaving behind him Elcho's, Pitsligo's, and Kilmarnock's horse, who were directed to patrol betwixt Falkirk and Linlithgow till ten o'clock that night. Lord George continued at the prince's quarters till after twelve o'clock at night, when it was agreed that the army should rendezvous at nine o'clock next morning, near St Ninians; and a message was directed to be sent to the duke of Perth and Lord John Drummond, both of whom were at Stirling, to be ready to march between nine and ten o'clock, but not to evacuate the town without farther orders. After Lord George, however, had left the prince's quarters for his own at Easter Green-yards, these orders were countermanded without his knowledge, and orders were sent to Stirling to evacuate it by break of day.‡

The appointed rendezvous at St Ninians never took place, and for this reason, that the private men imagining when they first heard of the retreat that the danger was much greater and nearer than it really was, had begun at day-break to take the road to the Frews. Before the hour appointed for assembling, many of them had arrived at that ford, so that when Charles left his quarters for St Ninians, scarcely a vestige of his army was to be seen. Officers were sent after some parties, who were still visible, for the purpose of stopping them, but without effect. The troops in Stirling, in terms of the orders they had received, after spiking their cannon, also marched to the Frews, so that the prince and Lord George Murray found themselves almost deserted. Charles finding it impossible to recall his troops, marched off with some of the chiefs and the few troops that remained with him.§

On the morning of the retreat the church of St Ninians, in which the insurgents had fifty barrels of gunpowder, blew up with a terrible explosion, which was heard by the duke of Cumberland's army at Linlithgow. Whether it happened from accident or design, is a point which cannot be ascertained. If from design, it must have been the act of

\* Vide Letter from Sir Thomas in the Appendix, dated from the Castle of Blair, 8th December, 1746, from the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

† Kirkconnel MS.

‡ Jacobite Memoirs, p. 100.

§ Ibid.

some unknown individual, as there was no warning given to any person to keep out of the way. That it could not have been perpetrated by any person in the prince's interest, seems very evident from the fact, that Charles himself was near enough to have suffered injury, and that some of the Highlanders, as well as several of the inhabitants of the village, were killed.\* Yet, such was the spirit of misrepresentation which prevailed at the time, that, without the least assignable motive, the odium of the act was thrown upon Charles.

When this explosion took place, Lord George Murray was still at his head quarters. He thought the castle-guns had fired a volley; and on repairing to the town about an hour after the explosion, he was utterly amazed to find that the besiegers had disappeared. He, therefore, sent an aid-de-camp to call off some horse he had posted near Falkirk, and proceeded immediately, with the few troops that remained with him, to the Frews.†

The Highland army was quartered that night at Doune, Dumblane, and adjacent villages, and continued to retire next day, the second of February, in a very disorderly manner. The prince halted at Crieff, where he reviewed his army, and, according to the statement of one of his officers,‡ his army was found not to have lost above a thousand men by desertion. Charles, who had consented to a retreat on the supposition that his army had lost a third of its numbers from this cause, is said to have been deeply affected on this occasion. Lord George Murray's enemies did not slip the opportunity of reproaching him, and, indeed, all the chiefs who had signed the representation, with deception; but the author in question observes, that their mistake, if there really was a mistake, can be easily accounted for, if people will divest themselves of prejudice, and examine the circumstances impartially. He observes, that, from the battle of Falkirk up to the time of the duke of Cumberland's march from Edinburgh, the country being absolutely secure, the Highlanders had indulged their restless disposition by roaming about all the villages in the neighbourhood of their quarters, and that numbers of them were absent several days from their colours—that their principal officers knowing for certain that some had gone home, imagined that such was also the case with all who were not to be found in their respective quarters, but that all the stragglers had got to Crieff and appeared at the review. Without questioning such a respectable authority as Mr Maxwell, who may be right in the main fact, as to the number of the army at Crieff, it seems more likely that the army had recruited its ranks on the retreat to Crieff, by overtaking the deserters on their homeward route, than that two or three thousand men should have been absent on a sojourn in the neighbourhood of their camp.

After the review, the prince held a council of war, to deliberate upon

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Ibid. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 100.

‡ Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

the course to be pursued. At no former meeting did heats and party animosities break out to such an extent as at this council. Lord George Murray complained greatly of the flight, and requested to know the names of the persons who had advised it; but the prince put an end to this branch of the conversation by taking the whole blame on himself. After a great deal of wrangling and altercation, it was determined that the army should march north to Inverness in two divisions,—that the horse and low-country regiments should proceed along the coast road, and that the prince, at the head of the clans, should take the Highland road.\* Lord George, after other officers had refused, agreed to take the command of the coast division, which arrived at Perth late that night. The prince remained at Crieff, and passed the night at Fairnton, a seat of Lord John Drummond, in the neighbourhood. Next day, being the fourth, Charles marched from Crieff to Dunkeld, and thence to Blair in Athole, where he remained several days, till he heard of the arrival of the other division at Aberdeen.

It would have been quite impossible, under almost any circumstances, for the duke of Cumberland's army to have overtaken the Highlanders; but slow as the movements of such an army necessarily were, it met with an obstruction which retarded its progress nearly three days. This was the impassable state of Stirling bridge, one arch of which had, as formerly mentioned, been broken down by General Blakeney to embarrass the intercourse between the Highland army when in the south, and its auxiliaries in the north. It was not till the morning of the fourth of February that the bridge was repaired, on which day the English army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyleshire Highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were quartered in and about Dumblane, where the duke passed the night. Next day he proceeded to Crieff, and on the sixth arrived at Perth, of which his advanced guard had taken possession the previous day.

Lord George Murray marched from Perth for Aberdeen with his division on the fourth. He left behind thirteen pieces of cannon, which were spiked and thrown into the Tay, a great quantity of cannon balls, and fourteen swivel guns, which formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop-of-war, which had been surprised and taken at Montrose by the Highlanders. These pieces were taken out of the river next day by the royal troops.

Having learned at Perth the different routes taken by the Highland army, and that it had gained two or three days' march in advance, the duke of Cumberland resolved to halt a few days to refresh his men. From Perth parties were sent out to perambulate the neighbouring country, who plundered the lands and carried off the effects of the prince's adherents. The duchess-dowager of Perth and the viscountess



of Strathallan were apprehended, carried to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle.

Shortly after his arrival at Perth, the duke of Cumberland received an express announcing the arrival in the Frith of Forth of a force of about five thousand Hessians, under the command of the prince of Hesse, son-in-law of George the Second. These auxiliaries had been brought over from the continent to supply the place of the Dutch troops, who had been recalled by the states-general in consequence of the interference of the French government, which considered the treaty entered into between the king of Great Britain and Holland, by which the latter agreed to furnish these troops to suppress the rebellion, as a violation of the capitulations of Tournay and Dendermonde.

The fleet which conveyed the Hessian troops anchored in Leith roads on the eighth of February, having been only four days from Williamstadt. The prince of Hesse, accompanied by the earl of Crawford, a son of the duke of Wolfenbuttel, and other persons of distinction, who had attended him in the expedition, landed that night at Leith, and proceeded to Holyrood-house. His serene highness was saluted on his arrival in the roads by the ships of war lying there, and afterwards by a round from the great guns of Edinburgh castle. The troops were disembarked at Leith on the ninth and the following day, and were cantoned in and about Edinburgh. On the fifteenth of February the duke of Cumberland paid a visit to the prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, at Edinburgh. On that evening they held a council of war in Milton-house, the residence of the lord-justice-clerk. In consequence of the sudden and disorderly retreat of the Highlanders, an opinion had begun to prevail among the friends of the government at Edinburgh, that it was the intention of the insurgents to disperse themselves, and that Charles would follow the example set by his father in seventeen hundred and sixteen, by leaving the kingdom. Impressed with this idea, the generals who attended the council gave it as their unanimous opinion that the war was at an end, and that the duke had nothing now to do but to give orders to his officers to march into the Highlands, as soon as the season would permit, and ferret the insurgents out of their strongholds, as it appeared evident to them that they would never risk a battle with an army commanded by the duke of Cumberland. After the officers had delivered their sentiments, the duke requested Lord Milton to give his opinion, as he knew the Highlands and Highlanders better than any person present. His lordship at first declined doing so, as he was not a military man, but being pressed by the duke, he began by expressing a hope that he might be mistaken in the opinion he was about to give, but he felt himself bound to declare, from all he knew of the Highlands and Highlanders, that the war was not at an end, and that as the king's troops could not follow the Highlanders among their fastnesses in the winter season, they would, though now divided and scattered, unite again, and venture another battle before giving up the war. Acquies-

cing in the views of Lord Milton, whose opinion turned out correct, the duke returned to Perth next day to put his army in motion towards the north.\*

Meanwhile, the Highland army was proceeding in its march to Inverness. After remaining a few days at Blair in Athole, Charles marched to Ruthven in Badenoch, the barrack of which was taken and blown up by a party under Gordon of Glenbucket, who made the small garrison prisoners. He reached Moy castle, a seat of the laird of Mackintosh, about ten miles from Inverness, on the sixteenth of February, with an advanced guard of about fifty men. As Charles's forces were widely scattered, he resolved to halt at Moy till he should concentrate a force sufficient to attack the earl of Loudon, who was posted at Inverness with two thousand men.

Hearing of Charles's arrival at Moy castle, and that he had not above five or six hundred men with him, Lord Loudon formed a design to seize him during the night while off his guard. The better to conceal his project, his lordship, at three o'clock in the afternoon, completely invested Inverness on all sides, posting guards and a chain of sentinels round the town, with positive orders not to suffer any person to leave it on any pretext whatever. He ordered, at the same time, fifteen hundred men to hold themselves in readiness to march at a moment's warning; and, having assembled them without noise, he put himself at their head, and instantly set off, planning his march so as he might arrive at the castle of Moy about eleven o'clock at night.†

Notwithstanding the secrecy, however, with which Lord Loudon concocted his scheme, the plan was divulged by the imprudence or perfidy of some persons intrusted with the secret. According to one account, (for there are several,) the design was communicated to Lady Mackintosh, a zealous Jacobite, by Fraser of Gorthleck, in a letter which he sent to her, and in another letter which she received at the same time from her mother, who, though a whig, felt a repugnance to allow Charles to be made a prisoner in her daughter's house, in which he had taken up his residence as a guest.‡ Another account is, that while some English officers were drinking in a tavern in Inverness, waiting the hour of their departure, a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, who happened to wait on them, paid great attention to their conversation, and, from certain expressions dropped by them, discovered their design,—that she immediately left the house, escaped from the town, notwithstanding the vigilance of the sentinels, and immediately took the road to Moy, running as fast as she was able, without shoes or stockings, which, to accelerate her progress, she had taken off,—and that on arriving she informed Lady Mackintosh of the design against the prince.§ A recent publication,|| however, has furnished a third

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 178.

† Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 180.

‡ Jacobite Memoirs.

† Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 145.

§ Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 145.

version of this affair, which appears to be more correct in the details. It is there stated that Lady Mackintosh's mother, who lived in Inverness, having received notice of Lord Loudon's design, despatched a boy, about fifteen years of age, named Lauchlan Mackintosh, to Moy, to apprise the prince thereof,—that the boy, finding he could not pass by Lord Loudon's men without running the risk of being discovered, concealed himself behind a wall till they had passed, when, taking a different road, he reached Moy and gave the alarm. The prince, who was in bed, was instantly awakened, and, jumping out of bed, put on his clothes, left the house with a guard of about thirty men, and disappeared in a neighbouring wood.\*

As soon as Lady Mackintosh was informed of Lord Loudon's design, she sent five or six of her people, headed by a country blacksmith, named Fraser, to watch the advance of Loudon's troops. This man, with a boldness almost incredible, formed the extraordinary design of surprising the advancing party, in the expectation that they would fall a prey to a panic. With this view, he posted his men on both sides of the road to Inverness, about three miles from Moy, and enjoined them not to fire till he should give directions, and then not to fire together, but one after the other, in the order he pointed out. After waiting for some time, the party was apprized of the advance of Lord Loudon's troops by the noise they made in marching. When the head of the detachment, which consisted of seventy men under the laird of Macleod, was within hearing, the blacksmith called out with a loud voice, "Here come the villains who intend carrying off our prince; fire, my lads; do not spare them; give them no quarter." He thereupon discharged his piece in the direction of the detachment, and his party, after following his example, ran in different directions, calling upon the Macdonalds and Camerons to advance on the right and left, and repeating aloud the names of Lochiel and Keppoch. Impressed with the belief that the whole Highland army was at hand, the advanced guard instantly turned its back, and communicating its fears to the rear, a scene of indescribable confusion ensued. The *sauve-qui-peut* which burst forth from the discomfited legions of Napoleon on the plains of Waterloo, was not more appalling to the flying French than were the names of the Camerons and Macdonalds to the ears of Lord Loudon's troops on the present occasion. In the hurry of their flight many were thrown down and trod upon, and so great was the panic with which the fugitives were seized, that the flight continued till they got near Inverness. The master of Ross, who accompanied the party, and was one of those who was overwhelmed, observed to Mr Home, that he had been in many perils, but had never found himself in such a grievous condition as that in which he was at the rout of Moy.† In

\* Vide Statement of Alexander Stewart, one of the prince's footmen, in *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 102, and the prince's *Household-book*, p. 167-8-9.

† *Home's Works*, vol. iii. p. 180. *Johnstone's Memoirs*, p. 146.

this affair the laird of Macleod's piper, reputed the best in Scotland, was shot dead on the spot. On the dispersion of Lord Loudon's party, Charles returned to the castle.\*

Having assembled his men next morning, Charles advanced upon Inverness with the intention of attacking Lord Loudon, and taking revenge for the attempt of the preceding night; but his lordship, not feeling inclined to wait for the prince, retired into Ross-shire, by crossing the Moray Frith at the ferry of Kessock. Charles took immediate possession of Inverness, and laid siege to the castle then named Fort George. This structure, which was situated on a hill to the south-west of Cromwell's fort, had been raised at the Revolution; and had cost the government, since its erection, above fifty thousand pounds. The castle was fortified in the modern manner, being a regular square with four bastions, and it commanded the town and the bridge over the river Ness.

This fortress had a garrison of eighty regular troops; but, on his departure from Inverness, Lord Loudon threw into it two of the independent companies, one of Grants, and the other of Macleods. The castle on the present occasion mounted sixteen pieces of cannon, and was well provided with ammunition and provisions. The prince summoned the fortress to surrender, but Grant of Rothiemurcus, the governor, refused to comply. Though Charles had left his heavy artillery behind, he found no difficulty in reducing this fort, as the little hill on which it was built was so contiguous to the town that it could be easily approached on that side, without exposure to its fire. It was resolved to undermine the castle and blow it up; but, after a siege of two days, and when the mine had been completed, the garrison surrendered. This event took place on the twentieth of February. The prince, however, did not spare the fortress, which he blew up immediately after the

\* Stewart's Statement and the Household-book, *ut antea*. The statement given by Mr Home,—that Lady Mackintosh concealed Lord Loudon's design from the prince, and that he knew nothing of his lordship's march till next morning, is certainly erroneous. He says that, "without saying a word to Charles or any of his company, she (Lady Mackintosh,) ordered five or six of her people, well armed, under the conduct of a country smith, to watch the road from Inverness, and give notice if they should perceive any number of men coming towards Moy;" and that "Charles, for whose safety the lady had provided so effectually, knew nothing of Lord Loudon's march till next morning; for he was up and dressed when the smith and his party came to Moy, and gave an account of their victory." It is clear, however, that the blacksmith and his party were sent out by Lady Mackintosh before the arrival of the boy, as Gib, the prince's master of the household, who was sleeping in his clothes in the castle of Moy when the boy arrived, says expressly that the blacksmith's adventure "happened much about the time when the boy (Lauchlan Mackintosh) arrived at Moy to give the alarm." And Alexander Stewart, the footman, says, that while Charles and his party (of whom Stewart was one,) were standing at the end of a loch, at some distance from Moy, there came an express from Lady Mackintosh, desiring his royal highness to return to the castle, as "the five spies she had sent out the night before" had come back, after surprising Lord Loudon's detachment. It is probable, however, that the blacksmith and his party were sent out by Lady Mackintosh without the prince's knowledge, either on account of some vague information which she had at first received of the intentions of Lord Loudon, which she did not think fit to trouble the prince with, or from an anxiety to guard against any possible accident.



surrender; but a sergeant in the French artillery, who was charged with the operation, lost his life on the occasion. Imagining that the match was extinguished, he approached to examine it, and was blown into the air, with the stones of the bastion, to an immense height by the explosion.\*

On the same day that Charles arrived at Moy, the division under Lord George Murray had reached Spey side; and the day before Fort George surrendered he had arrived with his men in the neighbourhood of Inverness. In consequence of a great fall of snow, which took place on the day Lord George marched from Aberdeen, his march had been most fatiguing; and the French piquets and Lord John Drummond's regiment were obliged to halt a day at Kintore and Inverury. After giving the prince an account of his march, Lord George, contemplating the possibility of a retreat to the Highlands, mentioned a plan, devised by him and Lord Pitsligo, to assess the shires of Banff, Moray, and Nairn in five thousand bolls of meal, for the use of the army; and he proposed that the greater part of it should be sent to the Highlands for subsistence, in case of retreat thither. The prince approved of the plan; but directed that the whole of the meal, when collected, should be brought to Inverness.†

With the exception of two detachments, which took possession of Blair and Castle Menzies, the army of the duke of Cumberland lay inactive at Perth till the twentieth of February, on which day he put his army in motion for the north, in four divisions. He sent notice to the prince of Hesse to march to Perth, and in his way to leave two battalions at Stirling. At the same time he directed the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, and St George's dragoons to be posted at the bridge of Earn. With the assistance of these cavalry regiments, which were placed under the command of the earl of Crawford, it was thought that the prince of Hesse would be able to check the insurgents, and prevent their progress south, should they give the duke the slip. In marching north, the duke's army took the road along the coast, as Lord George Murray had done. On the twenty-seventh of February the army arrived at Aberdeen, where the duke took up his quarters, till the advance of spring should enable him to take the field. A few days before his arrival, a vessel from France had landed at Aberdeen three troops of Fitz-James's horse, with five officers, and a piquet of Berwick's regiment. These troops, with a small party of men under Moir of Stonywood, left Aberdeen on the approach of the duke.

Compelled by circumstances to abandon, within the short space of three weeks, the whole tract of low country from the Avon to the Don, on which he chiefly relied for the subsistence of his army; followed by a large army with powerful resources in its rear, which it

\* Kirkconnel MS. Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 149.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 104.

could render speedily available; and narrowly watched by the forces under Lord Loudon, the situation of Charles now became very critical. The fertile province of Moray and part of the adjacent territory had, by the expulsion of Lord Loudon from Inverness, no doubt come into his possession; but he could not expect to maintain his ground in this district for any length of time without a precarious struggle. He had it in his power, whenever he pleased, to retire into the neighbouring Highlands, where his pursuers would scarcely venture to follow him; but, without previously securing a supply of provisions from the Low country, he could not keep his army together in a district where the means of subsistence were extremely scanty. The possibility of such a retreat was contemplated by Lord George Murray; but, from aversion to such a design, or from want of foresight, Charles, as just stated, overruled his lordship's proposal to send a supply of provisions to the Highlands.

Judging from the slowness of the duke of Cumberland's motions, that a considerable time would elapse before he would venture to cross the Spey, Charles resolved to employ the interval in carrying through a series of operations which he and his friends projected. The principal of these were the reduction of Fort Augustus and Fort William, and the dispersion of Lord Loudon's army. To secure subsistence for his army, he cantoned the greater part of the division which had marched by Aberdeen between that town and Inverness; and, as after the retreat from Stirling he had directed any supplies that might be sent him from France to be landed to the north of Aberdeen, he occupied all the little towns along that coast. As this district was generally disaffected to the government, it was an easy matter to guard it with the few troops that were dispersed over it; and no danger was to be apprehended till the English army came up, when the different parties were directed to fall back from post to post as the duke advanced.\*

The first enterprise that Charles undertook, after capturing Fort George, was the siege of Fort Augustus. To reduce this fortress, and with the ulterior view of laying siege to Fort William, Brigadier Stapleton was sent into Stratherrick with the French piquets and a detachment of Lord John Drummond's regiment, and appeared before Fort Augustus about the end of February. Without waiting for his artillery, which consisted of a few pieces found at Fort George, he attacked the old barrack and carried it immediately, the garrison retiring to the fort. Mr Grant, who had succeeded M. Mirabelle as chief engineer, since the siege of Stirling, opened a trench upon the third of March. The garrison held out two days, when, in consequence of the explosion of the powder magazine by the falling of a shell, the fortress surrendered, and the garrison, which consisted of three companies of Guise's regiment, were made prisoners of war. Leaving Lord Lewis Gordon with a few troops in command of the place, the brigadier marched to Fort William, which he invested on the land side.†

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 182. Kirkconnel MS.

Pursuant to his plan of operations, the prince, in the beginning of March, sent Lord Cromarty with a detachment, consisting of his own regiment, the Mackintoshes, Macgregors, and Barrisdale's men, to drive the forces under Lord Loudon out of Ross-shire. Finding that his lordship was unable to accomplish the task which had been assigned him, Charles despatched Lord George Murray to his assistance with the Macdonalds of Clanranald and a battalion of Lochiel's regiment. He reached Dingwall the first night, where he found Lord Cromarty's detachment; but his lordship had been absent two days at his own house with a strong guard of Mackenzies. Lord George marched next day for Tain, where he understood Lord Loudon was posted; but on the road he learned that his lordship had crossed the Dornoch Frith to Sutherland, and had quartered his troops in the town of Dornoch and the neighbourhood. Not having any boats to carry his men across the frith, his lordship, after consulting his officers, returned to Dingwall, where he quartered his men. The reason of retiring a day's march farther back was to throw Lord Loudon off his guard, as it was contemplated to bring boats along the coast and attempt the passage. There was nothing to prevent the detachment marching round the head of the frith; but Lord Loudon having a sufficiency of boats, might have eluded his pursuers by recrossing to Tain; and, as Lord George would, by such a course, have been several days' march from Inverness, the main body of the Highland army would have been in a critical situation, if the duke of Cumberland's army had reached the neighbourhood of Inverness, while the corps under Lord George Murray was on the north side of the Frith of Dornoch.\* After sending notice to Lord Cromarty of the disposition of his forces, and that the duke of Perth would take the command, Lord George returned to Inverness the following day, to execute a design he and Macpherson of Cluny had concerted, to surprise the castle of Blair, and to beat up the quarters of the government troops in Athole, who, from information he had received, had committed great excesses in that district.

To carry the enterprise against Lord Loudon into execution, all the fishing boats that could be collected on the coast of Moray were brought to Findhorn. A few gentlemen, to whom the charge of collecting this small flotilla had been intrusted, had conducted the matter with such secrecy and expedition, that no person in the government interest was aware of it; but after the boats were all in readiness, a difficulty presented itself in getting them across the Moray frith without being perceived by the English cruizers that were continually passing along the coast. Moir of Stonywood, however, undertook to convey the boats to Tain, and he accordingly set out one night with this little fleet, and arrived at his destination next morning without being observed by the enemy.† On the flotilla reaching Tain, the duke of Perth divided his force into two parts; and while, with one of them, he marched about by the head of the frith,

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 105.

† Kirkconnel MS.

he directed the other to cross in the boats. Under cover of a thick fog this division landed without being discovered, and the duke, having united his forces on the north side of the Frith, advanced upon Dornoch. When near that town, he came up with a party of two hundred men, who were on their march to join Lord Loudon. This party instantly fled; but Major Mackenzie, who commanded it, with four or five officers, and sixty privates, were made prisoners. Among the officers was a son of Mr Macdonald of Scothouse, who was taken prisoner by his own father.\* The main body, under Lord Loudon, abandoned Dornoch in great consternation, and fled north towards Glenmore, pursued by the Jacobite forces. Both parties marched all night; but the fugitives kept ahead of their pursuers. After a chase of about thirty miles, the duke of Perth discontinued the pursuit, and halted at the head of Loch Shin. While following the enemy during the night, great anxiety prevailed among the Macdonalds in the duke of Perth's detachment, lest, in the event of an engagement, they might not be able, notwithstanding their white cockades, to distinguish themselves from the Macdonalds of Skye, who, like the other Macdonalds, wore heather in their bonnets.† Upon reaching the head of Sutherlandshire, Lord Loudon separated his army. Accompanied by the lord-president and the laird of Macleod, he marched to the sea-coast with eight hundred of the Macdonalds and Macleods, and embarked for the isle of Skye. Part of his own regiment, with several officers, took refuge in Lord Reay's country. Finding that Lord Loudon's troops had dispersed, the duke of Perth returned to Inverness, leaving Lord Cromarty in Sutherland with a sufficient force to keep Lord Sutherland and Lord Reay's people in check. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's army was considered of such importance by Charles, that he immediately despatched an officer to France with the intelligence.‡ In this expedition, several vessels in the Frith of Dornoch, having some valuable effects on board, fell into the hands of the insurgents.

Before Lord George Murray set out on his expedition into Athole, Macpherson of Cluny had secured the passes between that country and Badenoch, to prevent all communication between these districts. About the middle of March Lord George left Inverness with four hundred men of the Athole brigade; and, on entering Badenoch, he was joined by Cluny with three hundred Macphersons. On the sixteenth of March the whole

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 164. The Chevalier gives an affecting account of the paternal anxiety of Scothouse when ordered to set out as one of the detachment to attack Lord Loudon. Not anticipating the landing of the prince in Scotland, he had applied for and obtained a commission for his son in Lord Loudon's regiment, and his alarm now was lest his son should fall by his own hands! Scothouse is described by the Chevalier as possessing "all the qualities which usually distinguish a worthy and gallant man; brave, polished, obliging, he possessed at the same time a cultivated mind and a sound judgment." He "had a fine countenance, and to his agreeable exterior he added a noble and commanding figure."

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 305.

‡ Vide Letter in the Appendix from Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George, of 9th May, 1746, from the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.



detachment set out from Dalwhinnie in the dusk of the evening, and did not halt till they reached a place called Dalnaspedal, or Dalspeddel, about the middle of Drummochter, where the body was divided into a number of small parties, in each of which the Athole men and the Macphersons were proportionally mixed.

Hitherto, with the exception of Macpherson of Cluny and Lord George, no person in the expedition knew either its destination or object. The time was now come for Lord George to explain his design, which he said was to surprise and attack before day-light, and as nearly as possible at the same time, all the posts in Athole occupied by the royal forces. As an encouragement, he offered a reward of a guinea to every man who should surprise a sentinel at his post. There were about thirty posts in all, including the different houses at which the royal troops were quartered; but the principal posts, more especially selected for attack, were Bun-Rannoch,—the house of Keynnachin,—the house of Blairfettie,—the house of Lude,—the house of Faskally, and the inn at Blair, where, as Lord George Murray was informed, several officers of the twenty-first regiment were quartered. After the different parties had discharged their duty by attacking the posts assigned them, they were ordered to meet at the bridge of Bruar, about two miles north from Blair, as the general rendezvous for the detachment.

Having received their instructions, the different parties set out immediately; and so well was the scheme of attack laid, that betwixt three and five o'clock in the morning, the whole posts, though many miles distant from one another, were carried. At Bun-Rannoch, where there was a late-wake held that night, the sentinel was surprised, and the whole of the party, (Argyleshire men,) while engaged in that festivity, were taken prisoners, without a shot being fired on either side. The sentinel at Keynnachin being more upon his guard, discharged his piece and alarmed his friends, who defended themselves for a short time by firing from the windows, till the party broke into the house, and killing one man, made prisoners of the rest. At Blairfettie, where there were fifty Argyleshire men stationed, the sentinel was surprised, and the party, with the proprietor of the mansion at their head, entered the house before the soldiers within knew that they were attacked. They endeavoured to defend themselves, but were obliged to surrender. Lady Blairfettie was in bed at the time, and knew nothing of the affair, till informed by a servant that her husband was below, and wished to see her immediately. On coming down stairs she found the garrison disarmed, the prisoners in the dining room, and about a dozen of her husband's tenants and servants standing over them with drawn swords. Blairfettie, thinking that his wife had been harshly treated, desired her to point out any of the prisoners who had used her ill; but she answered that she had no other complaint to make than this, that the prisoners had eaten all her provisions, and that she and her children were starving.\* The par-

\* Note by the Editor of Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 155.

ties at Faskally, at Lude, and the bridge of Tilt, were also taken; but that in the inn of Blair, after some resistance, escaped to the castle. Three hundred prisoners were taken by Lord George's parties, without the loss of a single man. While beating up the different posts, a party, by order of Lord George, secured the pass of Killiecrankie.\*

Having been apprized, by the arrival of the party from the inn of Blair, of the presence of the enemy, Sir Andrew Agnew, who held the castle of Blair, instantly got his men under arms, and left the castle to ascertain who they were that had attacked his posts. Information of this circumstance was brought about day-break by an inhabitant of the village to Lord George Murray, who was then at the bridge of Bruar with a party of twenty-five men only and a few elderly gentlemen, waiting for the different parties he had despatched the previous night. This intelligence was of the utmost importance to Lord George and his party, all of whom would otherwise have probably fallen into the hands of the garrison. Lord George immediately consulted the gentlemen around him as to the course they should pursue. Some advised an immediate retreat in the direction of Dalwhinnie, but others were for crossing the nearest hills, and retiring by roads along which it would be difficult for the garrison to follow them. His lordship, however, was opposed to both opinions, as by quitting his post he was afraid that his different parties, as they came to the appointed place of rendezvous, would be surprised, and made prisoners. While pondering how to extricate himself from the dilemma in which he was placed, he espied a long unfinished turf-wall which ran across a field near the bridge. An idea at once occurred to him, that by disposing the few men that were with him behind this wall at a considerable distance from one another, and by displaying the colours of both regiments in front, he might deceive Sir Andrew Agnew's detachment, by inducing them to believe that they were to be opposed by a large body of men. Having disposed his small party in the way described, Lord George directed the pipers, (for luckily he had with him the whole pipers of his detachment,) to keep their eyes fixed upon the road to Blair, and the moment they saw any military appear in that direction, to strike up at once with all their bagpipes. Just as the sun was rising above the horizon, Sir Andrew Agnew's men appeared, and their ears were instantly saluted by the noise of the bagpipes, when the pipers commenced playing one of their most noisy pibrochs. The party behind the wall then drew their swords, and, as they had been previously ordered by Lord George, kept brandishing them above their heads. This *ruse* succeeded completely, and Sir Andrew, alarmed by the noise and the spectacle before him, at which he took only a short glance, ordered his men to the right about, and retired into the castle.†

Being now relieved from all apprehension of attack, Lord George remained at his post till joined by about three hundred of his men, when

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 107.

† Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 188.

he marched to Blair, and invested the castle. Having no battering-cannon, and only two small field-pieces, which could make no impression on walls that were seven feet thick, he resolved to blockade the castle, which he expected would be forced to surrender in two or three weeks for want of provisions. To cut off the communication between the castle and the neighbouring country, Lord George placed a guard of three hundred men at the village of Blair, where he was himself stationed, and another near the Mains, at some stables which had been recently erected. Being joined by four or five hundred men belonging to the district, who had been formerly in the Highland army, Lord George detached a party to Dunkeld, where they remained till the approach of the Hessians from Perth. This party then retreated to Pitlochrie, two miles below the pass of Killiecrankie, where they remained several days, during which time repeated skirmishes took place between them and the hussars, and some of St George's dragoons. During the time the Athole men kept possession of Pitlochrie, Lord George Murray went there generally twice every day to ascertain the state of matters. The Hessians showed no disposition to leave Dunkeld, where they had taken up their quarters, till the thirteenth of March, on which day a large body of them came up as far as the Haugh of Dalskean, about two miles from Pitlochrie. The dragoons and hussars continuing to advance, the Athole men retired to the foot of the pass of Killiecrankie, where they halted to dispute the passage; but after remaining six hours waiting for the Hessians, they were informed that a great part of them had returned to Dunkeld.\*

At this time the garrison of Blair castle was reduced to great distress from the want of provisions, and if the blockade had been continued a few days longer they must have surrendered; but, fortunately for the besieged, Lord George Murray was ordered to return immediately to Inverness, in consequence of the expected advance of the duke of Cumberland. Accordingly, on the thirty-first of March, Lord George sent off his two pieces of cannon, that he might not be impeded in his march, and about ten o'clock at night he drew off the party from the pass to Blair, whence he took his departure from Inverness, at two o'clock next morning. Finding the pass clear, Lord Crawford went through it the same morning, but the Hessians, alarmed at the dreadful aspect which it presented, positively refused to enter the pass. As, from the expresses which Lord George Murray received, he was led to infer that the duke of Cumberland was about to leave Aberdeen, his lordship made a most rapid march, having performed the journey in seventy hours, four only of which he devoted to sleep. Cluny's men were left at Ruthven, to guard Badenoch from the incursions of the royal troops in Athole.†

To facilitate his march to the north, and to clear as much of the low

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 169.

† *Ibid.* p. 110.

country as possible from the presence of the insurgents, the duke of Cumberland sent several detachments from Aberdeen, to scour the country, and possess themselves of certain posts between the Don and the Spey. One of these detachments, consisting of four battalions of infantry, the duke of Kingston's horse, and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of General Bland, left Aberdeen on the twelfth of March, and took possession of Old Meldrum, Inverury, and Old Rain. Bland was preceded on his march by the Argyleshire men, and a hundred of the laird of Grant's followers under the eldest son of that chief. At this time the insurgent forces on the east of the river Spey, which had been placed under the command of Lord John Drummond, were stationed as follows. Lord Strathallan's horse, which had been lately separated from Lord Kilmarnock's, and the hussars, occupied Cullen; part of the battalions of Roy Stewart and Gordon of Avochy, consisting of about four hundred men, with fifty horse, were quartered at Strathbogie, and the remainder were cantoned in Fochabers, and the villages along the Spey.\*

Having received intelligence of the occupation of Strathbogie by the Highlanders, the duke of Cumberland sent orders on the sixteenth, to General Bland to march thither with all the troops under his command, and endeavour to surprise the forces there assembled, and failing in that design, to attack them and drive them across the river. To sustain General Bland, should occasion require, Brigadier Mordaunt marched by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, with four battalions and four pieces of cannon. About the same time General Bland left Old Meldrum for Strathbogie, and almost succeeded in surprising the insurgents, who were ignorant of his approach till he came near the place. At the time the news of General Bland's march reached Strathbogie some of the Highlanders were absent, having been sent the preceding night for the purpose of intercepting the young laird of Grant, who was returning to his own country with a commission to raise a regiment out of his clan, and who was to pass within a few miles of Strathbogie. The party, however, did not succeed, as Mr Grant got the start of them, and took up his quarters for the night in a strong castle belonging to Lord Forbes, which they found it impossible to force without artillery. This party returned to Strathbogie about one o'clock in the afternoon, greatly fatigued from want of rest, and found that intelligence had been received of Bland's advance. This news was fully confirmed by the arrival of some scouts, who came back at full speed with information that a large body of horse and foot was at hand.†

Alarmed at the unexpected approach of the enemy, the officers at Strathbogie were at first at a loss how to act. There was danger in retreat as well as in attempting to remain. It was impossible that the men, who were in want of sleep and refreshment, could march far without halting; and as they had left several stragglers behind, it appeared

\* Kirkcounel MS.

† Ibid.



certain that, in the event of a retreat, these would be picked up by Bland's cavalry. On the other hand, from the vast numerical superiority of the English forces, it was dreaded that the small party would not be able to make an effectual resistance, and that in the event of a defeat the whole would easily fall into the enemy's hands. In this dilemma it was resolved to remain an hour at Strathbogie, to give time to the stragglers to come up, and then to retreat. At this time the van of Bland's detachment had begun to appear, and before the hour had elapsed the whole was in sight, and the van within a quarter of a mile of the village. The small party of guards then marched out towards the enemy, and while they formed between the village and the bridge of Bogie, as if intending to dispute the passage of the bridge, the foot left the village. After they had cleared the village, and the enemy's cavalry had begun to file along the bridge, the small body of horse retired after the foot, towards the river Deveron, which they crossed. They thereupon formed again on the other side of the river to stop the enemy's horse, who had pursued them at full speed from Strathbogie to the river side, but they did not at first attempt the passage, a circumstance which enabled the foot to gain the adjoining hill without molestation, and where, from the narrowness of the road and the rockiness of the ground on each side of it, they were perfectly safe from the attacks of cavalry. With the exception of some volunteers among the cavalry, who followed half-way up the hill, and skirmished with a few of the guards who were left behind to observe their motions, the rest of the cavalry gave over the pursuit. The Highlanders, however, did not halt till they reached Fochabers. Next day they crossed the Spey, along with the other troops which had been cantoned on the east side, and took up their quarters in the villages on the opposite side.\*

From Strathbogie, General Bland sent forward a detachment of seventy Campbells, and thirty of Kingston's horse, to occupy Keith, but they were not allowed to hold this post long. Major Glasgow, an Irish officer in the service of France, having offered to the prince to carry it with a detachment of two hundred men, he was allowed to attempt the enterprise, and succeeded, the village having been invested on all sides before the enemy was aware of the attempt. On this occasion they became the victims of a little stratagem. After recrossing the Spey, Lord John Drummond sent a body of horse and foot across every morning. The foot remained generally all day at Fochabers, and the horse patrolled on the road between that village and Keith. On the twentieth of March, a small party of Bland's light horse having appeared on the top of the hill that overlooks Fochabers, the party occupying the village, apparently alarmed, left it in a hurry, much earlier than usual, and repassed the river. The design in thus repairing across the river before the usual time, was to throw the party at

\* Kirkconnel MS.

Keith off their guard, and who, fancying themselves secure, took no precautions against surprise. After it had grown quite dark, Glasgow crossed the Spey with his detachment, consisting of two hundred foot and forty horse, and marching direct to Keith, arrived there unperceived about one o'clock in the morning. The Campbells, who were quartered in the church, formed in the church-yard, and a smart fire was kept up for some time between them and their assailants; but upon being promised quarter, if they submitted, they laid down their arms. Of the whole party, including the horse, not above five or six escaped. Captain Campbell who commanded the detachment, a non-commissioned officer, and five privates were killed. Glasgow had twelve of his men killed or wounded.\*

The advantages obtained by the insurgents in their expeditions into Athole and Sutherland, and by the reduction of Fort Augustus, were in some degree balanced by the loss of the *Prince Charles*, formerly the *Hazard* sloop of war, and the capture of some treasure and warlike stores which she had brought from France for the use of Charles's army; and by the abandonment of the siege of Fort William.

Early in November the *Hazard*, a vessel mounting sixteen guns and some swivels, with a crew of eighty men, had anchored at Ferriden, opposite Montrose. The object of her commander, in taking this station, was to prevent the insurgents from taking possession of the town. At this time a party of Lord Ogilvy's men, under the command of Captain David Ferrier, held Brechin, of which Ferrier had been appointed deputy-governor by the prince before his march into England; and to hinder the approach of this party towards Montrose, a fire was kept up at intervals for three days and nights from the *Hazard*, the only effect of which was to annoy the inhabitants exceedingly. To put an end to such a state of matters, Ferrier formed the design of capturing the vessel by raising a battery at the entrance of the river, and thereby to prevent her getting out to sea. In pursuance of this plan he entered Montrose one night, and possessed himself of the island on the south side of the town, opposite to where the *Hazard* lay. Next day the *Hazard* attempted to dislodge the party from the isle by her fire, but without success. In the afternoon of the following day a vessel carrying French colours was observed at sea, standing in towards the river, which turned out to be a transport from France, with a party of Lord John Drummond's regiment, some Irish piquets, and six pieces of artillery. On observing this vessel, the *Hazard* fired a gun to leeward as a decoy; but, upon a signal from the party on the island, the commander of the French vessel ran her on shore out of reach of the *Hazard*'s guns. The crew then landed the six guns, and a fire was opened from them upon the *Hazard* next morning from both sides of the river, on each of which three of the pieces had been planted. With the exception, however, of

\* Kirkcounmel MS.

having some of her rigging cut, she sustained no damage. Before the arrival of Ferrier's party, Captain Hill, the commander of the *Hazard*, had taken four six-pounders, and two four-pounders, belonging to the town, which he had put on board a vessel in the harbour; but, by oversight, he left this vessel at the quay, and the consequence was, that she fell into the hands of the insurgents. This circumstance was fatal to the *Hazard*; for, finding that the guns lately landed were not sufficient to force the *Hazard* to surrender, Captain Ferrier carried the four six-pounders to the Dial-hill, from which he fired upon the *Hazard*; and her commander, seeing escape hopeless, after hoisting a flag of truce, and making an ineffectual attempt for permission to leave the river, surrendered.\*

This vessel, being a first-rate sailer, was a great acquisition to the insurgents, and had made several trips to France. On the present occasion the *Prince Charles*, as the *Hazard* was now named by the Highlanders, was returning from France, having on board several officers and some privates, a supply of arms and ammunition, and a quantity of gold coin, amounting to between twelve and thirteen thousand pounds sterling. She was observed, on the twenty-fourth of March, off the Banffshire coast, by the *Sheerness* man-of-war, which immediately gave her chase. The *Prince Charles* taking a north-west course, endeavoured to escape by entering the Pentland frith; but the *Sheerness* followed her into that dangerous gulf; and after a running fight, in which the *Prince Charles* is said to have lost thirty-six men, the latter ran ashore on the sands of Melness, on the west side of Tongue bay, near the house of Lord Reay, on the twenty-fifth of March. The officers, soldiers, and crew, immediately landed with the treasure, which was contained in small boxes, and carried it to the house of William Mackay of Melness, where it remained during the night. The dispersion of Lord Loudon's forces, an event which was considered at the time highly favourable to the interests of Charles in the north, turned out, in the present instance, to be very prejudicial. Part of them, as has been stated, had, upon their dispersion, retired into that wild and barren region called Lord Reay's country; and when the *Prince Charles* arrived in Tongue bay, there was a party of these troops quartered in the neighbourhood. On receiving notice of the landing, Lord Reay sent some persons in a boat across the bay, to ascertain the strength of the party who had disembarked; and, on being informed that it was not numerous, it was concerted between him and some of Lord Loudon's officers, to attack the party next morning with such forces as they could collect. Early next morning the French, conducted by George Mackay, younger of Melness, who had undertaken to lead them to Inverness, left Melness; but they had not proceeded far, when they were attacked, two hours after day-break, by a body of men, consisting of fifty of Lord Reay's

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 112. The statement of the Chevalier Johnstone, that the *Hazard* was boarded by the Highlanders, is quite erroneous.

people headed by his lordship's steward and a similar number of Lord Loudon's troops. After a short resistance, during which four or six of their men were killed and as many wounded, the whole party, consisting of twenty officers and one hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors, surrendered.

As Charles's coffers were almost exhausted at this time, the loss of such a large sum of money pressed with peculiar severity upon the army, which he had, in consequence, great difficulty in keeping together. Though sparing in his troops, the king of France had not been remiss in sending Charles pecuniary supplies, nor had the king of Spain been unmindful of him ; but the remittances sent by these sovereigns did not all reach their destination, some of them having been intercepted by British cruizers on their way. Reckoning, however, the sums drawn and received from various sources, Charles must have got no inconsiderable sum ; but he appears to have paid little attention to his pecuniary concerns, and a system of speculation is said to have been practised by the persons intrusted with their management, which told heavily upon his means. His principal steward in particular, to whom the administration of the finances was committed, is alleged not to have been scrupulously honest, and he is said to have contrived matters so as to prevent open detection. His underlings did not omit the opportunity when occasion offered of filling their pockets : a system of imposition was also practised by means of false musters.\* Under such circumstances the early exhaustion of Charles's military chest is not to be wondered at. In this situation, seeing the impossibility of recruiting his finances at Inverness, he had resolved to return to the south country ; but other circumstances induced him to forego his intention.

Judging from the unfortunate result of the siege of Stirling castle, neither Lord George Murray nor Brigadier Stapleton had any hopes of reducing Fort William, which, besides being a strong place, was regularly fortified ; but, as Lochiel, Keppoch, and other chiefs, whose properties lay in its neighbourhood, were very desirous to obtain possession of a fortress which perpetually annoyed them, and the garrison of which had, during the prince's expedition into England, made frequent sallies, and burnt the houses of the country people, and carried off their cattle, they did not object to the siege.†

To assist the troops under Stapleton, the Camerons and the Macdonalds of Keppoch were ordered to Fort William. Mr Grant the engineer proposed to begin the siege by erecting a battery on a small hill, called the Sugar-loaf, which overlooked the fortress about eight hundred yards off ; and as he observed that one of the bastions projected so far as it could not be defended by the fire of the first, he proposed to arrive at it by a trench and blow it up ; but, while in the act of reconnoitering,

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 106. Kirkconnel MS.



he received a violent contusion from a cannon-ball, which completely disabled him. Brigadier Stapleton, having no other engineer, was obliged to send to Inverness for M. Mirabelle, the singular personage formerly alluded to. Meanwhile, the besieged heightened the parapets of the walls on the side where they dreaded an attack, and raised the two faces of the bastions seven feet high.\*

For several days a skirmishing was kept up between the garrison and two sloops of war stationed in the river, on the one side, and the besiegers on the other, with varied success; but the insurgents having completed a battery on the Sugar-loaf on the twentieth of March, opened the siege that evening. From its distance from the fortress, and the smallness of the cannon, which consisted of six and four-pounders only, little execution was done. Next day the besiegers erected a new battery at the foot of the Cow-hill, within half the distance of the other, which was also opened, but with little better effect. On the twenty-second, Brigadier Stapleton sent a drummer to Captain Scott, the commanding officer, with a letter, requiring him to surrender, but his answer was, that he would defend the place to the last extremity. The bombardment was thereupon renewed on both sides for some hours, but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers by beating down their principal battery. The besiegers then erected a third battery, and the bombardment continued, with little intermission, till the thirty-first, when the garrison made a sally, forced one of the batteries erected upon a place called the Craigs, about a hundred yards from the walls, and captured several pieces of cannon and two mortars. Notwithstanding this disaster, they continued to annoy the besieged from five cannon which they had still mounted, but with no other damage to the garrison than the destruction of the roofs of most of the houses. At length, on the third of April, Brigadier Stapleton, in consequence of instructions he had received from the prince to join him immediately, raised the siege, and, after spiking his heavy cannon, marched for Inverness with the piquets, taking his field pieces along with him. He left the Highlanders behind, on the understanding that they were to follow him with as little delay as possible. The loss sustained on either side was trifling.†

Abounding as the prince's enterprise did, in many brilliant points, there is, unquestionably, no part of it more deserving of admiration than that which now presents itself, near the end of his short, but very eventful career. At Gladsmuir and at Falkirk, almost the whole of the prince's energies were directed to a single point, but at Inverness he projected a number of expeditions, attacks, and sieges, and conducted them with an energy and promptitude which astonished the government. The whole force he was able to collect, after his retreat to the north, did not exceed eight thousand men; and, although there was no certainty that the duke of Cumberland might not advance im-

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 103. Kirkconnel MS.

† Scots Magazine. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 196. Kirkconnel MS.

mediately from Aberdeen, which is only a hundred miles from Inverness, yet he separated his forces, and, while with one detachment he kept General Bland in check, he almost at the same time carried on a series of operations with the isolated parts of his army in the distant territories of Athole, Lochaber, and Sutherland.

## CHAPTER IX.

March of the duke of Cumberland to the north—The duke crosses the Spey—Dissatisfaction in the Highland army—Cause of it—Arrival of the duke of Cumberland at Nairn—Retreat of the duke of Perth—Prince Charles leaves Inverness with his army—Forms his army on Drumimossie moor—Night march to Nairn resolved upon—The march, its failure—Return of the Highland army to Culloden—Advance of the duke of Cumberland—Battle of Culloden.

HAVING spent upwards of five weeks at Aberdeen, the duke of Cumberland began to prepare for his march to the north. As it was his intention to proceed by the coast road, he had ordered a number of victualling ships to rendezvous at Aberdeen; and early in April, these vessels, escorted by several ships of war provided with artillery, ammunition, and other warlike stores, had arrived at their destination, for the purpose of following the army along the coast and affording the necessary supplies. About this time the weather had become favourable, and though still cold, the snow had disappeared, and a dry wind which had prevailed for some days had rendered the river Spey, the passage of which was considered the most formidable obstacle to his march, fordable.\*

\* The publication of the Forbes Papers has recently brought to light the meanness and rapacity of the duke of Cumberland and General Hawley. The duke lived, all the time he was at Aberdeen, in the house of Mr Alexander Thomson, advocate, and, although he made use of every kind of provisions he found in the house, and of the coals and candles, he did not pay Mr Thomson a single farthing, nor did he even thank him. He left, however, six guineas for the servants, a boy and two women, one of whom had washed and dressed his linen. Mrs Gordon of Hallhead was induced to yield possession of her house in the town to General Hawley, under a promise that the greatest care would be taken of every thing in the house. Having represented that she was unable to furnish linen and other necessities for Hawley and his suite, Mrs G. was informed, that as the general would bring every thing with him, she might lock up all she had, and that all that was wanted was the use of two of her maid-servants to do the work of the house. Mrs G. accordingly secured her effects under lock and key; but Hawley had not been above a day in the house when he sent a messenger to Mrs G. demanding delivery of all her keys, and threatening, in case of delay, to break open all the locks. Having received the keys, the general sent Major Wolfe, one of his aides-de-camp, to Mrs G. in the evening, who intimated to her that she was deprived of every thing except the clothes on her back. The poor lady then desired to have her tea, but the major told her that it was very good, and that tea was scarce in the army. She next asked for her chocolate, and the same answer was returned. She expressed a wish to get other things, particularly her china, but the gallant major told her that she had a great deal of it, that it was very pretty, and that the general and his friends were very fond of china themselves; but perhaps she might get back some of it. Mrs G. petitioned the duke of Cumberland to order her property to be restored to her. The duke, it is said, promised to grant the prayer of the petition, but no prohibitory order was issued, and General Hawley pro-

Accordingly, on the eighth of April the duke left Aberdeen with the last division of his army, consisting of six battalions of foot and a regiment of dragoons. The whole regular force under his command amounted to about seven thousand two hundred men, comprehending fifteen regiments of foot, two of dragoons, and Kingston's horse. Besides these, there were the Argyleshire men and other militia, whose united numbers may be stated at two thousand. At the time of the duke's departure, six battalions, with Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, under Major-general Bland, were stationed at Strathbogie, and three battalions at Old Meldrum, under Brigadier Mordaunt. The duke quartered the first night at Old Meldrum and the next at Banff, where two spies were seized and hanged. One of them was caught while in the act of notching upon a stick the number of the duke's forces.\* On the eleventh the duke marched to Cullen, and at Portsoy he was joined by the remainder of his army, which had been stationed at Old Meldrum and Strathbogie. The army being too numerous to obtain quarters in the town, the foot encamped for the night on some ploughed fields in the neighbourhood, and the horse were quartered in Cullen and the adjacent villages. The earl of Findlater, who, with his countess, had accompanied the army on its march from Aberdeen, on arriving at his seat at Cullen, made a present of two hundred guineas to the troops.

Next day, being Saturday, the twelfth of April, the duke put his army again in motion, and, after a short march, halted on the moor of Arrondel, about five or six miles from the river Spey. He then formed his army into three divisions, each about half a mile distant from the other, and in this order they advanced towards the Spey. The left division, which was the largest, crossed the river by a ford near Gormach, the centre by another close by Gordon castle, and the division on the right by a ford near the church of Belly. In their passage, the men were up to their waists in the water, but, with the exception of the loss of one dragoon and four women, who were carried away by the stream, no accident occurred.

ceeded to pack up every thing in the least portable, and shipped the best things off to Edinburgh a fortnight before he left Aberdeen. Mrs Gordon gives a very minute catalogue of the effects carried off, which she values at £600. Among those abstracted were the whole of her husband's body-clothes, three wigs, "with several shirts and night-gowns of Bob's," (Mr Gordon's son). He carried off all the china and other crockery ware, and did not leave a single tea cup or plate,—all the wine glasses and decanters.—the linens and table napery, and even the kitchen towels. He stripped the beds of every thing, and left the bare posts standing. In short, he cleared the house of almost every thing,—of empty bottles, larding pens, iron skewers, flutes, music books, two canes with china heads, wash-balls, &c. &c. Mrs Gordon insinuates that the duke of Cumberland participated in the spoil. In a letter written by Thomas Bowdler, Esq. of Ashley, near Bath, brother of Mrs Gordon, to the Rev. Robert Lyon, who lived in Lady Cotton's family in London, he observes, that a Mrs Jackson, who knew Mrs Gordon's china well, recognised part of it one day in the window of a china shop in London, and having the curiosity to inquire of the shopkeeper from whom he had bought it, was informed that he had purchased it from a woman of the town, who told him that the duke of Cumberland had given it to her.

\* Ray, p. 313.



The duke of Perth, who happened at this time to be with the Highland forces appointed to defend the passage of the Spey, not thinking it advisable to dispute that position against such an overwhelming force as that to which he was opposed, retired towards Elgin on the approach of the duke of Cumberland. The conduct of the duke of Perth, and of his brother, Lord John Drummond, has been censured for not disputing the passage of the Spey, but without reason. The whole of the Highland forces along the Spey did not exceed two thousand five hundred men, being little more than a fourth of those under the duke of Cumberland. Notwithstanding this great disparity, the Highlanders, aided by the swollen state of the river, might have effectually opposed the passage of the royal army had it been attempted during the month of March, but a recent drought had greatly reduced the quantity of water in the river, and had rendered it fordable in several places to such an extent, that at two of them a whole battalion might have marched abreast. As some of the fords run in a zig-zag direction, some damage might have been done to the royal army in crossing, but as the duke of Cumberland had a good train of artillery, he could have easily covered his passage at these places.

The departure of the duke of Cumberland from Aberdeen was not known at Inverness till the twelfth, on the morning of which day intelligence was brought to Charles that he was in full march to the north with his whole army. Shortly after his arrival at Inverness, Charles had formed the design, while the duke of Cumberland lay at Aberdeen, of giving him the slip, by marching to Perth by the Highland road, so as to induce the duke to return south and thus leave the northern coast clear for the landing of supplies from France. With this view, he had directed the siege of Fort William to be pushed, and, calculating upon a speedy reduction of that fortress, he had sent orders to the Macdonalds, the Camerons, and the Stewarts, who were engaged in the siege, immediately on the capture of the fort to march into Argyleshire, and, after chastising the whigs in that district, and giving an opportunity to their friends there to join them, to proceed to Perth.\* Charles, however, for the present, laid aside the intention of marching south, and knowing that the duke of Cumberland would advance from Aberdeen early in April, he gave orders for concentrating his forces at Inverness, and, as soon as he was informed of the duke's march, he renewed these orders, by sending expresses every where to bring up his men. Those who had been at the siege of Fort William were already on their march, but Lord Cromarty was at a considerable distance with a large body of men, and could scarcely be expected to arrive in time if the duke was resolved on an immediate action.†

Besides the men who were absent on the expeditions in Lochaber and Sutherland, there were many others who had returned to their homes,

\* Home's Works, vol. iii., App. No. 11, p. 339.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 120.

either discontented with the situation in which they found themselves after they came to Inverness, or to see their families or friends. Up to the period of their arrival there, they had received their pay punctually, but at Inverness the face of affairs was completely changed in this respect, and instead of money the troops were reduced to a weekly allowance of oatmeal. The men murmured at first at the stoppage of their pay, but their clamours were quieted by their officers, who gave them assurances that a supply of money would soon be received from France. This expectation would have been realized, but for the misfortune which befell the Prince Charles, and in consequence of that event, the soldiers began to murmur afresh, and some of them seeing no pressing occasion for their attendance, and choosing rather to enjoy a frugal repast with their friends at home than serve without pay, left the army. These absentees, however, had no intention of abandoning the service, and were resolved to rejoin their colours as soon as they saw a probability of coming to action. Accordingly, many of those who had returned to their homes set out of their own accord to rejoin the army, on hearing of the duke of Cumberland's advance, though few of them arrived in time for the battle.\*

Reduced in numbers as the prince's army was from the causes alluded to, they still burned with impatience to meet the enemy; and when intelligence of the duke of Cumberland's march from Aberdeen reached Inverness, it was hailed with joy by the portion there assembled.† From the fatigues and labours they had experienced during the campaign, and the numerous inconveniences to which they had been subjected from the want of pay, there was nothing the Highlanders dreaded more than another march to the south; but the near prospect they now had of meeting the English army upon their own soil, and of putting an end to the war by one bold and decisive blow, absorbed for a while all recollection of their past sufferings. By drawing the duke of Cumberland north to Inverness, it was generally supposed that the prince could meet him on more equal terms than at Aberdeen, as he would have a better and more numerous army at Inverness, than he could have carried south. This unquestionably would have been the case had Charles avoided a battle till he had assembled all his troops, but his confidence on the present occasion got the better of his prudence.

After crossing the Spey, the duke of Cumberland halted his army on the western bank, and encamped opposite to Fochabers, but the horse afterwards repassed the river and took up their quarters in the town. Here, as at Cullen, every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. Early next morning he raised his camp, and passing through Elgin, encamped on the moor of Alves, nearly midway between Elgin and Forres. The duke of Perth, who had passed the previous night at Forres, retired to Nairn upon his approach. The duke of Cumberland renewed his march on the fourteenth and came to Nairn, where the duke of Perth remained till he was

\* Kirkconnel MS.

† Ibid.

within a mile of the town, and began his retreat in sight of the English army. In this retreat, Clanranald's regiment, with the French piquets and Fitz-James's horse, formed the rear. To harass the rear, and retard the march of the main body till some of his foot should come up, the duke of Cumberland sent forward his cavalry. Several shots were exchanged between the duke's cavalry and the French horse, and in expectation of an engagement with the duke's advanced guard, consisting of two hundred cavalry and the Argyleshire men, the Macdonalds of Clanranald, and the Stewarts of Appin, were ordered back to support the French. These regiments accordingly returned and took ground, and Fitz-James's horse formed on their right and left. The duke's advanced guard thereupon halted, and formed in order of battle, but as the main body of the English army was in full march the rear recommenced their retreat. The advanced guard continued to pursue the Highlanders several miles beyond Nairn, but finding the chase useless, returned to the main body which was preparing to encamp on a plain to the west of Nairn.\*

Neither at the time when Charles received intelligence of the duke of Cumberland's march from Aberdeen, nor till the following day (Sunday,) when news was brought to him that the English army had actually crossed the Spey, does Charles appear to have had any intention of speedily risking a battle. He probably expected that with the aid of the reinforcements he had sent to support the duke of Perth, his grace would have been able, for sometime at least, to have maintained a position on the western bank of the river, and that time would be thus afforded him to collect the scattered portions of his army, before being compelled, by the advance of the duke of Cumberland, to come to a general engagement; but whatever his intentions were anterior to the receipt of the intelligence of the English army having crossed the Spey, that circumstance alone made him determine to attack the duke of Cumberland without waiting for the return of his absent detachments.

Accordingly, on the morning of the fourteenth, Charles ordered the drums to beat, and the pipes to be played, as the signal for summoning his men to arms. After those who were in the town had assembled in the streets, the prince mounted his horse, and putting himself at their head, led them out to Culloden, about four miles from Inverness.† Leaving part of his men in the parks around Culloden house, Charles went onward with his first troop of guards and the Mackintosh regiment, and advanced within six miles of Nairn to support the duke of Perth, but finding him out of danger, he returned to Culloden, where he was joined by the whole of the duke's forces in the evening. Lochiel also arrived at the same time with his regiment. That night the Highlanders bivouacked among the furze of Culloden-wood, and Charles and his principal officers lodged in Culloden house.

\* Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 507.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 518.

Having selected Drummossie-moor for a field of battle, Prince Charles marched his army thither early in the morning of the fifteenth, and drew his men up in order of battle across the moor, which is about half a mile broad. His front looked towards Nairn, and he had the river of that name on his right, and the inclosures of Culloden on his left. This moor, which is a heathy flat of considerable extent about five miles from Inverness and about a mile and a half to the south-east of Culloden house, forms the top of a hill which, rising at Culloden, dies gradually away in the direction of Nairn. The ascent to the moor is steep on both sides, particularly from the shore. In pitching upon this ground, Charles acted on the supposition that the duke of Cumberland would march along the moor, which was better fitted for the free passage of his army, than the common road between Nairn and Inverness, which was narrow and inconvenient.

In expectation that the duke of Cumberland would advance, Charles sent forward on the road to Nairn some parties of horse to reconnoitre, but they could observe no appearance of any movement among the royal troops. The ground on which the army was now formed had been chosen without consulting Lord George Murray, who, on arriving on the spot, objected to it, on the footing that though interspersed with moss and some hollows, the ground was generally too level, and consequently not well suited for the operations of Highlanders. He therefore proposed to look out for more eligible ground, and at his suggestion Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker, were sent about ten o'clock to survey some hilly ground on the south side of the water of Nairn, which appeared to him to be steep and uneven, and of course more advantageous for Highlanders. After an absence of two or three hours, these officers returned and reported that the ground they had been appointed to examine was rugged and boggy, that no cavalry could act upon it, that the ascent on the side next the river was steep, and that there were only two or three places, about three or four miles above, where cavalry could pass; the banks of the river below being inaccessible. On receiving this information, Lord George Murray proposed, in the event of Cumberland's forces not appearing that day, that the army should cross the water of Nairn, and draw up in line of battle next day, upon the ground which had been surveyed; and that, should the duke of Cumberland not venture to cross after them and engage them upon the ground in question, they might watch a favourable opportunity of attacking him with advantage. In the event of no such opportunity offering, his lordship said that he would recommend that the army should, with the view of drawing the duke after them, retire to the neighbouring mountains, where they might attack him at some pass or strong ground. This proposal met with the general approbation of the commanding officers; but Charles who, two days before (when a suggestion was made to him to retire to a strong position till all his army should assemble,) had declared his resolution to attack the duke of Cumberland even with a thousand



men only, declined to accede to it. His grounds were that such a retrograde movement might discourage the men, by impressing them with a belief that there existed a desire on the part of their commanders to shun the English army; that Inverness, which was now in their rear, would be exposed, and that the duke of Cumberland might march upon that town, and possess himself of the greater part of their baggage and ammunition.\*

Concluding from the inactivity of the duke of Cumberland that he had no intention of marching that day, Charles held a council of war in the afternoon, to deliberate upon the course it might be considered most advisable to pursue in consequence of the duke's stay at Nairn. According to Charles's own statement, he had formed the bold and desperate design of surprising the English army in their camp during the night; but, desirous of knowing the views of his officers before divulging his plan, he allowed all the members of the council to speak before him. After hearing the sentiments of the chiefs, and the other commanders who were present, Lord George Murray proposed to attack the duke of Cumberland during the night, provided it was the general opinion that the attack could be made before one or two o'clock in the morning. Charles, overjoyed at the suggestion of his lieutenant-general, immediately embraced him, said that he approved of it, that in fact he had contemplated the measure himself, and that he did not intend to have disclosed it till all the members of the council had delivered their sentiments.†

Had the army been in a condition to sustain the fatigue of a night march of ten or twelve miles, the plan of a night attack was unquestionably the best that could have been devised under existing circumstances. If surprised in the dark, no doubt can exist that the duke of Cumberland's army would have been routed; but supposing the duke to have been on his guard, a night attack appeared to afford the only chance of getting the better of his superiority in numbers and discipline, and of rendering his cavalry and cannon, in which his chief strength lay, utterly useless. But the Highland army, from some unaccountable oversight on the part of the persons who had the charge of the commissariat department, was in a state bordering upon starvation, and consequently not able to perform such a fatiguing march. Although there was a quantity of meal in Inverness and the neighbourhood sufficient for a fortnight's consumption, no care had been taken to supply the men with an allowance on leaving Inverness, and the consequence was, that during this and the preceding day very few of them had tasted a particle of food. To appease their hunger a single biscuit was distributed to each man, but this pittance only increased the desire for more; and hunger getting the better of patience, some of the men began to leave the ranks in quest

\* A Particular Account of the Battle of Culloden. In a letter from an officer (Lord George Murray) of the Highland army to his friend in London. London, 1749. p. 4. No. 42 of Appendix to Home's works, vol. iii. p. 342.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 121.

† Vide Memorandum by the Prince, note, p. 138.

of provisions. In spite, however, of the deprivation under which they laboured, the army was never in higher spirits, or more desirous to meet the enemy; and it was not until all hopes of an immediate engagement were abandoned that the men thought of looking out for the means of subsistence.\*

The expediency of a night attack was admitted by all the members of the council, but there were a few who thought that it should not be ventured upon that night, and not until the arrival of the rest of the army, which might be expected in two or three days at farthest. Keppoch with his Highlanders had just come up and joined the army; but the Mackenzies under Lord Cromarty, a body of the Frasers whom the Master of Lovat had collected to complete his second battalion, the Macphersons under Cluny, their chief, the Macgregors under Glengyle, a party headed by Mackinnon, and a body of Glengary's men under Barisdale, were still at a distance, though supposed to be all on their march to Inverness. The minority objected that, should they fail in the attempt, and be repulsed, it would be difficult to rally the Highlanders,—that even supposing no spy should give the duke of Cumberland notice of their approach, he might, if alarmed by any of his patrols, have time to put his army in order in his camp, place his cannon, charged with cartouch-shot, as he pleased, and get all his horse in readiness to pursue the Highlanders if beat off. Besides these objections they urged the difficulty of making a retreat if many of their men were wounded, from the aversion of the Highlanders to leave their wounded behind them. They, moreover, observed that they had no intelligence of the situation of the duke's camp; and that even could a safe retreat be made, the fatigue of marching forwards and backwards twenty miles would be too much for men to endure, who would probably have to fight next day.†

All these arguments were however thrown away upon Charles, who, supported by the duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and others, showed the utmost impatience for an immediate attack. The party who supported this view were not insensible to the danger which might ensue should the attack miscarry; but, strange to say, they were urged to it from the very cause to which the failure was chiefly owing, the want of provisions. Apprehensive that if the army was kept on the moor all night, many of the men would go away to a considerable distance in search of food, and that it would be very difficult to assemble them speedily in the event of a sudden alarm, they considered an immediate attack, particularly as Charles had resolved to fight without waiting for reinforcements, as a less desperate course than remaining where they were.‡

\* Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 518. A letter from Mr John Hay of Restalrig, who had the principal charge of the provisions, to Charles, in his own exculpation, will be found in the Appendix. It is dated from Paris, 5th Dec., 1746. The original is in the possession of his Majesty.

† Particular account of the battle of Culloden, p. 6.

‡ Ibid, p. 9.

To prevent the duke of Cumberland from obtaining any knowledge of the advance of the Highlanders from the spies who might be within view of his army, Charles fixed upon eight o'clock for his departure, by which time his motions would be concealed from observation by the obscurity of the evening. Meanwhile the commanding officers repaired to their respective regiments to put their men in readiness; but between six and seven o'clock an incident occurred which almost put an end to the enterprise. This was the departure of a large number of the men, who, ignorant of the intended march, went off towards Inverness and adjacent places to procure provisions and quarters for the night. Officers from the different regiments were immediately despatched on horseback to bring them back, but no persuasion could induce the men to return, who gave as their reason for refusing that they were starving. They told the officers that they might shoot them if they pleased, but that they would not go back till they got some provisions.\* By this defection Charles lost about two thousand men, being about a third of his army.

This occurrence completely changed the aspect of affairs, and every member of the council who had formerly advocated a night attack now warmly opposed it. Charles, bent upon his purpose, resolutely insisted upon the measure, and said that when the march was begun the men who had gone off would return and follow the rest. The confidence which he had in the bravery of his army blinded him to every danger, and he was prompted in his determination to persist in the attempt from an idea that Cumberland's army having been that day engaged in celebrating the birth-day of their commander, would after their debauch fall an easy prey to his Highlanders.

Finding the prince fully resolved to make the attempt at all hazards, the commanding officers took their stations, waiting the order to march. The watch word was, "King James the Eighth," and special instructions were issued to the army, that in making the attack the troops should not make use of their fire-arms, but confine themselves to their swords, dirks, and bayonets; and that on entering the duke of Cumberland's camp they should cut the tent strings and pull down the poles, and that wherever they observed a swelling or bulge in the fallen covering, they should strike and push vigorously with their swords and dirks.† Before marching, directions were given to several small parties to possess all the roads, in order to prevent any intelligence of their march being carried to the duke of Cumberland.

In giving his orders to march, Charles embraced Lord George Murray, who immediately went off at the head of the line, about eight o'clock, preceded by two officers, and about thirty men of the Mackintosh regiment, who from their knowledge of the country were to act as guides. Though the whole army marched in one line, there was an interval in the middle as if it consisted of two columns. The Athole men led the van, and next

\* Particular Account, p. 10.

† Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 508.

to them were the Camerons who were followed by the other clans. The low country regiments, the French piquets, and the horse, formed the rear. Lord John Drummond was in the centre, or at the head of the second column; and the duke of Perth and Charles, who had Fitz-James's and other horse with him, were towards the rear. Besides the party of Mackintoshes, who served as guides in front, there were others of that clan stationed in the centre and rear, and generally along the line, to prevent any of the men from losing their way in the dark.\* The plan of attack, as laid down by Lord George Murray, was this:—The army was to have marched in a body till they passed the house of Kilraick or Kilravock, which is about ten miles from Culloden, on the direct road to Nairn. The army was then to have been separated, and while Lord George Murray crossed the river Nairn with the van, making about one-third of the army, and marched down by the south side of the river, the remainder of the army was to have continued its march along the north side till both divisions came near the duke's camp. The van was then to have re-crossed the river, and attacked the royal army from the south, while the other part was to have attacked it at the same time from the west.† With the exception of Charles, who promised upon his honour not to divulge it to any person, and Anderson, who acted as guide at the battle of Preston, no person was made privy to the plan, as its success depended upon its secrecy.‡ Had it been executed it might have proved ruinous to the duke's army, and perhaps fatal to the reigning dynasty.

In the outset of the march the van proceeded with considerable expedition, but it had gone scarcely half a mile when Lord George Murray received an express ordering him to halt till joined by the rear column, which was a considerable way behind. As a halt in the van always occasions a much longer one in the rear when the march is resumed, Lord George did not halt but slackened his pace to enable the rear to join. This, however, was to no purpose, as the rear still kept behind, and although, in consequence of numerous expresses enjoining him to wait, Lord George marched slower and slower, the rear fell still farther behind, and before he had marched six miles he had received at least fifty expresses ordering him either to halt or to slacken his pace. The chief cause of the stoppage was the badness of the roads.

About one o'clock in the morning, when the van was opposite to the house of Kilravock, Lord John Drummond came up to the van and stated to Lord George Murray that unless he halted or marched much slower with the van the rear would not be able to join. The duke of Perth having shortly thereafter also come up to the front and given a similar assurance, his lordship halted near a small farm house called Yellow Know, belonging to Rose of Kilravock, nearly four miles from Nairn, and about a mile from the place where it was intended the van

\* Particular Account, p. 10.

† Appendix to Home's Works, No. 42. vol. iii. p. 346.

‡ Home, vol. iii. p. 205.



should cross the river. In the wood of Kilravock the march of the rear was greatly retarded by a long narrow defile occasioned partly by a stone wall; and so fatigued and faint had the men become, by the badness of the road, and want of food, that many of them, unable to proceed, lay down in the wood. This circumstance was announced to Lord George Murray by several officers who came up from the rear shortly after the van had halted. Mostly all the principal officers, including the duke of Perth, Lord George Murray, Lord John Drummond, Lochiel, and General O'Sullivan, were now in the van, and having ascertained by their watches, which they looked at in a little house close by, that it was two o'clock in the morning, they at once perceived the impossibility of surprising the English army. The van was still upwards of three, and the rear about four miles from Nairn, and as they had only been able to advance hitherto at a rate little more than a mile in the hour, it was not to be expected that the army in its exhausted state would be able to accomplish the remainder of the distance, within the time prescribed, even at a more accelerated pace. By a quick march the army could not have advanced two miles before day-break; so that the duke of Cumberland would have had sufficient time to have put his army in fighting order before an attack could have been made. These were sufficient reasons of themselves for abandoning the enterprise, but when it is considered that the army had been greatly diminished during the march, and that scarcely one-half of the men that were drawn up the day before on Drummoissie moor remained, the propriety of a retreat becomes undoubted.\*

Lord George Murray, who had never contemplated any thing but a surprise, and whose calculation of reaching Nairn by two o'clock in the morning would have been realized had the whole line marched with the same celerity as the first four or five regiments, would have been perfectly justified in the unexpected situation in which he was placed to have at once ordered a retreat,† but desirous of ascertaining the senti-

\* Home's Works, vol. iii. Appendix, No. 42. p. 350. True Account, &c. p. 11.

† In the letter which Lord George, under the signature of De Valignie, addressed to his friend Hamilton of Bangour, dated from Emerick, 5th August, 1749, he thus justifies himself for having ordered a retreat without the prince's orders:—"They say, why return from Kilaick without the Prince's positive orders? he was general, and without his immediate orders no person should have taken so much upon him. My answer to this is, (waiving what Mr O'Sullivan said from the Prince,\*) that all the officers were unanimous;—that as it could not be done by surprise, and before day-break, as had been proposed and undertaken with no other view, it was impossible to have success; for it was never imagined by any one that it was to be attempted but by a surprise. Whatever may be the rules in a regular army, (and it is not to be supposed I was ignorant of them,) our practice had all along been, at critical junctures, that the commanding officers did every thing to their knowledge for the best. At Gladsmuir (the plan of which attack I had formed,) I was the last that passed the defile of the first line, and the first that at-

\* "Mr O'Sullivan said, (he had just come up to the front,) he had just then come from the Prince, who was very desirous the attack should be made: but as Lord George Murray led the van, and could judge of the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not."—Particular Account, p. 12.

ments of the officers about him, he requested them to state their views of the course they thought it most advisable to adopt. There were several gentlemen present, who, having joined the Athole brigade as volunteers, had marched all night in the front: and as the duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and the other officers, seemed at a loss what to resolve upon, Lord George Murray requested the volunteers to give their free opinion, as they were all equally interested in the consequences. Without hesitation all these gentlemen, eager to come to an engagement, were for marching, but most of the officers, particularly Lochiel and his brother, Dr Cameron, were of a different opinion, in which they were backed by Lord George Murray, who observed that if they could have made the attack within the time prescribed, they would certainly have succeeded, especially if they could have surprised the enemy; but to attack in daylight an army that was near double their number, and which would be prepared to receive them, would be considered an act of madness.\*

Among the volunteers the most conspicuous was Mr Hepburn of Keith. While arguing for an attack with Lord George Murray, the beating of a drum was heard in the duke of Cumberland's camp. "Don't you hear," said Lord George; "the enemy are alarmed; we can't surprise them." "I never expected," said Hepburn, "to find the red coats asleep; but they will be drunk after solemnizing the duke of Cumberland's birth-day. It is much better to march on and attack them than to retreat, for they will most certainly follow, and oblige us to fight when we shall be in a much worse condition to fight them than we are now." While this altercation was going on, Mr John Hay, then acting as interim-secretary to the prince instead of secretary Murray, who was unwell, came up and informed Lord George that the line had joined. Gathering from the conversation he

tacked; and gained in going on a good part of the ground we had left betwixt us and the main ditch, by the front having, on account of the darkness, marched a little too far. When I came up with the enemy's cannon, I did not stay to take them, but went on against both foot and dragoons, being very quickly followed by our right. I received no orders (nor did I wait for any, otherwise the opportunity would have been lost,) from the time I passed the defile till the battle was over. At Clifton, where I expected to have been supported by all our army, John Roy Stuart brought me orders from the Prince to retreat, for he had ordered the march for Carlisle, which was begun. The officers who were with me agreed in my opinion, that to retreat when the enemy were within less than musket-shot would be very dangerous, and we would probably be destroyed before we came up with the rest of our army. We had nothing for it but a brisk attack; and therefore, after receiving the enemy's fire, we went sword in hand and dislodged them - after which we made our retreat in good order. I own I disobeyed orders; but what I did was the only safe and honourable measure I could take, and it succeeded. At the battle of Falkirk I never received an order or message from his Royal Highness after I passed the water at Dunipace till the battle was over. I could say much more on this subject; all I shall now add is, that at the time we returned from Kilsnock there was no officer of any distinction with the prince, (except Sir Thomas Sheridan be reckoned one,) they being all in the van. Brigadier Slapleton was indeed in the rear, but he knew nothing of the ground there, and his people were only to have been a corps de reserve, and not in the attack."

\* Particular Account, &c. p. 12.

overheard that a retreat was resolved upon, he began to argue against it, but being unsuccessful he immediately rode back to Charles, who was in the rear of the first column, and told him that unless he came to the front and ordered Lord George to go on nothing would be done. Charles, who was on horseback, rode forward immediately towards the front, to ascertain the cause of the halt, and on his way met the van in full retreat. He was no doubt surprised at this step, and in a temporary fit of irritation, is said to have remarked that Lord George Murray had betrayed him;\* but Lord George immediately convinced him "of the unavoidable necessity of retreating."†

The army marched back in two columns, by a different but more direct route than that by which it had advanced. In returning they had a view of the fires in the duke of Cumberland's camp. The greater part of the army arrived at Culloden, whither it had been agreed upon to proceed, about five o'clock in the morning, and the remainder did not remain long behind. The quick return of the army suggests an idea that had it marched in double columns towards Nairn by the shortest route, it might have reached its destination at least an hour sooner than the time contemplated by Lord George Murray, but there was great danger, that, by adopting such a course, the duke of Cumberland would have obtained notice of the advance of the Highlanders.

On arriving at Culloden, the prince gave orders to bring provisions to the field; but the calls of hunger could not brook delay, and many of the common men as well as officers slipt off to Inverness and the neighbourhood in quest of refreshment. Others, from absolute exhaustion, lay down on the ground, and sought a momentary respite in the arms of sleep. Charles himself, with his principal officers, went to Culloden house, where, sullen, dejected and silent, they for a time stared at one another with amazement, instead of deliberating upon the course they ought to pursue at this critical juncture. A search was made for food, but with the exception of a little bread and a small quantity of whisky,

\* Mr John Hay's account of the Retreat, No 43 of Appendix to Home's works, vol. iii. p. 355. This statement has been hitherto supposed to rest upon the single authority of Hay; and Mr Home has been blamed for making it, as it was not confirmed by others. The same statement however is also made by Mr Maxwell of Kirkconnel, a much more respectable authority than Hay. Mr Home had the Kirkconnel MS. in his possession when writing his history, but seldom refers to it. Mr Maxwell's words are: "The prince was incensed beyond expression at a retreat, begun in direct contradiction to his inclination and express orders. In the first moments he was convinced he was betrayed, and expressed himself to that purpose. He was confirmed in this opinion by those who never missed an opportunity of loading Lord George Murray, but when he knew that this step had been taken in concert with Lochiel and others, whom he had never distrusted, he did not know what to think or what to do; thus perplexed he arrived with the army at Culloden." See also narrative by the Rev. George Innes in Jacobite Memoirs, who says, (p. 289,) that some persons positively said, that when the prince met the duke of Perth's regiment returning, he cried out, "I am betrayed; what need I give orders, when my orders are disobeyed."

† Answer by the Prince to Mr Home's query, Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 357. being No. 44. of the Appendix.

which was procured for the prince with great difficulty, no refreshment of any kind could be obtained.\*

After a short repose the men were aroused from their slumbers by their officers, who informed them that the duke of Cumberland's army was approaching. There were others whom hunger had kept awake, and who having seized and killed some cattle and sheep which they found at Culloden, were preparing a repast, but few of them had time to make any thing ready before the alarm was given.† The intelligence of Cumberland's advance was first brought to Culloden house about eight o'clock by one Cameron, a lieutenant in Lochiel's regiment, who having fallen asleep at the place where the halt was made, had been left behind.‡ As Fitz-James' horse and others had gone to Inverness to refresh, and as those who remained were, from the hard duty they had performed for several days and nights, unfit for patrolling, Charles had no means of ascertaining whether the troops that were approaching were merely an advanced party, or the whole of the English army. That nothing might be left to conjecture at such an important crisis, some officers were instantly despatched to Inverness, to bring back the men whom hunger had driven thither, and the Highlanders at Culloden were got ready as quickly as possible, and marched through the parks of Culloden in battalions, as they happened to be lying, to Drummosie moor, on a part of which, about half a mile to the west of the place where they had been drawn up the day before, the army halted. Lord George Murray now renewed his proposal to pass the water of Nairn, and take up a position on the ground which had been surveyed the previous morning, as being much better fitted for Highlanders than the level on which they stood. An additional reason for passing the Nairn was, that Macpherson of Cluny, who was expected every moment with his clan, was to come on the south side. Charles, however, again rejected this judicious advice, for the reasons he had formerly given.§ By retiring beyond Inverness, or among the fastnesses, to the south of the water of Nairn, an action might have been easily avoided for several days; and, as the projected night attack had miscarried, it would certainly have been a wise course to have shunned an engagement, till the men had recovered their strength and spirits; but Charles, over-sanguine in all his calculations, and swayed by his creatures and sycophants, was deaf to the suggestions of wisdom. It seems strange that a retreat to Inverness was not proposed. By retiring into the town, and occupying the grounds in the neighbourhood, a delay of twenty-four hours might have been obtained, as it is not likely that the duke o. Cumberland would have attempted to force the town, or a strong camp, the same day he marched from Nairn. By postponing the engagement till next day, a very different result might have happened, as the High-

\* Kirkconnel MS. Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 519. Particular Account, p. 14.

† Kirkconnel MS.

‡ Home, vol. iii. p. 311.

§ Particular Account, p. 14.



landers, who were in a starving condition, would have had time to procure provisions, and recruit from their fatigue; and numbers, who were not able to come up in time to Culloden, would have rejoined the ranks at Inverness.

The duke of Cumberland had been informed of the night march towards Nairn by some Highland spies whom he had in his pay, and who had mixed with the insurgents as they marched; but the spies were ignorant of the intended surprise, which was kept a profound secret from the Highland army. Judging from the intelligence brought by the last person that arrived in his camp, that the Highlanders were coming directly in his front, the duke considered himself free from surprise, as the Argyleshire men lay on the plain to the west of his camp, while a party of dragoons patrolled all night between Nairn and the sea. He therefore ordered his men to take some rest, but to keep their arms in readiness. He appears not to have anticipated an attack during the night, but to have imagined that Charles merely meant to take ground during the night, and to attack him early next morning. In expectation of a battle, the duke had formed his army by break of day, and, having ascertained that the Highland army had retreated, he began his march towards Inverness about five o'clock.\* The English army had, as anticipated, celebrated the birth-day of their commander; but although they were amply supplied with bread, cheese, and brandy, at the duke's expense, the men had not exceeded the bounds of moderation.†

Before commencing the march, written instructions, which had been communicated to the commanders of the different regiments, were read at the head of every company in the line. These instructions were to this effect: that if the persons to whom the charge of the train or baggage horses was intrusted, should abscond or leave them, they should be punished with immediate death; and that if any officer or soldier misconducted himself during the engagement, he should be sentenced. The infantry marched in three parallel divisions or columns, of five regiments each, headed by General Huske on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and General Mordaunt in the centre. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the dragoons and horse, led by Generals Hawley and Bland, were on the left, forming a fourth column. Forty of Kingston's horse and the Argyleshire men formed the van.‡

The charge of forming the Highland army in line of battle, on this important occasion, was intrusted to O'Sullivan, who acted in the double capacity of adjutant and quarter-master general. This officer, in the opinion of Lord George Murray, a high authority certainly, was exceedingly unfit for such a task, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. In the present instance he did not even visit the ground

\* Home, vol. iii. p. 209.

† Boyse, p. 155.

‡ Boyse, p. 156. English official account of the battle.

where the army was to be drawn up, and he committed a "fatal error" by omitting to throw down some park walls upon the left of the English army, which were afterwards taken possession of by the duke of Cumberland, it being found afterwards impossible to break the English lines, from the destructive flank-fire which was opened from these walls upon the right of the Highland army, as it advanced to the attack.\* While the duke of Cumberland was forming his line of battle, Lord George Murray was very desirous to have advanced and thrown down these walls; but as such a movement would have broken the line, the officers about him considered that the attempt would be dangerous, and he therefore did not make it.†

The Highland army was drawn up in three lines. The first, or front line, consisted of the Athole brigade, which had the right, the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, John Roy Stewart's regiment, Frasers, Mackintoshes, Farquharsons, MacLachlans, and Macleans, united into one regiment; the Macleods, Chisholms, Macdonalds of Clanranald, Keppoch, and Glen-gary. The three Macdonald regiments formed the left. Lord George Murray commanded on the right, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the duke of Perth on the left, of the first line. There had been, a day or two before, a violent contention among the chiefs about precedency of rank. The Macdonalds claimed the right as their due, in support of which claim they stated, that as a reward for the fidelity of Angus Macdonald, lord of the Isles, in protecting Robert the Bruce for upwards of nine months, in his dominions, that prince, at the battle of Bannockburn, conferred the post of honour, the right, upon the Macdonalds,—that this post had ever since been enjoyed by them, unless when yielded from courtesy upon particular occasions, as was done to the chief of the Macleans at the battle of Harlaw.‡ Lord George Murray, however, maintained that, under the marquis of Montrose, the right had been assigned to the Athole men, and he insisted that that post should be now conferred upon them, in the contest with the duke of Cumberland's army.§ In this unseasonable demand, Lord George is said to have been supported by Lochiel and his friends.|| Charles refused to decide a question with the merits of which he was imperfectly acquainted; but, as it was necessary to adjust the difference immediately, he prevailed upon the commanders of the Macdonald regiments to waive their pretensions in the present instance.\*\* The Macdonalds in general were far from being satisfied with the complaisance of their commanders, and, as they had occupied the post of honour at Gladsmuir and Falkirk, they considered their deprivation of it, on the

\* Vide the curious and interesting letter in the Appendix from Lord George Murray to the prince, written from Ruthven the day after the battle, from the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

† Particular Account, p. 15.

‡ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.

§ Kirkconnel MS.

|| Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.

\*\* Kirkconnel MS.

present occasion, as ominous.\* The duke of Perth, while he stood at the head of the Glengary regiment, hearing the murmurs of the Macdonalds, said, that if they behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and that he would change his name to Macdonald; but these proud clansmen lent a deaf ear to him.

The second line of the Highland army consisted of the Gordons under Lord Lewis Gordon, formed in column on the right, the French Royal Scots, the Irish piquets or brigade, Lord Kilmarnock's foot guards,† Lord John Drummond's regiment, and Glenbucket's regiment in column on the left, flanked on the right by Fitz-James's dragoons, and Lord Elcho's horse-guards, and on the left by the Perth squadron, under Lords Strathallan and Pitsligo, and the prince's body-guards under Lord Balmerino. General Stapleton had the command of this line. The third line, or reserve, consisted of the duke of Perth's and Lord Ogilvy's regiments, under the last-mentioned nobleman. The prince himself, surrounded by a troop of Fitz-James's horse, took his station on a very small eminence behind the centre of the first line, from which he had a complete view of the whole field of battle. The extremities of the front line and the centre were each protected by four pieces of cannon.‡

The English army continued steadily to advance in the order already described, and, after a march of eight miles, formed in order of battle, in consequence of the advanced guard reporting that they perceived the Highland army at some distance making a motion towards them on the left. Finding, however, that the Highlanders were still at a considerable distance, and that the whole body did not move forward, the duke of Cumberland resumed his march as before, and continued to advance till within a mile of the position occupied by the Highland army, when he ordered a halt, and, after reconnoitring the position of the Highlanders, again formed his army for battle in three lines, and in the following order.

The first line consisted of six regiments, viz. the Royals, (the 1st,) Cholmondley's, (the 34th,) Price's, (the 14th,) the Scots Fusileers, (the 21st,) Monro's, (the 37th,) and Barrel's, (the 4th). The earl of Albemarle had the command of this line. In the intermediate spaces between each of these regiments were placed two pieces of cannon, making ten in whole. The second line, which consisted of five regiments, comprised those of Pulteney, (the 13th,) Bligh, (the 20th,) Sempil, (the 25th,) Ligonier, (the 48th,) and Wolfe's, (the 8th,) and was under the command of General Huske. Three pieces of cannon were placed between the exterior regiments of this line and those next them. The third line, or corps de reserve, under Brigadier Mordaunt, consist-

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 510.

† These guards were originally a body of cavalry, called the horse-grenadiers, but they were dismounted, and their horses were given to the men of Fitz-James's regiment, who had landed in Scotland without horses.

‡ Kirkconnel MS. Home's Works, vol. iii. p. 211.

ed of four regiments, viz. Battereau's, (the 62d,) Howard's, (the 3d,) Fleming's, (the 36th,) and Blakeney's, (the 27th,) flanked by Kingston's dragoons, (the 3d.) The order in which the regiments of the different lines are enumerated, is that in which they stood from right to left. The flanks of the front line were protected on the left by Kerr's dragoons, (the 11th,) consisting of three squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum, and on the right by Cobham's dragoons, (the 10th,) consisting also of three squadrons, under General Bland, with the additional security of a morass, extending towards the sea; but thinking himself quite safe on the right, the duke afterwards ordered these last to the left, to aid in an intended attack upon the right flank of the Highlanders. The Argyle men, with the exception of one hundred and forty, who were upon the left of the reserve, were left in charge of the baggage.

The dispositions of both armies are considered to have been well arranged; but both were better calculated for defence than for attack. The arrangement of the English army is generally considered to have been superior to that of the Highlanders; as, from the regiments in the second and third lines being placed directly behind the vacant spaces between the regiments in the lines respectively before them, the duke of Cumberland, in the event of one regiment in the front line being broken, could immediately bring up two to supply its place. But this opinion is questionable, as the Highlanders had a column on the flanks of the second line, which might have been used either for extension or eschellon movement towards any point to the centre, to support either the first or second line.

In the dispositions described, and about the distance of a mile from each other, did the two armies stand for some time gazing at one another, each expecting that the other would advance and give battle. Whatever may have been the feelings of Prince Charles on this occasion, those of the duke of Cumberland appear to have been far from enviable. The thoughts of Preston and Falkirk could not fail to excite in him the most direful apprehensions for the result of a combat affecting the very existence of his father's crown; and that he placed but a doubtful reliance upon his troops, is evident from a speech which he now made to his army. He began by informing them, that they were about to fight in defence of their king, their religion, their liberties, and property, and that if they only stood firm he had no doubt he would lead them on to certain victory; but as he would much rather, he said, be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men than of ten thousand if mixed with cowards, he added, that if there were any amongst them, who, through timidity, were diffident of their courage, or others, who, from conscience or inclination, felt a repugnance to perform their duty, he requested them to retire immediately, and he promised them his free pardon for doing so, as by remaining they might dispirit or disorder



the other troops, and bring dishonour and disgrace on the army under his command.

As the Highlanders remained in their position, the duke of Cumberland again put his army in marching order, and, after it had advanced, with fixed bayonets, within half a mile of the front line of the Highlanders, it again formed as before. In this last movement the English army had to pass a piece of hollow ground, which was so soft and swampy, that the horses which drew the cannon sunk; and some of the soldiers, after slinging their firelocks and unyoking the horses, had to drag the cannon across the bog. As by this last movement the army advanced beyond the morass which protected the right flank, the duke immediately ordered up Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a small squadron of Cobham's dragoons, which had been patrolling, to cover it; and to extend his line, and prevent his being outflanked on the right, he also at same time ordered up Pulteney's regiment, (the 13th,) from the second line to the right of the royals; and Fleming's, (the 36th,) Howard's, (the 3d,) and Battereau's, (the 62d,) to the right of Bligh's, (the 20th,) in the second line, leaving Blakeney's, (the 27th,) as a reserve.

During an interval of about half an hour which elapsed before the action commenced, some manœuvring took place in attempts by both armies to outflank one another. While these manœuvres were making, a heavy shower of sleet came on, which, though discouraging to the duke's army, from the recollection of the untoward occurrence at Falkirk, was not considered very dangerous, as they had now the wind in their backs. To encourage his men, the duke of Cumberland rode along the lines addressing himself hurriedly to every regiment as he passed. He exhorted his men to rely chiefly upon their bayonets, and to allow the Highlanders to mingle with them that they might make them "know the men they had to deal with." After the changes mentioned had been executed, his royal highness took his station behind the royals, between the first and second line, and almost in front of the left of Howard's regiment, waiting for the expected attack. Meanwhile, a singular occurrence took place, characteristic of the self-devotion which the Highlanders were ready on all occasions to manifest towards the prince and his cause. Conceiving that by assassinating the duke of Cumberland he would confer an essential service to the prince, a Highlander resolved, at the certain sacrifice of his own life, to make the attempt. With this intention, he entered the English lines as a deserter, and being granted quarter, was allowed to go through the ranks. He wandered about with apparent indifference, eyeing the different officers as he passed along, and it was not long till an opportunity occurred, as he conceived, for executing his fell purpose. The duke having ordered Lord Bury, one of his aides-de-camp, to reconnoitre, his lordship crossed the path of the Highlander, who, mistaking him, from his dress, for the duke, (the regimentals of both being similar,) instantly seized a musket which lay on the ground,

and discharged it at his lordship. Fortunately he missed his aim, and a soldier who was standing by immediately shot him dead upon the spot.\*

In expectation of a battle the previous day, Charles had animated his troops by an appeal to their feelings, and on the present occasion he rode from rank to rank encouraging his men, and exhorting them to act as they had done at Prestonpans and at Falkirk.†

The advance of Lord Bury, who went forward within a hundred yards of the insurgents to reconnoitre, appears to have been considered by the Highlanders as the proper occasion for beginning the battle. Taking off their bonnets, the Highlanders set up a loud shout, which being answered by the royal troops with an huzza, the Highlanders about one o'clock commenced a cannonade on the right, which was followed by the cannon on the left; but the fire from the last, owing to the want of cannoneers, was after the first round discontinued. The first volley from the right seemed to create some confusion on the left of the royal army, but so badly were the cannon served and pointed, that though the cannonade was continued upwards of half an hour, only one man in Bligh's regiment, who had a leg carried off by a cannon-ball, received any injury. After the Highlanders had continued firing for a short time, Colonel Belford, who directed the cannon of the duke's army, opened a fire from the cannon in the front line, which was at first chiefly aimed at the horse, probably either because they, from their conspicuous situation, were a better mark than the infantry, or because it was supposed that Charles was among them. Such was the accuracy of the aim taken by the royal artillery, that several balls entered the ground among the horses legs, and bespattered the prince with the mud which they raised; and one of them struck the horse on which he rode two inches above the knee. The animal became so unmanageable, that Charles was obliged to change him for another.‡ One of his servants, who stood behind with a led horse in his hand, was killed on the spot. Observing that the wall on the right flank of the Highland army prevented him from attacking it on that point, the duke ordered Colonel Belford to continue the cannonade, with the view of provoking the Highlanders and inducing them to advance to the attack. These, on the other hand, endeavoured to draw the royal army forward by sending down several parties by way of defiance. Some of these approached three several times within a hundred yards of the right of the royal army, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but with the exception of the small squadron of horse on the right, which advanced a little, the line remained immoveable.

Meanwhile, Lord George Murray, observing that a squadron of the English dragoons and a party of foot, consisting of two companies of the Argyleshiremen, and one of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, had detached

\* Boyse, p. 159.

† Captain O'Neill's Journal.

‡ Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides, p. 228.

themselves from the left of the royal army, and were marching down towards the river Nairn, and conceiving that it was their intention to flank the Highlanders, or to come upon their rear when engaged in front, he directed Gordon of Avochy to advance with his battalion, and prevent the foot from entering the inclosure; but before this battalion could reach them, they broke into the inclosure, and throwing down part of the east wall, and afterwards a piece of the west wall in the rear of the second line, made a free passage for the dragoons, who formed in the rear of the prince's army. Upon this, Lord George ordered the guards and Fitz-James's horse to form opposite to the dragoons to keep them in check. Each party stood upon the opposite sides of a ravine, the ascent to which was so steep, that neither could venture across in presence of the other with safety. The foot remained within the inclosure, and Avochy's battalion was ordered to watch their motions.\* This movement took place about the time the Highlanders were moving forward to the attack.†

It was now high time for the Highlanders to come to a close engagement. Lord George had sent Colonel Kerr to the prince, to know if he should begin the attack, which the prince accordingly ordered;‡ but his lordship, for some reason or other, delayed advancing. It is probable he expected that the duke would come forward, and that by doing so, and retaining the wall and a small farm house on his right, he would not run the risk of being flanked. Perhaps he waited for the advance of the left wing, which, being not so far forward as the right, was directed to begin the attack, and orders had been sent to the duke of Perth to that effect; but the left remained motionless. Anxious for the attack, Charles sent an order by an aid-de-camp to Lord George Murray to advance, but his lordship never received it, as the bearer was killed by a cannon-ball while on his way to the right. He sent a message about the same time to Lochiel, desiring him to urge upon Lord George the necessity of an immediate attack.

Galled beyond endurance by the fire of the English, which carried destruction among the clans, the Highlanders became quite clamorous, and called aloud to be led forward without further delay. Unable any longer to restrain their impatience, Lord George had just resolved

\* Kirkcconnel MS.

† Mr Home says that about a hundred men were stationed in the inclosure, who were put to the sword by the dragoons when they entered; but he is certainly mistaken. Mr Maxwell of Kirkcconnel, from whom Mr Home took his description of the battle, does not mention such an occurrence. In the memoir by a Highland officer, (Colonel Ker,) printed among the Lockhart Papers, it is stated, (p. 520,) that to guard against any attempts that might be made to break down the walls of the inclosure, there were two battalions placed facing outward, covering the right of the two lines, to observe the motions of the English; and that "when the attack began, the Campbells threw down a great part of the wall of the inclosure for the dragoons on the duke's left, to pass to the rear of the prince's army, which they did without receiving one shot from the two battalions that were placed to observe their motions," p. 521.

‡ Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 521.

upon an immediate advance, but before he had time to issue the order along the line, the Mackintoshes, with a heroism worthy of that brave clan, rushed forward enveloped in the smoke of the enemy's cannon. The fire of the centre field-pieces, and a discharge of musquetry from the Scotch Fusileers, forced them to incline a little to the right; but all the regiments to their right, led on by Lord George Murray in person, and the united regiment of the Maclauchlans and Macleans on their left, coming down close after them, the whole moved forward together at a pretty quick pace. When within pistol-shot of the English line, they received a murderous fire, not only in front from some field-pieces, which for the first time were now loaded with grape-shot, but in flank from a side battery supported by the Campbells, and Lord Loudon's Highlanders. Whole ranks were literally swept away by the terrible fire of the English. Yet, notwithstanding the dreadful carnage in their ranks, the Highlanders continued to advance, and, after giving their fire close to the English line, which, from the density of the smoke, was scarcely perceptible even within pistol-shot, the right wing, consisting of the Athole Highlanders and the Camerons, rushed in sword in hand, and broke through Barrel's and Monroe's regiments, which stood on the left of the first line. These regiments bravely defended themselves with their spontoons and bayonets, but such was the impetuosity of the onset, that they would entirely have been cut to pieces had they not been immediately supported by two regiments from the second line, on the approach of which they retired behind the regiments on their right, after sustaining a loss in killed and wounded of upwards of two hundred men. After breaking through these two regiments, the Highlanders, passing by the two field-pieces which had annoyed them in front, hurried forward to attack the left of the second line. They were met by a tremendous fire of grape-shot from the three field-pieces on the left of the second line, and by a discharge of musquetry from Bligh's and Sempill's regiments, which carried havock through their ranks, and made them at first recoil; but, maddened by despair, and utterly regardless of their lives, they rushed upon an enemy whom they felt but could not see, amid the cloud of smoke in which the assailants were buried. The same kind of charge was made by the Stewarts of Appin, the Frasers, Mackintoshes, and the other centre regiments upon the regiments in their front, which they drove back upon the second line, which they also attempted to break; but finding themselves unable they gave up the contest, but not until numbers had been cut down at the mouths of the cannon. While advancing towards the second line, Lord George Murray, in attempting to dismount from his horse, which had become unmanageable, was thrown; but, recovering himself, he ran to the rear and brought up two or three regiments from the second line to support the first; but although they gave their fire, nothing could be done,—all was lost. Unable to break the second line, and being greatly cut up by



the fire of Wolfe's regiment, and by Cobham's and Kerr's dragoons, who had formed *en potence* on their right flank, the right wing also gave up the contest, and turning about, cut their way back, sword in hand, through those who had advanced and formed on the ground they had passed over in charging to their front.

In consequence of the unwillingness of the left to advance first as directed, Lord George Murray had sent the order to attack from right to left; but, hurried by the impetuosity of the Mackintoshes, the right and centre did not wait till the order, which required some minutes in the delivery, had been communicated along the line. Thus the right and centre had the start considerably, and quickening their pace as they went along, had closed with the front line of the English army before the left had got half way over the ground that separated the two armies. The difference between the right and centre and the left was rendered still more considerable from the circumstance, as noted by an eye-witness,\* that the two armies were not exactly parallel to one another, the right of the prince's army being nearer the duke's army than the left. Nothing could be more unfortunate for the prince than this isolated attack, as it was only by a general shock of the whole of the English line that he had any chance of a victory.

The clan regiments on the left of the line, apprehensive that they would be flanked by Pulteney's regiment and the horse which had been brought up from the corps de reserve, did not advance sword in hand. After receiving the fire of the regiments opposite to them, they answered it by a general discharge, and drew their swords for the attack; but observing that the right and centre had given way, they turned their backs and fled without striking a blow. Stung to the quick by the misconduct of the Macdonalds, the brave Keppoch seeing himself abandoned by his clan, advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other; but he had not proceeded far, when he was brought down to the ground by a musket-shot. He was followed by Donald Roy Macdonald, formerly a lieutenant in his own regiment, and now a captain in Clanranald's regiment, who, on his falling, entreated him not to throw away his life, assuring him that his wound was not mortal, and that he might easily join his regiment in the retreat; but Keppoch refused to listen to the solicitations of his clansman, and, after recommending him to take care of himself, the wounded chief received another shot, and fell to rise no more.†

Fortunately for the Highlanders the English army did not follow up the advantages it had gained by an immediate pursuit. Kingston's horse at first followed the Macdonalds, some of whom were almost

\* Maxwell of Kirkconnel.

† In retiring from the field, Captain Roy Macdonald received a musket-bullet, which passed in at the sole of the left foot and came out at the buckle. With difficulty he reached Bun Chrabg, two miles beyond Inverness, where he procured a horse and set off for the isle of Skye, but his foot had swelled so much that he could not put it in the stirrup.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 425.

surrounded by them, but the horse were kept in check by the French piquets, who brought them off. The dragoons on the left of the English line were in like manner kept at bay by Ogilvy's regiment, which faced about upon them several times. After these ineffectual attempts, the English cavalry on the right and left met in the centre, and the front line having dressed its ranks, orders were issued for the whole to advance in pursuit of the Highlanders.

Charles, who, from the small eminence on which he stood, had observed with the deepest concern the defeat and flight of the clan regiments, was about proceeding forward to rally them contrary to the earnest entreaties of Sir Thomas Sheridan and others, who assured him that he would not succeed. All their expostulations would, it is said, have been vain, had not General O'Sullivan laid hold of the bridle of Charles's horse, and led him off the field. It was, indeed, full time to retire, as the whole army was now in full retreat, and was followed by the whole of Cumberland's forces. To protect the prince, and secure his retreat, most of his horse assembled about his person; but there was little danger, as the victors advanced very leisurely, and confined themselves to cutting down some defenceless stragglers who fell in their way. After leaving the field, Charles put himself at the head of the right wing, which retired in such order, that the cavalry sent to pursue upon it could make no impression.

At a short distance from the field of battle, Charles separated his army into two parts. One of these divisions, consisting, with the exception of the Frasers, of the whole of the Highlanders, and the Low country regiments, crossed the water of Nairn, and proceeded towards Badenoch; and the other, comprising the Frasers, Lord John Drummond's regiment, and the French piquets, took the road to Inverness. The first division passed within pistol-shot of the body of English cavalry, which, before the action, had formed in the rear of the Highland army, without the least interruption. An English officer, who had the temerity to advance a few paces to seize a Highlander, was instantly cut down by him and killed on the spot. The Highlander, instead of running away, deliberately stooped down, and pulling out a watch from the pocket of his victim, rejoined his companions.\* From the plainness of the ground over which it had to pass, the smaller body of the prince's army was less fortunate, as it suffered considerably from the attacks of the duke's light horse before it reached Inverness. Numerous small parties, which had detached themselves from the main body, fell under the sabres of the cavalry; and many of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood, who, from motives of curiosity, had come out to witness the battle, were slaughtered without mercy by the ferocious soldiery, who, from the similarity of their dress, were, perhaps, unable to diseri-

\* Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 196.

minate them from Charles's troops. This indiscriminate massacre continued all the way from the field of battle to a place called Mill-burn, within a mile of Inverness. Not content with the profusion of bloodshed in the heat of action and during the pursuit, the infuriated soldiery, provoked by their disgraces at Preston and Falkirk, traversed the field of battle, and massacred, in cold blood, the miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring. Even some officers, whose station in society, apart altogether from the feelings of humanity, to which they were utter strangers, should have made them superior to this vulgar triumph of base and illiberal minds, joined in the work of assassination. To extenuate the atrocities committed on the battle, and the subsequent slaughters, a forged regimental order bearing to be signed by Lord George Murray, by which the Highlanders were enjoined to refuse quarters to the royal troops, was afterwards published under the auspices of the duke of Cumberland; but the deception was easily seen through. As no such order was alluded to in the official accounts of the battle, and as, at the interview which took place between the earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino on the morning of their execution, both these noblemen stated their entire ignorance of it, no doubt whatever can exist of the forgery. The conduct of Charles and his followers, who never indulged in any triumph over their vanquished foes, but always treated them with humanity and kindness, high as it is, stands still higher when contrasted with that of the royal troops and their commander.\*

From the characteristic bravery of the Highlanders, and their contempt of death, it is not improbable that some of those who perished, as well on the field after the battle, as in the flight, did not yield their lives without a desperate struggle; but history has preserved one case of individual prowess in the person of Golice Macbane, which deserves to be recorded in every history relating to the Highlanders. This man, who is represented to have been of the gigantic stature of six feet four inches and a quarter, was beset by a party of dragoons. When assailed, he placed his back against a wall, and though covered with wounds, he defended himself with his target and claymore against the onset of the dragoons, who crowded upon him. Some officers, who observed the unequal conflict, were so struck with the desperate bravery of Macbane, that they gave orders to save him; but the dragoons, exasperated by his resistance, and the dreadful havoc he had made among their com-

\* One of the duke's sycophants says, that after the fatigue of the battle was over, his royal highness retired to a place near the field to refresh himself; and that after sitting a short time he rose and took "a serious walk to view the multitudes that lay dead on the ground. He was followed by some of his attendants, who observed him in deep meditation. He laid his hand upon his breast, and with his eyes lifted up to heaven, was heard to say, *Lord, what am I! that I should be spared?* when so many brave men lie dead upon the spot!—an expression of such deep humility towards God, and compassion towards his fellow-creatures, as is truly worthy a Christian hero!!!"—*Marchant*, p. 396.

panions, thirteen of whom lay dead at his feet, would not desist till they had succeeded in cutting him down.\*

According to the official accounts published by the government, the royal army had only fifty men killed, and two hundred and fifty-nine wounded, including eighteen officers, of whom four were killed. Lord Robert Ker, second son of the marquis of Lothian, and a captain of grenadiers, in Barrel's regiment, was the only person of distinction killed: he fell covered with wounds, at the head of his company, when the Highlanders attacked Barrel's regiment. The loss on the side of the Highlanders was never ascertained with any degree of precision. The number of the slain is stated, in some publications of the period, to have amounted to upwards of two thousand men, but these accounts are exaggerated. The loss could not, however, be much short of twelve hundred men. The Athole brigade alone lost more than the half of its officers and men, and some of the centre battalions came off with scarcely a third of their men.† The Mackintoshes, who were the first to attack, suffered most. With the exception of three only, all the officers of this brave regiment, including Macgillivray of Drumnaglass, its colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, and major, were killed in the attack. All the other centre regiments also, lost several officers. Maclachlan, colonel of the united regiment of Maclachlan and Maclean, was killed by a cannon-ball in the beginning of the action, and Maclean of Drimmin, who, as lieutenant-colonel, succeeded to the command, met a similar fate from a random shot. He had three sons in the regiment, one of whom fell in the attack, and when leading off the shattered remains of his forces, he missed the other two, and in returning to look after them, received the fatal bullet. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, the lieutenant-colonel of the Fraser regiment, and who, in the absence of the master of Lovat, commanded it on this occasion, was also killed. When riding over the field after the battle, the duke of Cumberland observed this brave youth lying wounded. Raising himself upon his elbow, he looked at the duke, who, offended at him, thus addressed one of his officers: "Wolfe, shoot me that Highland scoundrel who thus dares to look on us with so insolent a stare." Wolfe, horrified at the inhuman order, replied, that his commission was at his royal highness's disposal, but that he would never consent to become an executioner. Other officers refusing to commit this act of butchery, a private soldier, at the command of the duke, shot the hapless youth before his eyes.‡ The Appin regiment had seventeen officers and gentlemen slain, and ten wounded; and the Athole brigade, which lost fully half its men, had nineteen officers killed, and four wounded. The fate of the heroic Keppoch has been already men-

\* Crome's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song, p. 200. Henderson's History, p. 60.

† Jacobite Memoirs, p. 124.

‡ Review of Home's History of the Rebellion, in Antijacobin Review, vol. xiii. Jacobite Memoirs, p. 316.



tioned. Among the wounded, the principal was Lochiel, who was shot in both ankles with some grape-shot, at the head of his regiment, after discharging his pistol, and while in the act of drawing his sword. On falling, his two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off the field in their arms. To add to his misfortunes, Charles also lost a considerable number of gentlemen, his most devoted adherents, who had charged on foot in the first rank.

Lord Strathallan was the only person of distinction that fell among the low country regiments. Lord Kilmarnock and Sir John Wedderburn were taken prisoners. The former, in the confusion of the battle, mistook, amidst the smoke, a party of English dragoons for Fitz-James's horse, and was taken. Having lost his hat, he was led bare-headed to the front line of the English infantry. His son, Lord Boyd, who held a commission in the English army, unable to restrain his feelings, left the ranks, and, going up to his unfortunate parent, took off his own hat, placed it on his father's head, and returned to his place without uttering a word. This moving scene brought a tear from many an eye.

At other times, and under different circumstances, a battle like that of Culloden would have been regarded as an ordinary occurrence, of which, when all matters were duly considered, the victors could have little to boast. The Highland army did not exceed five thousand fighting men; and when it is considered that the men had been two days without sleep, were exhausted by the march of the preceding night, and had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, the wonder is that they fought so well as they did, against an army almost double in point of numbers, and which laboured under none of the disadvantages to which, in a more especial manner, the overthrow of the Highlanders is to be ascribed. Nevertheless, as the spirits of the great majority of the nation had been sunk to the lowest state of despondency, by the reverses of the royal arms at Preston and Falkirk, this unlooked for event was hailed as one of the greatest military achievements of ancient or modern times; and the duke of Cumberland, who had, in consequence, an addition of twenty-five thousand pounds per annum made to his income by parliament, was regarded as the greatest hero of ancient or modern times. In its consequences, as entirely and for ever destructive of the claims of the unfortunate house of Stuart, the battle was perhaps one of the most important ever fought; but neither the duke nor his men are greatly to be lauded for their prowess; and they sullied, by their barbarity, any glory they obtained on the field. Though vanquished, the Highlanders retired from the field with honour, and free from that foul reproach which has fixed an indelible stain upon the memories of the victors.

After the carnage of the day had ceased, the brutal soldiery, who, from the fiendish delight which they took in sprinkling one another with the blood of the slain, "looked," as stated by one of themselves, "like so

many butchers rather than an army of Christian soldiers,"\* dined upon the field of battle. After his men had finished their repast, the duke of Cumberland marched forward to take possession of Inverness, and on his way received a letter, which had been addressed to General Bland, signed by six of the French officers in the insurgent army, offering in behalf of themselves and their men to surrender unconditionally to his royal highness. As he was about to enter the town he was met by a drummer, who brought him a message from General Stapleton, offering to surrender and asking quarter. On receiving this communication, the duke ordered Sir Joseph Yorke, one of his officers, to alight from his horse, who with his pencil wrote a note to General Stapleton, assuring him of fair quarter and honourable treatment. The town was then taken possession of by Captain Campbell, of Sempill's regiment, with his company of grenadiers.

\* Scots Mag. vol. viii. p. 192.

## CHAPTER X.

Proceedings of the duke of Cumberland at Inverness—Execution of English deserters—Tumult in the royal army—Barbarities committed by the duke's troops—Skirmish at Golspie—Capture of the earl of Cromarty and his son Lord Macleod—Route of Charles when he left the field—Arrival of the chiefs at Ruthven—Charles, after visiting Gortuleg, Invergarry, and Glenpean, arrives at Glenboisdale—Lord George Murray resigns his command—Charles sends a letter to the chiefs—Embarks at Borodale—Lands in Benbecula—Proceedings of the duke of Cumberland—Association of chiefs—The duke of Cumberland removes his head quarters to Fort Augustus—Devastations committed in the Highlands by his troops—Apprehension of the Marquis of Tullibardine, Lord Lovat, Secretary Murray, and others—Charges against Maedonald of Barisdale—Escape of the duke of Perth, Lords Elcho, Pittligo, and others—Final suppression of the rebellion.

AFTER securing his prisoners in the town, the duke of Cumberland released the soldiers who had been confined in the church of Inverness by the insurgents, and who, if the government accounts be correct, had suffered great hardships. They had indeed, about a week before the battle of Culloden, been almost stripped of their clothes by an officer of the Highland army, to clothe a new corps he had raised; but a complaint having been brought to Lord George Murray on the subject, he obtained an order from the prince, in consequence of which the clothes were restored.\* The duke on the present occasion presented each of these men with a guinea, and gave orders that they should be taken care of†

Besides the military prisoners, several gentlemen supposed to be disaffected to the government were apprehended by the duke's orders, shut up with the common prisoners, and were for some time denied the use of bedding. Nor did the softer sex, whose Jacobite predilections had pointed them out as objects of displeasure, escape his resentment. Several of these ladies, among whom were Ladies Ogilvy, Kinloch, and Gordon, were seized and kept in durance in the common guard, and were limited along with the other prisoners to the miserable pittance of half-a-pound of meal per day, with scarcely as much water as was necessary to prepare it for use. As the wounded prisoners were utterly neglected, many who would have recovered, if properly treated, died of their wounds; and so much were the rites of Christian sepulture disregarded by the duke and his officers, that the bodies of these unfortu-

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 129.

† Boyse, p. 161.

nate victims were carried naked through the streets by beggars, who were employed to inter them in the churchyard.\*

Knowing that there were several deserters from the royal army among the insurgents, the duke ordered a strict inspection to be made of the prisoners in order to find them out. No less than thirty-six were recognised, and being brought to a summary trial, were convicted, and suffered the death of traitors. Among these was one Dunbar, who had been a sergeant in Sowle's regiment. He had taken a suit of laced clothes from Major Lockhart at the battle of Falkirk, which being found in his possession, he was dressed in them, and hanged, and his body exposed for forty-eight hours on the gibbet.† A young gentleman of the name of Forbes, a relative of Lord Forbes, is also said to have perished on this occasion. He had served as a cadet in an English regiment, but, being from principle attached to the Jacobite interest, had joined the standard of the prince. An incident occurred after the execution of this unfortunate gentleman, which assumed an alarming appearance, and might have led to serious consequences had the war been continued. Before Forbes was cut down from the gibbet, an English officer, with a morbidness of feeling which seems to have seized the officers as well as the common soldiers of the army, plunged his sword into the body of Forbes, exclaiming, at the same time, that "all his countrymen were traitors and rebels like himself." This exclamation being heard by a Scottish officer who was standing hard by, the offended Scotchman immediately drew his sword, and demanded satisfaction for the insult offered to his country. The Englishman instantly accepted the challenge, and in a short time the combat became general among the officers who happened to be on the spot. The soldiers, seeing their officers engaged, beat to arms of their own accord, and drew up along the streets, the Scotch on one side and the English on the other, and commenced a warm combat with fixed bayonets. Information of this affray having been brought to the duke of Cumberland, he hastened to the scene of action, and by his persuasions put an end to the combat. He found the Scotch greatly excited by the affront offered them; but he soothed their wounded feelings by complimenting them for their fidelity, their courage, and exemplary conduct.‡

Notwithstanding the massacres which were committed immediately after the battle, a considerable number of wounded Highlanders still survived, some of whom had taken refuge in some cottages adjoining the field of battle, while others lay scattered among the neighbouring inclosures. Many of these men might have recovered if ordinary attention had been paid to them; but the flinty-hearted duke, considering that those who had risen in arms against his father were not entitled to the rights of humanity, entirely neglected them. But, barbarous as such conduct was, it was only the prelude to enormities of a still more revolting description

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 236.

† Bayce, p. 164.

‡ Johnstone's Memoirs, p. 203.



At first the victors conceived that they had completed the work of death by killing all the wounded they could discover; but when they were informed that some still survived, they resolved to despatch them. A Mr Hossack, who had filled the situation of provost of Inverness, and who had, under the direction of President Forbes, performed important services to the government, having gone to pay his respects to the duke of Cumberland, found Generals Hawley and Huske deliberating on this inhuman design. Observing them intent upon their object, and actually proceeding to make out orders for killing the wounded Highlanders, he ventured to remonstrate against such a barbarous step. "As his majesty's troops have been happily successful against the rebels, I hope (observed Hossack) your excellencies will be so good as to mingle mercy with judgment." Hawley, in a rage, cried out, "D—n the puppy! does he pretend to dictate here? Carry him away!" Another officer ordered Hossack to be kicked out, and the order was obeyed with such instantaneous precision, that the ex-provost found himself at the bottom of two flights of steps almost in a twinkling.\*

In terms of the cruel instructions alluded to, a party was despatched from Inverness the day after the battle to put to death all the wounded they might find in the inclosures adjoining the field of Culloden. These orders were fulfilled with a punctuality and deliberation known till then only among savages. Instead of despatching their unfortunate victims on the spot where they found them, these barbarians dragged them from the places where they lay weltering in their gore, and, having ranged them on some spots of rising ground, poured in volleys of musketry upon them. Next day parties were sent to search all the houses in the neighbourhood of the field of battle, with instructions to carry all the wounded Highlanders they could find thither and despatch them. Many were in consequence murdered; and the young laird of Macleod was heard frankly to declare, that on this occasion he himself saw seventy-two persons killed in cold blood. The feelings of humanity were not, however, altogether obliterated in the hearts of some of the officers, who spared a few of the wounded. In one instance the savage cruelty of the soldiery was strikingly exemplified. At a short distance from the field of battle there stood a small hut, used for sheltering sheep and goats in cold and stormy weather, into which some of the wounded had crawled. On discovering them the soldiers immediately secured the door, to prevent egress, and thereupon set fire to the hut in several places, and all the persons within, to the number of between thirty and forty, perished in the flames.†

Another instance of fiendish cruelty occurred the same day. Almost immediately after the battle, nineteen wounded officers of the Highland army, unable to follow their retiring companions, secreted themselves in

\* Letter from a gentleman in London to his friend in Bath. Bath, 1751, reprinted in *Jacobite Memoirs*.

† *Ibid.*

a small plantation near Culloden house, whence they were afterwards carried to the court-yard of that mansion, where they remained two days in great torture weltering in their blood, and without the least medical aid or attention but such as they received from the president's steward, who, at the hazard of his own life, alleviated the sufferings of his unhappy countrymen by several acts of kindness. These wretched sufferers were now tied with ropes by the brutal soldiery, thrown into carts, and carried out to a park wall at a short distance from Culloden house. Being dragged out of the carts, they were ranged in order along the wall, and were told by the officer in command of the party to prepare for death. Such of them as retained the use of their limbs fell down upon their knees in prayer; but they had little time allowed them to invoke mercy; for in a minute the soldiers received orders to fire, and, being posted at the distance of only two or three yards from the prisoners, the unfortunate gentlemen were almost all instantly shot dead. That the butchery might be complete, the soldiers were ordered to club their muskets and dash out the brains of such of their miserable victims as exhibited any symptoms of life, an order which, horrible to tell, was actually fulfilled. A gentleman named John Fraser, who had been an officer in the Master of Lovat's regiment, alone survived. He had received a ball, and, being observed to be still in life, was struck on the face by a soldier with the butt end of his musket. Though one of his cheek bones and the upper part of his nose were broken, and one of his eyes dashed out by the blow, he still lived, and the party, thinking they had killed him, left him for dead. He would probably have expired on the spot, had not the attention of Lord Boyd, son of the earl of Kilmarnock, when riding past, been fortunately attracted by the number of dead bodies he observed lying together. Espying, at a little distance from the heap, a body in motion, his lordship went up, and having ascertained from the mouth of the sufferer who he was, he ordered his servant to carry Mr Fraser to a cottage, near at hand, which he named, where he lay concealed for three months. He lived several years afterwards, but was a cripple during life.\*

By the capture of Inverness, a considerable quantity of ordnance and military stores fell into the hands of the royal army. Including those taken on the field of battle, there were thirty pieces of cannon, two thousand three hundred and twenty firelocks, a hundred and ninety broadswords, a large quantity of musket cartridges, one thousand and nineteen cannon balls, a quantity of musket shot, thirty-seven barrels of gunpowder, and twenty-two ammunition carts, besides tents, cantines, pistols, saddles, &c. To encourage the soldiers to collect the arms which the Highlanders had left on the field, they were allowed half-a-crown for every musket, and a shilling for every broadsword which they brought into the camp at Inverness. For every stand of colours the sum of

\* Letter from a gentleman in London, &c.

sixteen guineas was allowed, and no less than fourteen of these were captured or picked up upon the field, all of which were burnt on the fourth of June at the market cross of Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman, after being carried in mock procession from the castle by a party of chimney-sweeps.

Two days after the battle, the earl of Cromarty, his son, Lord Macleod, several officers, and one hundred and fifty-three private men, were landed at Inverness from the Hound sloop of war, which had conveyed them from Sutherland, where they had been taken prisoners by a party of Lord Sutherland's people, on the preceding day, viz. the fifteenth of April, under the following circumstances. Having received instructions to rejoin the main body of the Highland army at Inverness, the earl was about proceeding to fulfil them, when a plan was formed by the Mackays and the earl of Sutherland's people to cut him off. Uniting their forces, consisting of three independent companies, near Golspie, they resolved to attack the earl of Cromarty, early in the morning of the fifteenth of April, in flank and in rear. In pursuance of this resolution, Captain Macallister, who commanded the earl of Sutherland's militia, marched with his company towards the water of Golspie, and having in his march received intelligence that Cromarty's regiment had marched towards the ferry, but that the earl himself with the greater part of his officers was at Dunrobin castle, he sent Ensign John Mackay with a party of twenty-six men to intercept him. The earl left the castle with fourteen officers on horseback, and a small party of well-armed foot, to join his men, and would have fallen into an ambuscade which Ensign Mackay had laid for him, had not some of the Mackays begun to fire too soon. Lord Cromarty immediately retraced his steps and took refuge in the castle, from the top of the tower of which he displayed a white flag and rang a bell, as a signal that he was attacked. The earl's men began immediately to march back to his relief, upon which Mackay and his party retired to the adjacent high grounds. Meanwhile, the two independent companies, which were to attack Cromarty's men in flank, arrived at the hill of Culmaly, to the north-west of Golspie, and observing the insurgents returning from the ferry, and drawing up in order of battle on a rising ground about a mile west from Golspie, they concealed themselves on the top of the hill: Captains Gray and Sutherland, the commanders of the two companies, then descended the hill to reconnoitre. They computed Cromarty's force to be between four and five hundred men; and, having resolved to attack them, they returned to their men, and gave orders to that effect. To deceive the insurgents as to the extent of their numbers, they marched down the hill in open column, keeping a distance of about twenty paces between each rank; and so well did this *ruse* succeed, that the insurgents, struck with a panic, fled towards the ferry, and were pursued by the two companies, who, attacking them in flank, killed a considerable number, and took a hundred and seventy-eight prisoners. The two companies thereupon marched to Dunrobin

castle, which they invested. The earl held out the castle till the evening, when, despairing of relief, he requested the commanders of the companies to hold a conference with him, in the castle, on the subject of a surrender. While engaged in conversation, Ensign Mackay, who had entered the castle along with the two captains, went down stairs, and having informed the earl's men below that he had surrendered, induced them to deliver up their arms. Having secured their arms, he took the keys from the porter, and, opening the gates, admitted his party. He then went up stairs with them, and, entering the dining-room, seized the earl, Lord Macleod, and the whole officers.\*

Whilst the duke of Cumberland was deliberating upon the course he should adopt for finally suppressing the rebellion, his unfortunate kinsman, disheartened by his recent disaster, was entirely occupied with thoughts of his own personal safety. After leaving the field, Charles, escorted by a large body of horse, crossed the river Nairn at the ford of Falie, about four miles from the field of battle. Having halted a short time on the south side of the Nairn, during which he held a consultation with his friends, Charles dismissed the horse and most of his attendants, with instructions to assemble at Ruthven in Badenoch, where they were directed to wait for further orders. Taking along with him Sir Thomas Sheridan, O'Sullivan, Captain O'Neil, John Hay, and a few other persons, Charles set out for Gortuleg, the residence of Lord Lovat's steward, where he arrived about sunset. There, for the first and only time, the prince met Lord Lovat, who, on learning the cause of the prince's unexpected visit, became, it is said, almost frantic; and, anticipating the fate which awaited him, called out to those around him to chop off his head. In a little time the aged chief regained his self-possession, and entered into conversation with Charles and his followers in relation to their future prospects. As it was not considered safe to pass the night so near the royal troops, Charles and his party, after partaking of some supper, left Gortuleg about ten o'clock for Invergarry, the seat of Macdonell of Glengarry. Before leaving Gortuleg the prince took the precaution to change his dress.

The prince and his party arrived at the mansion of Invergarry about four o'clock in the morning, where Charles began to experience a foretaste of the miseries he was destined to endure. This ancient castle, ever since its first erection, had never been in such a cheerless condition as that in which Charles now found it. Unprovided with furniture or provisions, and inhabited by a solitary domestic, it seemed to warn the unfortunate fugitives that they were unwelcome within its walls, and that they must speedily look out for a more hospitable place of retreat. Overcome by fatigue, the whole party lay down upon the floor, in their clothes, and fell asleep. After reposing several hours, they rose, but had nothing to eat till Edward Burke, servant to Alexander Macleod,

\* Life of George, earl of Cromarty: London, 1746. Boyse, p. 155.



one of the party, observing a net in the water of Gary, pulled it out and caught two salmon, on which they dined.

With the exception of O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and Edward Burke, who, from his knowledge of the country was selected as the prince's guide, all the party took leave of Charles at Invergarry. Before leaving the castle, Charles, in order the more effectually to disguise himself, put on Burke's coat; and at three o'clock in the afternoon, he set out for Loch Arkaig in Lochaber, accompanied by his three attendants, and took up his quarters for the night in the house of Donald Cameron of Glenpean. Charles slept the following night, that of Friday the eighteenth, at Mewboll, where he and his small party were well entertained. From Mewboll they set out next morning for Glenboisdale. At Loch Morar they waited several hours for a boat to carry them across; but, not finding one, they were obliged, from the road being impracticable for horses, to abandon them and to walk on foot to Glenboisdale, which they reached on Sunday the twentieth, after great fatigue, having crossed two lofty ranges of mountains in their route.

Presuming that Charles still meant to make a stand, Lord George Murray and the other chiefs who remained with the army retired to Ruthven, where, including Cluny's men whom they met on their retreat, they assembled a force of between two and three thousand men. From the want of provisions it was impossible to keep such a body together for any length of time; and a message from Charles, two or three days after the battle, desiring them to disperse, hastened an event which seemed to be inevitable. In thus resigning the contest which by his inconsiderate rashness he had provoked, Charles showed that he was not possessed of that magnanimity which many of his followers ascribed to him. Notwithstanding their recent reverse, there existed no unwillingness on the part of the brave men who had risked their all for him to continue the war. They might not have, it is true, succeeded in vindicating the claim of an ungrateful prince in the field; but, under his leadership, they might have made a gallant stand, and forced the government to grant them favourable terms. In extenuation of the prince's conduct, on the present occasion, it is but fair to add, that he was under the influence of a set of contemptible advisers, who prejudiced him against his best friends, and instilled into his mind a conviction that he had been betrayed at Culloden. How far the conduct of Lord George Murray, after that event, may have determined Charles to take the course he did, cannot now be ascertained; but if Charles, in the midst of his perplexity immediately after the battle, hesitated as to the course he should pursue, his reception of the following document, under the hand of Lord George Murray, was certainly not calculated to induce him to continue the contest:

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“As no person in these kingdoms ventured more frankly in the cause than myself, and as I had more at stake than almost all the others

put together, so, to be sure; I cannot but be very deeply affected with our late loss and present situation; but I declare, that were your royal highness's person in safety, the loss of the cause, and the misfortunate and unhappy situation of my countrymen, is the only thing that grieves me, for I thank God I have resolution to bear my own family's ruin without a grudge. Sir, you will, I hope, upon this occasion, pardon me, if I mention a few truths, which all the gentlemen of our army seem convinced of.

"It was highly wrong to have set up the royal standard without having positive assurances from his Most Christian Majesty, that he would assist you with all his force; and as your royal family lost the crown of these realms upon the account of France, the world did and had reason to expect that France would seize the first favourable opportunity to restore your august family.

"I must also acquaint your royal highness, that we were all fully convinced that Mr O'Sullivan, whom your royal highness trusted with the most essential things with regard to your operations, was exceedingly unfit for it, and committed gross blunders on every occasion of moment. He whose business it was, did not so much as visit the ground where we were to be drawn up in line of battle, and it was a fatal error to allow the enemy these walls upon their left, which made it impossible for us to break them, and they, with their front fire, and flanking us when we went upon the attack, destroyed us without any possibility of our breaking them, and our Athole men have lost a full half of their officers and men. I wish Mr O'Sullivan had never got any other charge in the army than the care of the baggage, which, I am told, he had been brought up to and understood. I never saw him in time of action, neither at Gladsmuir, Falkirk, nor in the last, and his orders were vastly confused.

"The want of provisions was another misfortune which had the most fatal consequence. Mr Hay, whom your royal highness trusted with the principal direction of ordering provisions of late, and without whose orders a boll of meal or farthing of money was not to be delivered, has served your royal highness egregiously ill. When I spoke to him, he told me the thing is ordered, it will be got, &c.; but he neglected his duty to such a degree, that our ruin might probably have been prevented had he done his duty. In short, the three last days which were so critical, our army was starved. This was the reason our night march was rendered abortive, when we possibly might have surprised and defeated the enemy at Nairn; but for want of provisions a third of the army scattered to Inverness, &c. and the other who marched had not spirits to make it so quick as was necessary, being really faint for want of provisions.

"The next day, which was the fatal day, if we had got plenty of provisions we might have crossed the water of Nairn, and drawn up so advantageously, that we would have obliged the enemy to come to us,

for they were resolved to fight at all hazards at prodigious disadvantage, and probably we would in that case have done by them, as they unhappily have done by us. In short, Mr O'Sullivan and Mr Hay had rendered themselves odious to all our army, and had disgusted them to such a degree, that they had bred a mutiny in all ranks, that had not the battle come on, they were to have represented their grievances to your royal highness for a remedy. For my own part, I never had any particular discussion with either of them; but I ever thought them uneatable and unfit to serve in the stations they were placed in.

"Your royal highness knows I always told I had no design to continue in the army. I would of late, when I came last from Athole, have resigned my commission; but all my friends told me it might be of prejudice to the cause at such a critical time. I hope your royal highness will now accept of my demission. What commands you have for me in any other situation, please honour me with them.—I am, with great zeal, Sir, your royal highness's most dutiful and humble servant,

"GEORGE MURRAY.

*"Ruthven, 17th April, 1746.*

"I have taken the liberty to keep 500 pieces, which shant be disposed upon except you give leave."\*

It would appear from the preceding document, that Lord George Murray, who, of all men, was the best judge of the propriety of trying another campaign, did not in the least contemplate that Charles would abandon the enterprise. His own opinion was, that the war should be continued; and when he heard that Charles had resolved to depart for France, he sent Secretary Hay to Glenboisdale with a message to Charles, to dissuade him against such a step; but Charles informed Hay that his resolution was fixed. Lord George maintained that the Highlanders "could have made a summer's campaign without the risk of any misfortune: they could have marched through the hills to places in Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, the Mearns, Perthshire, Lochaber, and Argyleshire, by ways that regular troops could not have followed; and if they, (the regular troops,) had ventured among the mountains, it must have been attended with great danger and difficulty: their convoys might have been cut off, and opportunities would have offered to attack them with almost a certainty of success. And though the Highlanders had neither money nor magazines, they would not have starved in that season of the year so long as there were sheep and cattle: they could also have separated themselves in two or three different bodies, got meal for some days' provision,—met again at a place appointed, and might have fallen upon the enemy when they least expected: they could have marched in three days what would have taken regular troops five: nay, had those taken

\* From the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

the high roads as often as they would have been obliged upon account of their carriages, it would have taken them ten or twelve days. In short, they might have been so harassed and fatigued that they must have been in the greatest distress and difficulties, and at length probably been destroyed, at least much might have been expected by gaining of time: perhaps the Highlanders might have been enabled to have made an offensive instead of a defensive war." \*

After receiving Charles's orders to disperse, the officers at Ruthven, to use an expression of one of themselves,† "took a melancholy leave of each other," and went off in different directions to secure their personal safety, and the common men proceeded straight to their respective homes.

While Secretary Hay was at Boisdale, Charles drew up a letter to the chiefs, stating the reasons of his departure, which he inclosed in one to Sir Thomas Sheridan,‡ with instructions to show it to them, but to keep it as long back as he conveniently could. He stated that it was "of the last consequence" to conceal his departure on some pretext or other, which he enjoined him to contrive, and to recommend, particularly to every person to whom he showed the paper, to follow the same course. In using this precaution Charles probably wished to keep the government in ignorance of his design to leave the kingdom. The letter to the chiefs, which, though written on or before the twenty-third of April, the date of the letter to Sir Thomas Sheridan, is post-dated the twenty-eighth, with the view, perhaps, of allowing Sir Thomas to withhold it for a few days, by which time Charles expected that he would be on his way to the Long island, where he expected to find a vessel to carry him to France. The letter to the chiefs runs thus:—

"FOR THE CHIEFS,—

"WHEN I came into this country, it was my only view to do all in my power for your good and safety. This I will always do as long as life is in me. But alas! I see with grief I can at present do little for you on this side the water, for the only thing that can now be done is to defend yourselves till the French assist you, if not to be able to make better terms. To effectuate this, the only way is to assemble in a body as soon as possible, and then to take measures for the best, which you that know the country are only judges of. This makes me be of little use here; whereas, by my going into France instantly, however dangerous it be, I will certainly engage the French court either to assist us effectually and powerfully, or at least to procure you such terms as you would not obtain otherways. My presence there, I flatter myself, will have more effect to bring this sooner to a determination than any body else, for several reasons; one of which I will mention here; viz. it is

\* Account of the battle of Culloden, &c. Lond. 1749.

† Maxwell of Kirkcannel.

‡ See this Letter in the Appendix.



thought to be a politick, (policy,) though a false one, of the French court, not to restore our master, but to keep a continual civil war in this country, which renders the English government less powerful, and of consequence themselves more. This is absolutely destroyed by my leaving the country, which nothing else but this will persuade them that this play cannot last, and if not remedied, the Elector will soon be as despotick as the French king, which, I should think, will oblige them to strike the great stroke, which is always in their power, however averse they may have been to it for the time past. Before leaving off, I must recommend to you, that all things should be decided by a council of all your chiefs, or, in any of your absence, the next commander of your several corps with the assistance of the duke of Perth and Lord George Murray, who, I am persuaded, will stick by you to the very last. My departure should be kept as long private and concealed as possible on one pretext or other which you will fall upon. May the Almighty bless and direct you."\*

At Glenboisdale Charles was joined by Clanranald, Lockhart, younger of Carnwath, Æneas Macdonald, the banker, and several other adherents, who endeavoured to dissuade him from embarking for the isles, where, from the number of cruizers which hovered among the Hebrides, they considered he would run greater risk than if he remained on the mainland. Charles seemed disposed to adopt this advice; but O'Sullivan being adverse to it, and having represented the great probability of speedily finding a ship among the isles to convey him to France, and the great danger of staying where he was, the prince adhered to his determination of seeking a temporary refuge in the Long island. With the intention of soliciting the protection of Sir Alexander Macdonald and the laird of Macleod, Charles sent to Kinlochmoidart for one Donald Macleod, a trust-worthy person whom he wished to intrust with his despatches. Macleod had been at Inverness shipping a cargo of meal for Skye when Charles entered that town, and had been employed to accompany Æneas Macdonald to the island of Barra, for the purpose of bringing over a sum of about three hundred and eighty pounds, which was lying there. They had reached Kinlochmoidart on their way back, and were about setting out for Inverness, when Macdonald received a letter from the prince announcing his defeat, and requesting him to repair to Borodale. On receiving this message Macleod immediately set out, and in passing through a forest in the vicinity of Glenboisdale, he observed a solitary wanderer among the trees, who immediately came forward and asked him if he was Donald Macleod of Gualtergill in Skye. Macleod answered that he was, and having recognised the prince in the person of his interrogator, he stated that he was at his service. "Then," said the prince, "you see, Don-

\* From a copy among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty, thus quoted on the back in Charles's own hand:—"The Prince's Letter to ye Chiefs in parting from Scotland, 1746."

ald, I am in distress. I therefore throw myself into your bosom; do with me what you like. I hear you are an honest man, and fit to be trusted." The aged Highlander doubting his capacity to serve him, Charles stated to him the nature of the mission on which he intended to send him. Macleod, startled at the proposal, positively refused to undertake the task; and having remonstrated with Charles upon the impropriety of asking the protection of men who had, contrary to their promise, taken part against him, he abandoned his design."\*

During the few days that Charles spent at Glenboisdale, he is said to have wavered in his plans. Though informed of the dispersion of his troops, he had hopes that a good many might still be collected as occasion offered. He is said even to have entertained thoughts of again assembling his scattered forces, and acting on the defensive. He sent a few men, with whom Clanranald had supplied him, on all sides to obtain intelligence, but they brought nothing favourable; and accounts which he received from the isle of Skye, that Lord Loudon was about to come over immediately to the coast of Arisaig, joined to a report, which, however, turned out to be false, that a detachment of the duke of Cumberland's army had already reached Fort Augustus, hastened his departure from the mainland.†

Accordingly, on the evening of the twenty-sixth of April, Charles, accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Niel, Allan Macdonald, a catholic priest of Clanranald's family, and Edward Burke, embarked in an eight-oared boat at Borodale, in the bay of Lochnanuagh, where he had first landed. Besides the persons enumerated, and Donald Macleod who acted as pilot, there were seven boatmen. Charles sat down in the bottom of the boat at the feet of the pilot. Macleod, who observed indications of an approaching storm, had advised Charles to postpone his voyage till next day; but the prince was so intent upon proceeding, that he would not put off his departure. Four pecks of oatmeal were all the provision the whole party carried along with them, and the only cooking utensil was a pot which Macleod had taken care to provide.

Charles soon had occasion to repent of his obstinacy in not listening to the advice of the aged mariner; for before the boat had proceeded far, a storm arose, which is described by Macleod as the most violent he had ever witnessed, though he had been all his life a seafaring man. The danger was greatly increased by the darkness of the night, and to add to the distress of the party, the rain poured down in torrents. Vivid flashes of lightning which threw a momentary gleam over the face of the troubled deep, and the crash of the thunder which rolled over the heads of the affrighted party, increased the horrors of the scene. Unprovided with a compass, they were entirely ignorant of the course they were steering; but they had, from the violence of the tempest, no alternative but to go before the wind, and, in the event of escaping the

\* Macleod's Narrative.

† Kirkeconnel MS.

fury of the waves, running the risk of being driven upon Skye, where the prince might fall into the hands of the militia who were in that island. But all their apprehensions of danger on this score were removed, by discovering at day-break that they were on the coast of the Long island. At seven o'clock in the morning they landed with great difficulty at Rossinish, a point of land on the north-east of Benbecula, one of the islands which form the group called the Long island. Having secured their boat, Charles and his party entered an uninhabited hut, in which they kindled a fire to warm themselves and dry their clothes, which were saturated with rain and salt-water. Charles purchased a cow, which was immediately slaughtered; and which, with the small quantity of meal provided by Donald Macleod, served to support the party during the time they remained on the island.\*

Meanwhile the duke of Cumberland was using every effort to capture the persons of the young Chevalier and his principal adherents. For this purpose, several detachments were sent out by the duke from his camp at Inverness in different directions, and as he was desirous that Charles should not fall alive into his hands, his instructions to the commanders of the detachments were to make no prisoners. One of these detachments, under Colonel Cockayne, proceeded to Moy castle, and after shooting some fugitives who had taken refuge in that mansion, and massacring some old men, women and children, returned to Inverness, carrying along with them Lady Mackintosh, who, on her arrival there, was committed to custody by the duke. Another party went to castle Downie, the seat of Lord Lovat, which they burnt to the ground, having previously secured a large quantity of booty, which they carried to Inverness. A body of six hundred Grants was sent into the Frasers' country to reduce and disarm that powerful clan; and the Monroes, Mackays, and Sutherlands, were scattered over the shires of Ross, Cromarty, Sutherland, and Caithness, to keep the disaffected in these counties in check. To secure the passages to the isles, Lord Fortrose, son of the earl of Seaforth, proceeded to raise the Mackenzies, and orders were given along the coast to prevent any suspicious persons from making their escape by sea. Cobham's and Lord Mack Ker's dragoons were posted along the east coast, and bodies of militia were stationed at the passes leading into the Highlands to intercept all persons who might attempt to escape to the lowlands. The pass of Stirling was also guarded by a detachment posted at the Fords of the Frew, and the Edinburgh regiment was spread along the south side of the Frith of Forth, to apprehend such of the insurgents as might attempt to cross that arm of the sea. Besides these different detachments, a body of seventeen hundred militia, under the earl of Loudon, the laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, the last of whom had raised

\* Genuine and True Journal of the most miraculous Escape of the young Chevalier, by an Englishman. London, 1749. Macleod's Narrative.

his men before the battle of Culloden, and another body of eight hundred Argyleshire men under General Campbell, afterwards duke of Argyll, spread themselves over Lochaber, all eager to secure the person of the prince. In short, no means were neglected to attain this object; and the blood-thirsty pursuers required no other stimulus to urge them on than the splendid reward of thirty thousand pounds, which had been offered for the capture of the royal fugitive.

The departure of Charles from Lochnanuagh was not known at Inverness till some days after he had sailed, and the supposed place of his destination become a matter of interesting speculation. No doubt could exist that he designed to seek refuge among the western islands, and as St Kilda is the most distant and the least frequented of the whole, it was supposed that Charles had repaired thither. Acting on this supposition, General Campbell collected some sloops of war and transports, and having embarked a considerable body of troops, set sail for St Kilda. After touching at Barra and some other islands, and searching for the prince, he approached St Kilda, the inhabitants of which, alarmed at the sight of the fleet, fled and concealed themselves in the cliffs of the rocks. Landing with some of his forces, the general inquired at some of the inhabitants, whom he discovered in their recesses, what had become of the "Pretender;" but these people answered, with great simplicity, that they had never heard of such a person,—that they had indeed been informed that their laird (Macleod) had lately been at war with a woman a great way abroad, and that he had overcome her. This, they added, was all they knew of the affairs of the world. General Campbell, however, not satisfied with this statement, made a search over the island, but not finding any strangers, returned to the main land, after visiting South Uist.\*

Anticipating the utter ruin which awaited them and their followers, if no attempt was made to resist the meditated designs of the duke of Cumberland, several chiefs and others† held a meeting at Mortlaig on the eighth of May, at which they entered into a bond for their mutual defence, and agreed never to lay down their arms, or make a general peace, without the consent of the whole. They may be supposed to have come to this resolution the more readily, as a sum of thirty-five thousand louis-d'ors had been received a few days before by two French frigates which had arrived on the west coast. By the bond of association, the chiefs agreed, and solemnly promised, with the utmost expedition, to raise in behalf of the prince and in defence of their country, as many able-bodied armed men as they could on their respective properties, and they farther promised and agreed that the following clans, viz. Lochiel, Glengary, Clanranald, Stewarts of Appin, Kep-

\* Genuine and True Journal, p. 7. Home's Works, vol. iii, p. 232.

† There were twelve or thirteen gentlemen present; among whom were Lochiel, young Clanranald, Barisdale, Dr Cameron, John Roy Stewart, old Glenbucket, Secretary Murray, and Cameron of Dungallon. Lord Lovat was also present, but by accident.



poch, Barisdale, Mackinnons and Macleods, should assemble on Thursday the fifteenth of May at Auchnicarry, in the braes of Lochaber. To facilitate the junction of the different corps with all possible speed, it was agreed that the Frasers of Aird and the other Jacobite clans on the north side of the river Ness, should join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengary, and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Mackintoshes and Macphersons, should assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch on the same day ;—that the Macgregors, and Menzies' and Glenlyon's people should march to Rannoch and join the Rannoch and Athole men, and be kept in readiness to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or at any other place that might be considered convenient,—that Gordon of Glenbucket and Colonel Roy Stewart should intimate the resolutions of the meeting to Lord Lewis Gordon, Lords Ogilvy and Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen in the north, who were to be directed to fix a place of rendezvous among themselves, and that Macpherson of Cluny and Colonel Roy Stewart should advertise the principal gentlemen of the Mackintoshes of the resolutions adopted by the meeting. The better to conceal their designs from the duke of Cumberland, the assembled chiefs agreed not to discover or reveal to any of their men or inferior officers, the agreement they had entered into, nor the day and place of rendezvous, till they had assembled their respective corps. It was finally agreed, that should any one engaged in the association make separate terms for himself, he should be looked upon as a traitor to the prince, and be treated by his associates as an enemy.\*

The associated chiefs had been too sanguine in their expectations, not one of them being able, for various reasons, to meet on the day appointed. Clanranald's people refused to leave their own country, and many of Glengary's had delivered up their arms. Lochgarry came with a small party to Invermely on the twentieth of May ; but, after staying one night, he crossed Loch Arkaig and did not return. Lochiel and Barisdale met at Auchnicarry, the place of rendezvous, on the twenty-first or twenty-second of May, but with very few men, and they were almost surprised by a large party of the government forces on the morning of the twenty-third, who took an officer and two of Lochiel's men prisoners. The Highlanders immediately dispersed, and Lochiel, seeing no chance of making an effectual stand under existing circumstances, wrote a circular to his brother chiefs, advising them to disperse their people ; but, as great expectations were entertained that the French king would send assistance, he requested them to preserve their arms as long as possible.†

Conceiving that the only effectual mode of suppressing the rebellion was to march into the Highlands with the whole of his army, the duke

\* Appendix to Home's Works, vol. iii. No. xlvii.

† Ibid. No. L.

of Cumberland began, about the middle of May, to make preparations for his journey. He had in the beginning of that month issued a proclamation, ordering the insurgent clans to deliver up their arms; but little attention was paid to this mandate, and the continuance of considerable armed parties convinced him that the Highlands could never be reduced without the presence of a considerable army stationed in a central district. Having pitched upon Fort Augustus for his new headquarters, the duke left Inverness, on the twenty-third of May, with eleven battalions of foot and Kingston's horse, and reached Fort Augustus next day. Charles had intended to make this place a rallying point in case of a defeat; but his plan was rejected by the chiefs, and, that it might not be serviceable to the royal troops, the buildings had been blown up. No accommodation being therefore found for the duke's army, a camp was formed in the neighbourhood, and a turf hut with doors and windows, and covered with green sods and boughs, was erected by Lord Loudon's Highlanders for the use of his royal highness.\*

Resolving to inflict a signal chastisement upon the rebels, the duke sent, from his camp at Fort Augustus, detachments of his troops in all directions, which devastated the country with fire and sword, and committed excesses scarcely paralleled in history, resembling, though perhaps on a minor scale, those committed by the hosts of Hyder Ali, when that merciless destroyer burst into the Carnatic. The seats of Lochiel, Glengary, Kinlochmoidart, Keppoch, Cluny, Glengyle, and others, were plundered and burnt to the ground, and great numbers of the houses of the common people shared the same fate.† Major Lockhart, whose name by his cruelties on this occasion has obtained an infamous notoriety, marched with a detachment into the country of the Macdonalds of Barisdale, and laid waste and destroyed their dwellings. Some of these poor people had obtained protections from Lord Loudon; but the major disregarded them, and told the people who had them, that not even a warrant from Heaven should prevent him from executing his orders. Another corps, under Lord George Sackville, ravaged the country about the glens of Moidart, while others carried fire and desolation through other districts. Not contented with destroying the country, these blood-hounds either shot the men upon the mountains, or murdered them in cold blood. The women, after witnessing their husbands, fathers, and brothers murdered before their eyes, were subjected to brutal violence, and then turned out naked with their children to starve on the barren heaths. A whole family was inclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. So alert were these ministers of vengeance, that in a few days, according to the testimony of a volunteer who served

\* Boyse, p. 169.

† The booty taken must have been considerable, as in one instance, that of Glengary House, the party who plundered it, consisting of two hundred men, had the following allowances made as their shares, viz. every captain, £11 5s.; each subaltern, £5 18s.; a sergeant, £1 10s.; a corporal, £1; and every common soldier, 15s., clear of all deductions.—*Boyse*, p. 169.

in the expedition, neither house, cottage, man, nor beast, was to be seen within the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation. Deprived of their cattle and their small stock of provisions by the rapacious soldiery, the hoary-headed matron and sire, the widowed mother and her helpless offspring, were to be seen dying of hunger, stretched upon the bare ground, and within view of the smoking ruins of their dwellings.

It may seem surprising that the Highlanders did not avenge themselves upon their oppressors, by assassinating such stragglers as fell in their way. It cannot be supposed that men in whose bosoms the spirit of revenge must have taken deep root, would have spared their relentless adversaries from any scruple as to the mode of despatching them; nor can it be imagined that the Highlanders could not have selected fit occasions when they might have inflicted vengeance upon individuals. The reason of their forbearance probably was, that such a system of warfare, if adopted, would lead to acts of retaliation on the part of the military, and thus increase their calamities. Only one instance is known where an injured person attempted to avenge himself. This was the case of a Highlander who had his house burned, his cattle plundered, and his son killed, while defending his family, who were turned out in the snow. Vowing revenge, he watched the officer who was the author of this inhuman outrage, and who, he was informed, was to be distinguished by a cloak of a particular kind. This officer riding one day with Captain George Munro of Culcairn in a shower of rain, lent him his cloak; and while marching in it with a party of men along the side of Loch Arkaig, the captain was shot by the enraged Highlander, who perceived the cloak, but could not distinguish the difference of person. The man escaped, and although he was well known, and might have been afterwards apprehended, he was allowed to pass unpunished.\*

Of the immense quantity of cattle carried off by Cumberland's troops, some idea may be formed from the fact mentioned in a journal of the period,† that there were sometimes two thousand in one drove. Intelligence of such a vast accumulation of live stock reaching the ears of the graziers of the south, numbers of them went to Fort Augustus well provided with money, which they laid out to great advantage. Some of the people, impelled by starvation, repaired to the camp to solicit from the spoilers some of their flocks, to preserve an existence; but their supplications were unheeded, and they were doomed to behold

\* "Colonel Grant of Moy, who died in April, 1822, in his 90th year, was walking along the road with a gun on his shoulder when Culcairn was shot. A turn of the road concealed him from the soldiers at the moment, but when he came in sight with his gun, they immediately seized him upon suspicion, and carried him to Fort William. After a short confinement he was released. Colonel Grant entered the 42d as a volunteer, or soldier of fortune, and afterwards got a cadetship in India, from which he returned with a handsome fortune nearly fifty years ago."—*Stewart's Sketches*, vol. i. note, p. 280.

† *Scots Magazine*, vol. viii. p. 287.

their cattle sold and driven away, while famine stared them in the face.

The atrocities committed by the duke of Cumberland and his myrmidons, must have been peculiarly revolting to the humane and generous mind of Lord President Forbes. On paying his respects to the duke at Inverness, on his return from Skye, he took occasion to hint to his royal highness that the laws of the country should be observed even by his army; but the duke, who entertained very different ideas, not relishing such an intrusion upon his authority, cut the worthy president short with this exclamation, "The laws of the country, my Lord! I'll make a brigade give laws, by God!" Judging farther remonstrance to be vain, Forbes dropped the subject, and was compelled to deplore in silence the cruelties which he could not prevent. He might have represented the matter to the government; but he was perhaps unwilling to run the risk of incurring its displeasure, and thereby deprive himself of the chance of being afterwards useful in saving many families from ruin.\*

The enormities of the lawless soldiery were not confined to the Highlands, but extended to all the adjoining lowland districts where the spirit of disaffection was known to exist. The houses of the low country Jacobite gentry were plundered and destroyed, and the chapels of the nonjurant episcopal clergy, as well as the more humble and secluded places of worship belonging to the catholics, were either razed or burnt to the ground. So accustomed did these miscreants become with deeds of rapine and blood, that they continued their ravages, not so much from a feeling of revenge, which even in hearts steeled against the impulses of humanity, will sometimes recoil at its own atrocities, as from a fiendish pleasure of extending the havoc. "Rebel-hunting" was the term adopted by the ruffians of the British army to designate their bloody occupation.

To complete the work of extermination, the duke issued a proclamation, denouncing the punishment of death, by hanging, against every person who should harbour the insurgents, and a similar fate was declared to await such as should conceal arms, ammunition, or any other thing belonging to them, or should not immediately deliver up to

\* How far any remonstrance on the part of the president would have been attended to may be judged from the following statement:—"When he visited London in the end of the year, (1746,) for the purpose of settling the accounts he had run with the loyal Highland militia, he, as usual, went to court. The king, whose ear had been offended with repeated accounts of the conduct of the military, thus addressed him:—'My lord-president, you are the person I most wished to see. Shocking reports have been circulated of the barbarities committed by my army in the north; your lordship is, of all men, the best able to satisfy me.' 'I wish to God,' replied the president, 'that I could, consistently with truth, assure your majesty that such reports are destitute of foundation.' The king, as was his custom, turned abruptly away from the president; whose accounts, next day, were passed with difficulty; and, as report says, the balance, which was immense, never fully paid up."—*Antijacobin Review*, vol. xiii. *Review of Home's History of the Rebellion.*



persons authorized by the duke to receive the same, any property or effects in their possession belonging to the rebels. In compliance with a requisition made by the duke, the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, about the end of May, enjoined the ministers of the different parishes to read a proclamation from the pulpits, in which they themselves, and every well affected person, were ordered by his royal highness to use every exertion to discover and seize the unfortunate fugitives; and to facilitate their discovery and apprehension, the clergy were required to furnish lists of the names of all persons in their respective parishes who had had any share in the insurrection. Many clergymen, including those of Edinburgh, with feelings of humanity and independence which did them honour, refused to read this proclamation, or to comply with the order requiring them to give in the names of such of their parishioners as had been engaged in the rebellion. The government, equally intent with its sanguinary general upon the destruction of the unfortunate adherents of the house of Stuart, offered rewards for apprehending such of the fugitives as might land in Ireland, and instructions were sent to the British ministers at foreign courts, in alliance with George II., to seize all who might seek refuge in the territories of such powers.

The guilt of all these acts of bloodshed and rapine has been laid to the charge of the duke of Cumberland, and the single fact that he issued no orders to put an end to the enormities which were daily committed, almost under his own eyes, and with his perfect knowledge, seems of itself sufficient to justify the charge. But when taken in connection with his sanguinary order not to make prisoners, the proofs of his criminality are evident. Though the foul stain of wanton cruelty must ever attach to the British army on the present occasion, from the commander down to the private, there were some redeeming exceptions among the officers, who alleviated the sufferings, and, in some instances, saved the lives of the devoted Highlanders. "I think myself," says Mr Maxwell, "bound in justice, to let the reader know that there were in the duke of Cumberland's army officers of all ranks, whom neither the prospect of ingratiating themselves and making their fortunes, nor the contagion of bad example, were able to corrupt. Some of those that had done the government the most essential services were as conspicuous now for their humanity as formerly for their courage and conduct. It might be indiscreet to be particular at present; but their names, which are written with indelible characters in the hearts of those poor people that owe to them the preservation of their being, will be carefully handed down to posterity. They are already known, and even, in the worst of times, meet with the applause they deserve from all those that have a fellow-feeling for their species."

With the honourable exceptions here alluded to, neither the duke nor the obsequious slaves of his tyrannical will, ever appear to have felt the least compunction for the miseries they inflicted upon the unfortunate High-

landers. On the contrary, they seem to have revelled amidst the ruin and desolation which they spread around; and when their occupation of "rebel-hunting" was gone, by the destruction of their victims, they endeavoured to relieve the *ennui* of repose by ludicrous and indecent diversions. Horse and foot races were instituted by the royal duke, who did not think it beneath his dignity to induce the women of the camp to enter the lists, and to expose themselves in a way at which decency revolts.\* This species of amusement produced great insubordination in the army, for the soldiers got very fond of it, and, according to a volunteer, most of them had horses, which they bought and sold with one another at a low price, and on which they rode about neglecting their duty, in consequence of which it became necessary to publish an order to part with them, otherwise they were all to be shot. "I saw," continues the same writer, "a soldier riding on one of these horses: when being met by a comrade, he asked him, 'Tom, what hast thou given for the Galloway?' Tom answered, 'half-a-crown.' To which the other replied with an oath, 'He is too dear; I saw a better bought for eighteenpence.' Notwithstanding the low price, the vast quantities of cattle, such as oxen, horses, sheep, and goats, taken from the rebels, and bought up by the lump by the jockies and farmers from Yorkshire and the south of Scotland, came to a great deal of money, all which was divided amongst the men that brought them in, who were sent out in parties in search of the Pretender; and they frequently came to rebels' houses which they had left, as their owners would not be reduced to obedience. These our soldiers commonly plundered and burnt, so that many of them grew rich by their share of spoil."†

When the zeal and activity of the military in pursuing the leading fugitives on the one hand, and the great care of the government to prevent their escape to the continent on the other, are considered, it is surprising that so many succeeded in their attempts to leave the kingdom. Besides the earls of Cromarty and Kilmarnock, and Lord Macleod, the

\* A letter from Fort Augustus, dated June 27, 1746, which made the round of the public Journals at the time, thus describes these pastimes:—"Last Wednesday the duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run heats for on bare-backed Galloways taken from the rebels; when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize. These Galloways are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent sport. Yesterday his royal highness gave a fine Holland smock to the soldiers' wives to be run for on these Galloways, also bare-backed, and riding with their limbs on each side of the horse like men. Eight started, and there were three of the finest heats ever seen. The prize was won, with great difficulty, by one of the Old Buff's ladies. In the evening, General Hawley and Colonel Howard run a match for twenty guineas on two of the above shelties; which General Hawley won by about four inches."

† Ray, p. 372. This ignorant party writer, who had no idea of the sublime in nature, could not endure the grandeur of the mountain scenery, the sight of which, he says, was "sufficient to give a well-bred dog the vapours, and occasioned numbers of the royal troops to fall sick daily, as well in their minds as bodies!!" When the duke of Cumberland entered Inverness, this fellow, leaving his horse in charge of a servant girl, followed two unarmed low countrymen into a house, and sabred them in cold blood.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 245—302.

only other Jacobite chiefs who fell into the hands of the government, were the marquis of Tullibardine, Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Secretary Murray. The marquis being unable from the bad state of his health, to bear the fatigue of running from covert to covert, surrendered himself, on the twenty-seventh of April, to a Dumbartonshire gentleman, who committed him to the castle of Dumbarton; and Lord Balmerino, by the advice of Mr Grant, younger of Rothiemurcus, most unwisely delivered himself up at Inverness, two days after the battle of Culloden. After having the mortification of witnessing, from the summit of a high mountain, the conflagration of his seat of Castle Downie by the king's troops, Lord Lovat took refuge in the western parts of Inverness-shire, and finally concealed himself in the hollow of a tree which grew on a small island in Loch Morar, where he was apprehended early in June by a party from the Furnace sloop of war. When discovered he was wrapt up in a blanket; and, though he had between five and six hundred guineas in his pocket, had been obliged to live twelve days in his miserable retreat on oatmeal and water. Being unable, from his great age and infirmity, to ride, he was carried in a litter to the royal camp at Fort Augustus. Secretary Murray contrived to escape from the Highlands, and sought for safety in the house of his brother-in-law, Mr Hunter of Polmood, in Peeblesshire; but information having been given of his retreat, he was apprehended on the morning of Saturday, the twenty-eighth of June, by a party of St George's dragoons, carried to Edinburgh, and committed the same evening a close prisoner to the castle.

Macdonald of Barisdale and his son were also taken prisoners, but were almost immediately set at liberty. That a man who had taken such an active part in the insurrection as Barisdale did, should have been liberated unconditionally, is very improbable; and it was generally understood that he had entered into an engagement to apprehend the prince, and deliver him up to the duke of Cumberland. So strong were the suspicions of Charles and his friends of Barisdale's treachery, that when Colonel Warren arrived in the West Highlands for the purpose of transporting Charles to France, he actually seized Barisdale and his son, and carried them along with him to that country as prisoners. A list of charges, in the shape of interrogatories, was afterwards drawn up by Charles at Paris, to each of which Barisdale was required to make a direct and particular answer in writing; but the nature of his answers, if he made any, is not known. These charges, which are very specific, amount to seven in number. These were, 1. That he had given notice to the Lord President and Lord Loudon of Charles's approach to Inverness, and advised them to retire from the town for their own safety. 2. That he had violated the bond which he and the other chiefs had entered into at Muirlaggan, by surrendering himself to the enemy without the consent of the rest. 3. That after receiving a protection, he had engaged to apprehend the person of the prince, and deliver him up

to the enemy within a limited time. 4. That to effect his purpose a party of military had been placed under his direction 5. That he had given information to the enemy against the Chevalier Lansy and another French officer. 6. That he had imposed on some of Glengary's people, by asserting that that chief had promised to deliver them up to the enemy, and that he was to receive thirty pounds sterling of premium for each gentleman he (Glengary) should put into their hands. 7. That in consequence of this false information on the part of Barisdale, an information was given in against Glengary by these gentlemen; and his letters ordering them to take up arms for the prince were delivered to Lord Albemarle, upon which information Glengary was apprehended and all his papers seized.\* There may have been no foundation for these grave charges; but well or ill founded, an opinion long prevailed in the Highlands that Barisdale had been unfaithful.

If Glengary's apprehension proceeded upon the information of the gentlemen of his own clan, they must have had better grounds for taking the extraordinary step they are alleged to have done, than the mere assertion of Barisdale; but the charge against Glengary seems highly improbable, as it is scarcely credible, if, as stated, they had letters from him in their possession advising them to take up arms in support of Charles, while he himself kept back, that he would by such a perfidious act have put himself in their power. Glengary, after his apprehension, was sent to London, and, along with the other chief prisoners, was committed to the Tower, where he suffered a long and tedious confinement. Young Glengary had been taken up some months previously and sent to the Tower, in which he was kept a close prisoner for twenty months.†

\* Vide lists of these charges in English and French in the Appendix, with the letter to Barisdale requiring an answer, taken from the original draughts in the Stuart Archives. Also letter from Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George, 10th October, 1746, copied from the original in the same collection.

† Shortly after his apprehension Young Glengary despatched the following letter to Paris:—

“ TOWER OF LONDON, *Jan. 2d, 1745* (1746.)

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I was unfortunately taken prisoner and brought to the Tower of London, where I am at a very great expense, and have nothing to subsist myself with. This is beging that upon recet you applay to Mr Waters, and desire him to send me credit for fifty pounds sterling, and in doing this speedily you singularly serve and oblige, dear Sir, your most humble servant,

“ MACKDONELL, younger of Glengary.”

“ P. S.—Mr Waters may state the above sum either to my account, or to Mr Fergus's (the Chevalier.) Please direct your answer for me, to the care of General Williamson, at the Tower of London.

“ Written in the presence of me,

“ THOS. HANSON.”

The above letter is thus addressed:—

“ A Monsieur Watters, banquier a Paris, &c., pour faire tenir of Monsieur Gordon au Colege des Ecossois rue Fosse St Victore, Paris.”

Mr Waters, on receipt of the foregoing letter, sent young Glengary a bill on London



Notwithstanding the sanguinary ferocity with which Cumberland's soldiers hunted down the unfortunate fugitives, the lives of a considerable number of those who were taken or surrendered themselves, were saved from immediate destruction by the interference of a few humane persons, who did every thing in their power to put a stop to the exterminating system of these bloodhounds. Though they thus escaped the merciless sword of the destroyer, they were nevertheless doomed to suffer the most extraordinary privations. After having been cooped up in the loathsome prisons of the north, without any attention to their wants, many of them were afterwards huddled together in the holds of ships, where they were condemned unheeded to pine away, and amidst a mass of filth and corruption, to inhale the seeds of pestilence and death. Of one hundred and fifty-seven persons who were immured for eight months in the hold of one transport, only forty-nine survived the cruel treatment they received.\*

Meanwhile several of the chiefs of the insurrection succeeded in effecting their escape to the continent. The duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, Lords Elcho and Nairne, Maxwell of Kirkconnel, and others, embarked at Lochnanuagh, on board one of the French ships which arrived on the western coast about the end of April. The duke of Perth, who had been long in bad health, died on the voyage. Another party of twelve or thirteen persons, including Lords Pitsligo and Ogilvy, and Hunter of Burnside, after skulking some time in Buchan, got a vessel which conveyed them to Bergen in Norway. The British consul applied to the governor to have them secured, but he disregarded the application, and the party proceeded to Sweden. Stewart of Ardshiel, and General O'Sullivan also succeeded in reaching France. Old

for the sum required. In the postscript of a letter, dated 21st January, 1746, to Secretary Edgar, Mr Waters says: "Since the above Mr Gordon brought me the inclosed letter from Mr Mackdonell, younger of Glengary; the occasion is so pressing and feeling, that, without consulting any body, I gave him a bill in favour of Mr Mackdonell for £50 sterling, payable at sight in London; will wait to know how to place it."

The originals of these letters are in the possession of his Majesty.

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 300. William Jack, one of the prisoners, in a letter to his friends in Elgin (*Memoirs*, p. 299), says, that the sailors used to amuse themselves by hoisting the prisoners up to the yard-arm and dropping them into the sea, and that they would tie them to the mast and flog them; that for several months they had no bed-clothes, and that they used to dig holes among the ship's ballast, consisting of black earth and small stones, to keep themselves warm. John Farquharson of Alderg, himself a prisoner, in a letter to the Rev. Mr Forbes, published among the Forbes papers, gives an appalling description of the miseries of his fellow-prisoners on their voyage from Inverness to London. He says, that from hunger, bad usage, and exposure "to all weathers, they were seized with a kind of plague which carried them off by dozens;" and that "a good many of those who would have outlived their sickness, were wantonly murdered by the sailors, by dipping them in the sea in the crisis of their fevers." After arriving in the Thames, the common prisoners were put into Tilbury Fort, and would have perished for want had not some humane people supported them. The officers were marched rank and file to Southwark jail amid the hootings of a tumultuous mob, who loaded them with scornful epithets, and assailed them with brickbats, stones, and other missiles.

Glenbucket, after being hunted from place to place, eluded his pursuers by assuming the garb of a beggar, and allowing his beard to grow. In the month of November he escaped to Norway in a Swedish vessel.\* Lord George Murray remained in concealment in Scotland till the month of December, when, after paying a private visit to his friends at Edinburgh, he took shipping at Anstruther in the Frith of Forth, and reached Holland in safety.

\* A curious and interesting letter of Glenbucket to Secretary Edgar, dated 21st August, 1747, giving an account of his wanderings and escape, will be found in the Appendix. The original, from which the copy was taken, is in the possession of his Majesty.

## CHAPTER XI.

Charles leaves Benbecula—Lands in the island of Glass—Despatches Macleod to Stornoway—Leaves Glass, and lands in Harris—Goes to Arynish—Commutations in Stornoway—reaches Iffurt—Returns to Glass and Benbecula—Lands in South Uist—Resides at Coradale—Leaves Uist, and arrives in Onia—Returns to South Uist—Meets Miss Flora Macdonald—Voyage to Skye—Arrives at Mugstot—Goes to Kingsburgh-house—Arrives at Portree—Goes to the island of Raasay—Returns to Skye—Goes to Ellagol—Interview with the laird of Mackinnon, with whom he proceeds to the mainland—Arrives in Loch Nevis—Arrest of Kingsburgh, Malcolm Macleod, and Flora Macdonald.

THE storm which drove Charles with such rapidity upon the distant shores of Benbecula, continued for fourteen hours after he had landed. Accommodating himself to the new situation in which he was placed, he manifested no symptoms of dejection at his reverse of fortune, partook cheerfully along with his companions of the homely fare before him, and with an old sail for a bed, reposed upon the floor of his lowly dwelling. In Benbecula the prince was visited by old Clanranald, to whom the island belonged; and having afterwards had an interview in South Uist with Boisdale, Clanranald's brother, Charles was advised by him to proceed to Stornoway, the principal seaport in the island of Lewis, and there give out that he and his company were the crew of a merchant ship belonging to the Orkneys, which had been wrecked on the isle of Tirey, and under the pretence of returning home, hire a vessel for that purpose, and escape to France.\* Accordingly, after passing two days in Benbecula, Charles and his party set sail for Stornoway on the twenty-ninth of April; but in consequence of a strong gale of wind from the south-west, they were obliged to put in next morning at the small isle of Scalpay or Glass, near Harris, about half way between Benbecula and Stornoway. They landed about two hours before daybreak, and were conducted by Donald Macleod to the house of Donald Campbell, a farmer, known to Macleod, to whom they were introduced as merchants shipwrecked on their voyage to the Orkneys. The prince and O'Sullivan took the name of Sinclair, and the latter passed off as Charles' father. The whole party was hospitably entertained by Camp-

bell, who lent Macleod a boat with which he proceeded next day, the first of May, to Stornoway to hire a vessel, leaving Charles and his friends behind.

Having succeeded in hiring a small vessel of forty tons, Macleod sent an express to Charles announcing his success, and requesting him to proceed to Stornoway. This message was received on the third of May, and the prince left the isle of Glass next day ; but the wind proving contrary, he was obliged to land in Loch Seaforth, in the island of Lewis, a considerable distance from Stornoway. Here Allan Macdonald took his leave. Accompanied by O'Sullivan, O'Neil, and his guide, Charles set out on foot for Stornoway, over a wild and trackless waste, in a very dark and rainy night. The guide lost his way, and the party did not reach the neighbourhood of Stornoway till next day at noon. This mistake, on the part of the conductor, was a fortunate circumstance, as the advanced hour of the day prevented Charles from entering the town, where he might have been seized by the inhabitants, who having received information from the Presbyterian minister of South Uist, that the prince had landed in Lewis with five hundred men, with a design of burning their town, carrying off their cattle, and forcing a vessel to carry him to France, afterwards rose in arms to oppose him. Charles stopped at the Point of Arynish, about half a mile from Stornoway, and sent in the guide to acquaint Macleod of his arrival, and to bring out some refreshment, as he and his fellow-travellers had been eighteen hours without food. Donald immediately repaired to the spot with some brandy, bread, and cheese, and found Charles and his two companions standing on a moor extremely fatigued and all wet to the skin. Donald then took them to the house of Mrs Mackenzie of Kildun, at Arynish, where the prince went to bed. Returning to Stornoway, Macleod was quite amazed to find the town in commotion, and above two hundred men under arms. Unable to comprehend the meaning of this sudden rising, Donald went directly into the room where the gentlemen who had taken upon them the rank of officers had assembled, and inquired the cause of such a strange proceeding. He was instantly assailed with abuse by every person present: they informed him of the intelligence they had received from Uist of Charles's landing, and of his alleged intentions, and they accused Macleod as the cause of the calamity with which they were threatened. Unable to deny the fact of Charles's arrival in Lewis, Macleod at once admitted it, and to allay their fears he informed them, that so far from having a body of five hundred men along with him, as represented, he was attended by two companions only ; "and yet," said Donald with an air of defiance, "let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, by G— he durst not put a hand to the prince's breast !\*" The gentlemen present then declared that they had no intention to do the prince the least harm, and the only thing they re-

\* Macleod's Narrative.



quired of him was to leave the island. Donald offered instantly to comply, and requested them to give him a pilot, but they refused ; and although he offered the most liberal payment he could not obtain one. Alarmed for the consequences of being privy to the prince's escape, the master of the vessel which had been hired, either suspecting the object, or let, as is supposed, into the secret by Macleod, refused to implement his bargain.\*

Returning to the prince, Macleod informed him of these disagreeable occurrences. A proposal was made to fly to the moors ; but Charles, thinking that such a step would encourage his enemies to pursue, he resolved to pass the night at Kildun. Here the party killed a cow, for which the lady refused payment, but being pressed by Macleod she at last took the money. Edward Burke performed the duties of cook ; but the prince, on the present occasion, superintended the culinary department, and with his own hands prepared a cake of oatmeal, mixed with the brains of the cow, and baked it upon a stone before the fire. At daybreak next morning the party left the island, carrying along with them a small stock of beef, two pecks of meal, and abundance of brandy and sugar. At this time the prince, O'Sullivan, and O'Neil had only six shirts amongst them, and being often drenched with rain, they were frequently obliged to take off the wet ones before the others were half dry. Conceiving that he would be more secure on the mainland than among the islands, Charles resolved to return thither, and ordered the boatmen to carry him to Bollein in Kintail ; but they refused on account of the length of the voyage, which they considered dangerous in an open boat. They, therefore, proceeded southwards along the coast ; but they had not proceeded far when they observed two large vessels at a distance sailing northwards, and making towards them. To avoid these ships they put into the small isle called Euirn or Iffurt, near Harris, a little to the northward of the island of Glass. On landing the prince and his attendants went to the summit of a little hill to observe the ships. Charles thought they were French, but his companions considered them English. He was desirous to ascertain the fact, but the boatmen could not be prevailed upon to go out and reconnoitre them. It is probable that these were the two frigates from Nantz, which arrived in Lochnanuagh the day after Charles's departure from that place, and having landed the money, arms, and ammunition they had brought over for his service, were returning to France.†

The little island on which Charles now was, was inhabited by a few fishermen, who, imagining the prince's boat to be a press-boat belonging to one of the ships of war, ran away to conceal themselves, leaving their fish behind. Charles and his party fared upon some of the fish which they found drying upon the beach. Unwilling to deprive the

\* Lockhart Papers, vol. ii. p. 511. Kirkconnel MS.

† Kirkconnel MS.

poor fishermen of any part of their hard-earned spoils without an equivalent, the prince was about laying down some money on the place from which the fish were taken ; but on one of his followers representing to him that by doing so the fishermen might suppose that some person of note had visited the island, and that such an idea might lead to bad consequences, he desisted. Charles remained in this desolate island four days, during all which time he and his party lay in a wretched hut, resembling a hog-sty, and so wretchedly roofed that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it. They lay upon the bare floor, without any covering, and to prevent surprise, kept watch by turns.

Resolving to return to Glass to pay Donald Campbell a visit, Charles left the little island of Ifiurt on the tenth of May, and coursed along the shores of the Long Island till he arrived at the isle of Glass. Understanding that Campbell had absconded, from an apprehension that he would be seized for having entertained the prince,—a rumour to that effect having got abroad,—the prince left Glass the same day. There being no wind, the boatmen were obliged to row all night ; but about daybreak, the wind began to rise, and hoisting sail, they scudded along the coast of Harris. Having no fresh water on board, they were forced, from lack of other provisions, to use oatmeal made up with salt water, of which Charles partook heartily. This salt water *drammach*, as this extraordinary preparation was called, was qualified with a dram of brandy, which the prince distributed from a bottle he held in his hand.

In coursing along Harris, Charles, while crossing the mouth of Finsbay, espied a ship of war, commanded by Captain Ferguson, lying in the bay, at the distance of about two musket shots, which immediately gave them chase. The ship followed them three leagues ; but they escaped among the rocks at the point of Roudil in the Harris. They then kept close to the shore, and in passing along the coast of North Uist were observed by another war vessel, which was lying in Lochmaddy, which also gave them chase. Charles reached Benbecula after a very close pursuit, and had scarcely landed when a storm arose, which drove the vessels which pursued him off the coast. After this escape, Charles could not help remarking, that Providence would not permit him to be taken at this time.

It being low water when Charles landed in Benbecula, one of the boatmen went among the rocks in quest of shell-fish, and found a crab, which he held up to the prince with an expression of joy. Taking up a pail which lay in the boat, Charles immediately proceeded to the spot where the boatman stood, and, in conjunction with him, soon filled the pail with crabs. The party then proceeded to a small hut which lay at the distance of two miles. Charles carried the pail, which Macleod insisted on relieving him of ; but Charles refused to part with it, observing that he and the rest of the company might carry the baggage. The door of the hovel was so low, that the party could only enter by creep-

ing in on their hands and knees; but to make the entry easier for the prince, Burke dug away part of the ground, and put heather below the prince's knees. From this homely residence, Charles sent a message to old Clanranald, acquainting him of his return to Benbecula, and of the difficulties with which he was beset. Clanranald repaired without delay to the hut, and promised Charles all the assistance in his power to enable him to leave the kingdom. Lady Clanranald, at the same time, sent Charles half-a-dozen of shirts, some shoes and stockings, a supply of wine and brandy, and other articles, to make his situation as comfortable as circumstances would admit of. After passing several days in this miserable habitation, Charles, by the advice of Clanranald, removed to South Uist, and took up his abode near the hill of Coradale, in the centre of the island, which was considered a more secure place of retreat.

When on the eve of leaving Benbecula, Charles despatched Donald Macleod in Campbell's boat, which he still retained, to the mainland, with letters to Lochiel and Secretary Murray, desiring to know how affairs stood, and requesting that a supply of cash and brandy might be sent to him. Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch Arkaig; but Murray, from whom he was desired to obtain the money, informed him that he had none to spare, having only sixty louis-d'ors, which he meant to keep for his own necessities. Donald received letters from Lochiel and Murray to the prince, and, having found the means, he purchased two ankers of brandy, at a guinea each, for the use of the prince, with which he returned to the prince after an absence of eighteen days.\*

On his return he found the prince in a more comfortable dwelling than that in which he had left him. He had removed to South Uist on the sixteenth of May, and lived in the house of one of Clanranald's tenants, situated upon Coradale. The house not being watertight, two cow-hides were placed upon four sticks to prevent the rain from falling upon him when asleep. The house in which the prince lodged was called the Forest-house of Glencoradale, and though the situation was remote, it was the best that could be devised for securing a retreat either to the hills or to the sea, according to circumstances. There being abundance of game in the island, the prince occupied himself almost daily in his favourite amusements of hunting and shooting. His dexterity in shooting birds upon the wing was particularly remarked. To vary his recreation, he frequently went down to the sea-shore, and, going on board a small boat, caught, with hand-lines, some small fishes, called lyths by the inhabitants. Clanranald and his lady did every thing in their power to render his situation agreeable; and Clanranald placed twelve able men at his disposal to serve as guides through the island, and to execute any orders Charles might give them.

While Charles was thus passing his time in South Uist, his situation every day was becoming more and more critical. The Long island was surrounded on every side by cutters, sloops of war, and frigates. Upwards of fifteen hundred militia and some regular troops were landed in different parts of the island, and a guard was posted at every ferry in the archipelago to prevent any person from getting out of it without a passport. Charles was made aware of his danger; but he declined to leave the Long island till he should receive some farther intelligence, which Clanranald endeavoured to obtain by crossing over to the mainland. At length the peril of Charles became so imminent, that there appeared no possibility of an escape. He had already spent three weeks in South Uist; and though his residence was known to upwards of a hundred persons, all of whom were probably aware of the splendid reward which had been offered for his apprehension; yet such was the fidelity of these poor people, that not one of them betrayed their trust, by giving notice to the emissaries of the government of the place of his concealment. He lived in comparative security in South Uist till about the middle of June, when, in consequence of the presence of a body of militia in the island of Eriska, which lies between Barra and South Uist, he found it absolutely necessary to shift his quarters. He accordingly left South Uist in Campbell's boat with his four companions, on the fourteenth of June, and landed in the small isle of Ouia or Fovaya, between South Uist and Benbecula, in which he remained four nights; and on the eighteenth, the prince, O'Neil and Burke, went to Rossinish, leaving O'Sullivan and Macleod in Ouia. Charles passed two nights at Rossinish; but receiving information that some militia were approaching Benbecula, he resolved to return to Coradale. O'Sullivan and Macleod anticipated Charles's design by bringing the boat to Rossinish during the night, and having set sail, they encountered a violent storm, accompanied with a heavy rain, which forced them to land upon the rock called Achkirside-allich, at Uishinish Point, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters. At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at a place called Celiestiella, whence they steered towards Loch Boisdale; but, observing a boat in their way, they returned to the former place, where they passed the night. They proceeded to Loch Boisdale next day, where they were informed that Boisdale had been made a prisoner, a circumstance which perplexed Charles exceedingly, as Boisdale, from his perfect knowledge of the different places of concealment in the Long island, was the chief person on whom he relied for directions in his various movements. Charles skulked some days about Loch Boisdale, where he and his attendants received occasional supplies of food from Lady Boisdale.\*

During the time the prince remained in Loch Boisdale, he was kept

\* Genuine and True Journal, p. 16.



in a perpetual state of alarm by the vessels of war which hovered off the coast of South Uist. At one time no less than fifteen sail were in sight; and two of them having entered the Loch, Charles and his companions abandoned their boat, and fled to the mountains. The vessels having gone out to sea, Charles and his party returned to the boat, in which they had left a small stock of provisions; and having taken out the sails for the purpose of covering them, they lay in the fields two nights on the south side of the Loch. Removing the third night farther up the inlet, they passed two other nights in the same way, suffering all the time the greatest privations. Hitherto the military had not visited South Uist; but information was brought on the last of these days to Charles, that a party, under Captain Caroline Scott, an officer celebrated, along with General Hawley, Major Lockhart, and others, for his cruelties, had just landed at the head of a body of five hundred regulars and militia, within a mile and a half of the place where Charles then was. On receiving this alarming intelligence, Charles instantly resolved to separate his party; and leaving O'Sullivan, Macleod and Burke, with the boatmen, to shift for themselves, he and O'Neil went off to the mountains, carrying only two shirts along with them. The faithful Macleod was so affected at parting that he shed tears.\*

\* O'Neil's, Burke's, and Macleod's Narratives. Macleod was taken prisoner a few days afterwards in Benbecula, by Lieutenant Allan Macdonald of Knock, in Sleate, in the island of Skye. He was put on board the Furnace, and brought down to the cabin before General Campbell, who examined him most minutely. The general asked him if he had been along with the Pretender? "Yes," said Donald, "I was along with that young gentleman, and I winna deny it." "Do you know," said the general, "what money was upon that gentleman's head? No less a sum than thirty thousand pounds sterling, which would have made you and your family happy for ever." "What then?" replied Donald, "what though I had gotten it? I could not have enjoyed it for two days. Conscience would have gotten the better of me; and although I could have gotten all England and Scotland for my pains, I would not have allowed a hair of his body to be touched if I could hinder it, since he threw himself upon my care." Campbell observed that he could not much blame him. Donald was sent to London, but released on 10th June, 1747. When he arrived in Leith from London, on his return to Skye, he had no money to carry him thither; but his wants were supplied by the Rev. Robert (afterwards bishop) Forbes, an episcopal clergyman in Leith, who set a subscription on foot in that town, and in Edinburgh, "to make out," as the bishop says, "for honest Palinurus, if possible, a pound sterling, for every week he had served the prince in distress; and," continues the worthy bishop, "I thank God I was so happy as to accomplish my design directly." In acknowledgment of his fidelity, Donald was presented by Mr John Walkinshaw of London, with a large silver snuff-box, handsomely chased, and doubly gilt in the inside. Upon the lid of this box there was the representation of an eight-oared boat, with Donald at the helm, and the eight rowers making their way through a very rough and tempestuous sea. The Long island is seen in the distance upon one of the extremities of the lid, and the boat appears to be just steering into Rossinish, the point of Benbecula where Charles landed after leaving Lochnanuagh. On the other end of the lid there was a landscape of the end of the isle of Skye, as it appears opposite to the Long island, on which the sites of Dunvegan and Gualtergill are marked. The clouds were represented as heavy and lowering, and the rain descending; and above the clouds, *i. e.* near the hinge, the following motto was engraved;—"Olim hæc meminisse juvabit. Aprilis 26to, 1746." Upon the bottom, and near the edge of the lid, was this inscription,—"*Quid Neptune, paras? Fatis agitur iniquis.*" The following words were engraved on the bottom of the box:—"Donald Macleod of Gualtergill, in the isle of

Beset with dangers on every hand, Charles and his companion directed their steps towards Benbecula, and, about midnight, came to a hut into which O'Neil entered. Providentially for Charles, O'Neil here found Miss Flora Macdonald, with whom he had got lately acquainted at Ormaclade, the seat of Clanranald, in Benbecula, when on a visit to the chief, whose kinswoman she was. This lady, whose memory will ever be held in esteem by posterity, for her generous and noble disinterestedness in rescuing the prince from the imminent perils which surrounded him, was the daughter of Macdonald of Milton, in the island of South Uist. Her father left her an orphan when only a year old, and her mother had married Macdonald of Armadale, in the isle of Skye, who commanded one of the militia companies raised in that island by Sir Alexander Macdonald, and was now in South Uist at the head of his corps. Miss Macdonald was about twenty-four years of age, of the middle size, and to the attractions of a handsome figure and great vivacity, she added the more estimable mental qualities of good sense, blandness of temper and humanity. The hut in which O'Neil now met Miss Macdonald belonged to her only brother, Angus Macdonald of Milton, in whose family she then resided.

As O'Neil recollected that Miss Macdonald had expressed, in his presence, an earnest desire to see the prince, and had offered to do any thing in her power to protect him, it occurred to O'Neil that, on the present occasion, she might render an essential service to the prince if, after dressing him in female attire, she would pass him off as her maid-servant, and carry him to Skye. O'Neil at once proposed his plan to the young lady; but she thought it fantastical and dangerous, and at first positively refused to engage in it. As parties of the Macdonald, Macleod, and Campbell militia were roaming over the island of South Uist in quest of Charles; as no person could leave the island without a passport; and as there was a guard posted at every ferry, and the channel between Uist and Skye covered with ships of war, the utter hopelessness of such an attempt appeared evident. Bent, however, upon his plan, O'Neil was resolved to try what effect Charles's own presence would have upon the young lady in inducing her to yield, and he accordingly introduced her to the prince. Miss Macdonald was so strongly impressed with his critical and forlorn state, that, on seeing Charles, she almost instantly consented to conduct him to Skye. She describes the

Skye, the faithful *Palinurus*, æt. 68, 1746." Below which there was a representation of a dove with an olive branch in its bill. Donald never put any snuff into this box, and when asked the cause by Mr Forbes, he exclaimed, "Sneeshin in that box! Na, the diel a pickle sneeshin shall ever go into it till the King be restored; and then, I trust in God, I'll go to London, and then I will put sneeshin in the box, and go to the Prince, and say, 'Sir, will you take a sneeshin out o' my box?'"—*Jacobite Memoirs*.

Burke, the other trust-worthy individual, who was a native of North Uist, skulked about the hill of Eval, in his native island, for seven weeks, living part of the time on sea-weed and limpits. He afterwards took refuge in a cave, and, when the troubles had subsided, went to Edinburgh, where, unheeded, he spent the remainder of his days as a sedan-carrier, or chairman.

prince at this time as in a bad state of health; and though of a thin and weak habit of body, and greatly worn out by fatigue, yet exhibiting a cheerfulness, magnanimity, and fortitude, which those only who saw him could have credited.\*

Having thus given her consent to O'Neil's proposal, Miss Macdonald instantly proceeded to Clanranald's house to procure the necessary requisites for the intended voyage to Skye. In crossing one of the fords on her way to Ormaclade, she and her man-servant, Neil Mae Eachan,† not having passports, were taken prisoners by a party of militia, and, being detained till next morning, were taken before the commanding officer, who luckily turned out to be her own step-father, Captain Hugh Macdonald. Having stated to him her intention of proceeding to Skye to her mother, she, without difficulty or suspicion, procured a passport from her stepfather, for herself, a man-servant, and her maid, who, in the passport, was called Betty Burke, (the name the prince was to assume,) and who was recommended by Captain Macdonald to his wife as an excellent spinner of flax, and a faithful servant.‡ Next day at four o'clock in the afternoon, Charles received a message from Miss Macdonald, who had reached Ormaclade, informing him that "all was well;" on receiving which, he and O'Neil resolved to join her immediately; but, to their great consternation, the messenger informed them that they could not pass either of the fords that separated South Uist from Benbecula, as they were both guarded by the military. In their perplexity, an inhabitant offered to convey them in his boat to Benbecula; and they were accordingly landed on a promontory of that island. They dismissed the boat, after having given orders to the boatmen to meet them on the opposite side of the island, and proceeded on their journey; but they had not gone far when they observed that the land on which they stood was surrounded by water. Thinking that the pilot had made a mistake, they hallooed after the boat, but in vain, as it was already far from the shore. As it was high water, Charles and his companion imagined that they could obtain a dry passage on the subsiding of the tide; but they were disappointed. The situation of the prince now appeared dismal. After escaping so many dangers, he had at present no prospect but to starve upon a desert island. Nevertheless, he kept up his spirits; and, after a laborious search, he succeeded in finding a ford, by which he and his companion crossed.§

\* Flora Macdonald's Narrative. Home's Works, vol. iii. App. No. 45.

† Father of the well-known Marshal Macdonald duke of Tarentum.

‡ The letter by Armadale to his wife, was as follows:—"I have sent your daughter from this country lest she should be any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Betty Burke, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spin all your lint; or if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Neil Mackeehan along with your daughter, and Betty Burke to take care of them.—I am your dutiful husband,

"HUGH MACDONALD."

"June 22, 1746."

There is reason for believing that Armadale was privy to his step-daughter's design.

§ Kirkconnel MS.

Charles and his companion arrived at Rossinish, the place of rendezvous, about midnight, wet to the skin, and exhausted with hunger and fatigue. Finding that a party of military was stationed at a short distance, they retired to another place, about four miles from Rossinish, whence O'Neil went to Ormaclade to ascertain the reason why Miss Macdonald had not kept her appointment. In explanation, she informed him, that conceiving the prince would be safer in North Uist than in Skye, she had engaged a cousin of her own in North Uist to receive him into his house. This gentleman, however, having afterwards declined to run the risk of harbouring the prince, Miss Macdonald made the necessary preparations for her voyage. Having hired a six-oared boat to carry her to Skye, which she ordered to be in readiness at an appointed place the following day, Miss Macdonald left Ormaclade on the twenty-seventh of June, along with Lady Clanranald, a Mrs Macdonald and Mac Eachan, all of whom were conducted by O'Neil to the place where Charles lay concealed, about eight miles from Ormaclade. On entering the hovel, they found Charles employed in roasting, for dinner, the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep upon a wooden spit. The ladies began to compassionate the prince upon his unfortunate situation; but he diverted their attention from this melancholy subject by some facetious observations. He remarked that the wretched to-day may be happy to-morrow, and that all great men would be better by suffering as he was doing. The party dined in the hut; Miss Macdonald sitting on the right, and Lady Clanranald on the left hand of the prince.

After dinner, Charles put on the female attire, which had been provided for him by the ladies. It was coarse and homely, and consisted of a flowered linen gown, a light-coloured quilted petticoat, a white apron, and a mantle of dun camlet made after the Irish fashion, with a hood. Whilst Charles was putting on this extraordinary dress, several jokes were passed on the singularity of the prince's appearance. The ladies and Neil Mac Eachan returned to Ormaclade, and in the evening again met Charles and his companion on the sea-shore, at a mile's distance from that house. They sat down to supper on the sea-side; but before they had finished, a messenger arrived with information that General Campbell and Captain Ferguson had arrived at Ormaclade with a large party of soldiers and marines in quest of Charles. Lady Clanranald went immediately home, and, on reaching her house, was interrogated very strictly by these officers, as to the cause of her absence; but she excused herself by saying, that she had been visiting a sick child.\*

After the departure of Lady Clanranald, Charles and his protectress went down to the beach where their boat lay afloat, so as to be in readiness to embark in case the military should appear. They kindled a fire upon a rock; but they had scarcely warmed themselves, when they were

\* Soon after this occurrence, Lady Clanranald was taken prisoner, and sent to London. On 1st November, Clanranald, and Boisdale his brother, were also apprehended, and shipped for London. They were discharged in the month of June following.



thrown into a state of alarm by the appearance of four boats full of armed men, apparently making towards the shore. They instantly extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves behind some rocks. Fortunately they were not observed by the boats, which, instead of coming to land, sailed along the shore, within a gun-shot of the spot where Charles lay concealed. Judging it unwise to put to sea during the day, Charles deferred his voyage till the evening, and accordingly embarked, at eight o'clock, on the twenty-eighth of June, for Skye, accompanied by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan. The prince was extremely sorry to part with O'Neil, his only remaining companion, and entreated Miss Macdonald to allow him to accompany them; but as she had only three passports, she absolutely refused to accede to the request.\*

When Charles left the shores of Benbecula the evening was clear and serene, and a gentle and favourable breeze rippled over the bosom of the deep; but as they proceeded to sea the sky began to lower, and they had not rowed above a league when the wind rose, the sea became rough, and a tempest ensued which seemed to threaten them with destruction. Miss Macdonald and the boatmen grew alarmed, but Charles showed the greatest composure, and, to revive their drooping spirits, alternately related some amusing stories and sang several songs, among which was an old spirited air composed on the occasion of the restoration of Charles II. In the passage Miss Macdonald fell asleep, and Charles took every precaution to prevent her being disturbed.

The wind having shifted several times during the night, the boatmen had not been able to keep a regular course, and when day-light appeared next morning they found themselves out of sight of land without knowing where they were. Having no compass, they proceeded at random; but they had not sailed far when they perceived some of the headlands of Skye. Favoured by the wind, they soon gained the point of Water-nish, on the west of the island. In passing along this point they were fired upon by a party of Macleod militia, who called upon them to land; but they continued their course, and, to prevent suspicion, plied their oars very slowly. Lest the boatmen might get alarmed at the fire, Charles told them "not to fear the villains;" but they assured him that they did not care for themselves: their only fear was for him. "No

\* A few days after parting with Charles, this trusty officer being betrayed by a person in whom he had confided, was taken prisoner. Being brought before Captain Ferguson, and refusing to give any information about the prince, he was stripped, ordered to be put into a rack, and to be whipt. When the last part of this order was about to be executed, he was saved from the intended ignominy by a lieutenant of the Scotch Fusileers, who, drawing his sword, threatened Ferguson with his vengeance, if he used an officer in such an infamous manner. O'Neil says that, four days after he was taken, General Campbell sent him word, upon his parole of honour, that if he had any money or effects in the country, and would send them to him, they should be safe; and that as he had always imagined that the word of honour was as sacredly kept in the English army as in others, he went with a detachment for his money and gold watch which he had hid among the rocks; that he sent to General Campbell by Captain Campbell of Skipness, four hundred and fifty guineas, his gold watch, broadsword and pistols; but that although he repeatedly applied to him to return him his property, he never obtained it!

fear of me!" was Charles's reply. Encouraged by the undaunted bravery of the prince, the boat's crew applied themselves with energy to their oars; on observing which the Macleods continued to fire at the boat till it got out of reach of their shot, but did no harm. Whilst the bullets were falling about the boat, Charles, it is said, requested Miss Macdonald to lie down in the bottom of the boat in order to avoid them; but, with a generosity of soul which stamps her among the first of her sex, she declined the proposal, and declared that, as she was endeavouring to preserve the life of her prince, she would never degrade herself by attending to the safety of her own person while that of her master was in jeopardy. She even solicited Charles to occupy the place he had assigned for her. The prince, as the danger increased, became more urgent; but no entreaties could prevail upon Miss Macdonald to abandon her intrepid resolution, till Charles offered to lie down along with her. Both accordingly lay down in the bottom of the boat, till out of reach of the bullets of the militia.

After escaping this danger they entered a small creek, and the party, after taking a short rest, proceeded to Kilbride, and landed near Mugstot or Moydhistat, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald, near the northern extremity of Skye. Sir Alexander was at this time with the duke of Cumberland at Fort Augustus; and, as his lady was known to be a warm friend of the prince, Flora resolved to proceed to Moydhistat and acquaint her with Charles's arrival. Lady Margaret Macdonald had inherited the spirit of Jacobitism from her father Alexander, earl of Eglintonn; and, as she knew that her husband was a Jacobite at heart, she was less scrupulous to assist the prince in his necessities. Knowing her good intentions, Charles had, about a week before his arrival in Skye, written her a letter, which was sent inclosed in one from Hugh Macdonald of Balishair, in North Uist, to his brother Donald Roy Macdonald, who was requested to deliver the letter into her ladyship's own hand. Balishair announced in the letter to his brother, that, as a very strict search was making in the Long island for Charles, he intended to seek refuge upon a small grass island, called Fladdachuan, belonging to Sir Alexander Macdonald, lying to the north of Trotternish, with only one tenant upon it, and requesting him to keep a sharp look-out for the prince, to meet him upon Fladdachuan and provide him with necessaries. He was desired to show the letter to Lady Margaret, and after she had perused it to throw it into the fire; and he also requested that her ladyship should do the same with the letter sent her. The letter was accordingly delivered to Lady Margaret by Donald Roy, who burnt his own, as directed; but, on begging Lady Margaret to put hers into the fire, she rose up, and, kissing the letter, exclaimed, "No! I will not burn it. I will preserve it for the sake of him who wrote it to me. Although King George's forces should come to the house, I hope I shall find a way to secure the letter."\*

\* Roy Macdonald's Narrative among the Forbes Papers.

Leaving Charles in the boat, Miss Flora, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, set out for Moydlstat, to apprize Lady Margaret of her arrival. It was a fortunate circumstance that Charles was left behind, as there was a militia officer of the name of Macleod in the house, who, on Miss Macdonald's entering the room where he was sitting, questioned her very closely as to her journey; but she answered his interrogatories so readily, and with such apparent candour and simplicity, that he had not the least suspicion that she was any way concerned about the prince. Charles's arrival was not altogether unexpected, as she had been informed the day before by Mrs Macdonald, wife of John Macdonald of Kirkebost, in North Uist, who had come from the Long island, of the probability of his appearing speedily in Skye. Lady Margaret, on being informed of the prince's arrival in her neighbourhood, was greatly alarmed for his safety. Her active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents; and, on the present occasion, she displayed a presence of mind and readiness of invention, which corresponded with these high qualifications. Mr Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander's factor, being then in the house, she resolved to consult him in this emergency. Desirous also to avail herself of the services of Captain Roy Macdonald, who had visited Fladdachuan in quest of the prince, she sent an express to Trotternish, where he then resided, requesting his immediate attendance at Mugstot. Mounting his horse, he repaired to the spot, and found Lady Margaret and Kingsburgh walking together, above the garden of Mugstot, in serious conversation. On dismounting, Lady Margaret came up to him and exclaimed, "O Donald Roy, we are ruined for ever!" After a long consultation, Lady Margaret proposed that, as the prince could not remain long in Skye without being discovered, he should be conducted to old Raasay, who was himself concealed with some select friends, and that, in the mean time, he should take up his residence in Kingsburgh house.

During the time this consultation lasted, Charles remained upon the shore, at a short distance from the foot of the garden. Kingsburgh proposed to go and acquaint him of their determination; but, lest he might be observed by some of the military about the house, Neil Mac Eachan was sent to inform him that Kingsburgh meant to visit him, and to request that he would retire behind a neighbouring hill to escape observation. Taking with him some wine and provisions, Kingsburgh repaired to the spot where Mac Eachan had left Charles. To his great surprise, however, Charles was not to be seen, and he in vain searched for him in the neighbourhood of the place where he expected to meet him. Despairing of finding the prince, Kingsburgh would have returned to Mugstot; but the bounding of a flock of sheep at a distance, indicating that some person was at hand, Kingsburgh went forward to the place whence the sheep had fled, where he found the prince sitting on the ground. Charles started up when he saw Kingsburgh approaching. He advanced cautiously towards him, holding a large knotted stick in his

hand, as if intending to knock down the stranger. "I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your highness," said the good Highlander, as he approached. "It is well," answered Charles, who went forward to receive his friend. They then saluted each other, and the prince took some refreshment. Kingsburgh then mentioned Lady Macdonald's plan, with which Charles having expressed himself satisfied, they both proceeded to Kingsburgh-house.

Till the departure of Kingsburgh to meet Charles, the uneasiness of Lady Macdonald was extreme. Flora too, who had remarked her anxiety, had her misgivings lest the prince should be discovered; but with her wonted firmness she kept up the conversation with the commander of the detachment, till dinner was announced, by which time Charles was on his way to Kingsburgh. After dinner, Miss Macdonald rose to depart; but Lady Macdonald, in order to deceive the officer, pressed her to remain, and put her in mind that she had promised on a former occasion to make some stay the first time she should visit Moydhistat. Flora, however, excused herself, on the ground that she was anxious to be with her mother, who, in the absence of her husband, could not but feel uneasy in such troublesome times. With apparent reluctance Lady Margaret at length accepted her apology, under the condition that she should make amends for her sudden departure by making a longer stay at Moydhistat on her next visit.

Miss Macdonald accordingly proceeded on her journey, accompanied by Neil Mac Eachan, and by Mrs Macdonald, the lady formerly mentioned, who was attended by a male and female servant. The whole party, who were on horseback, soon overtook the prince and Kingsburgh, who had gone so far by the common road. Mrs Macdonald, who had never seen the prince before, was desirous of obtaining a view of his countenance, and made several attempts to look him in the face, but Charles always turned his head aside to avoid her gaze. Mrs Macdonald's maid observing this, and being struck with the uncouth appearance of the prince, remarked to Miss Flora, that she had never before seen such an impudent looking woman as the one with whom Kingsburgh was walking, and stated her impression, that the singular looking stranger was either an Irishwoman, or a man in woman's clothes. Miss Macdonald informed the girl that she was quite right in her conjecture that the extraordinary looking female was an Irishwoman, for she knew her, having seen her before. The maid then exclaimed, "Bless me, what long strides the jade takes, and how awkwardly she manages her petticoats!" To put an end to the prying curiosity of Mrs Macdonald's maid, and to prevent the servants of that lady from observing the route which the prince and Kingsburgh were about to take across the hills, Miss Macdonald called upon the party to ride faster, as they had a long way to travel. They accordingly set off at a trot, and, when the party were out of sight, the two pedestrians, to avoid the militia, who were on all the public roads, went off by an unfrequented path,



and arrived at Kingsburgh-house about eleven o'clock at night, and were almost immediately joined by Miss Macdonald and Neil Mac Eachan.

Not expecting her husband home at such a late hour, Mrs Macdonald had undressed, and was just going into bed, when one of her maid servants entered her bed-room, and informed her that Kingsburgh had arrived, and had brought company with him, and that Miss Flora Macdonald was among the guests. Mrs Macdonald sent down notice to Flora to this effect, that being sleepy and undressed she hoped she would excuse her for not coming down stairs, but begged that she would use her freedom, and help herself to any thing she might require. Immediately upon the departure of the servant down stairs, a young girl, a daughter of Kingsburgh, entered her mother's apartment in a great hurry, and, with looks of surprise, informed her, that her father had brought to the house the most "odd muckle ill-shaken-up wife she had ever seen, and taken her into the hall too!" Before Mrs Macdonald had time to form any conjecture on the subject, Kingsburgh himself entered his wife's bed-chamber, and desired her to dress herself as fast as she could, and get some supper ready for his guests. Mrs Macdonald asked the names of her visitors, but Kingsburgh said he had no time for explanation; and after telling her that she would know the whole matter in time, and urging her to make haste, he returned to his friends in the hall.

In compliance with her husband's desire, Mrs Macdonald proceeded to dress herself, and sent her daughter down for her keys, which she had left in the hall. The girl went, but she returned almost instantly in a state of alarm, and told her mother that she was afraid to venture into the hall, as the tall woman was walking up and down in it. Mrs Macdonald then went down herself; but on observing the prince striding through the hall she hesitated to enter, and calling to her husband requested him to go in and bring her the keys. Kingsburgh, however, refused to humour the pusillanimity of his wife, and she was at length obliged to enter.

When Mrs Macdonald entered the hall, Charles, who, during the altercation between her and her husband, had taken a seat, rose up, and advancing, immediately saluted her agreeably to the Highland practice. Mrs Macdonald, little expecting the roughness of a male chin under a female attire, began to tremble, and, without saying a word to the silent and mysterious being who stood before her, she hastened out of the hall, and going to her husband importuned him to inform her who the stranger was. She had not the least idea that the person who saluted her was the prince; and, imagining that the stranger was some nobleman or gentleman in disguise, she inquired if he knew what had become of the prince. Smiling at her simplicity, Kingsburgh said to her, "My dear, the person in the hall is the prince himself." Alarmed at this unexpected announcement, she exclaimed, "The prince! then we are all

ruined: we will all be hanged now!" "Hout," replied Kingsburgh, "we can die but once; and if we are hanged for this we shall die in a good cause, doing only an act of humanity and charity. But go," continued he, "make haste with supper; bring us eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else can be got quickly ready." "Eggs, butter, and cheese!" rejoined Mrs Macdonald, "what a supper is that for a prince!" "Oh! wife," replied Kingsburgh, "you know little how this good prince has lived of late; this will be a feast to him. Besides, to make a formal supper would make the servants suspect something; the less ceremony, therefore, the better; make haste, and come to supper yourself." Mrs Macdonald, doubtful of her own capabilities to conduct herself properly before royalty, exclaimed, "I come to supper! I know not how to behave before Majesty!" "You must come," replied Kingsburgh, "the prince will not eat one bit without you; and you'll find it no difficult matter to behave before him, so obliging and easy is he in his conversation."\*

At supper Charles placed Miss Flora on his right hand, and Mrs Macdonald on his left. He always conferred the above mark of distinction on his young protectress, and whenever she came into any room where he was sitting, he always rose up on her entry. Charles made a hearty supper, and drank a bumper of brandy to the health and prosperity of Kingsburgh and his wife. After supper he smoked a pipe, a practice which he was obliged to adopt in his wanderings, to mitigate a toothache with which he was troubled.† Having drank a few glasses of wine, and finished his pipe, Charles went to bed.

After Charles went to bed, Miss Flora, at the desire of Mrs Macdonald, gave her a relation of the prince's adventures, in as far as she had been personally concerned. When she finished her recital, Mrs Macdonald asked her what had become of the boatmen who brought the prince and her to Skye. Miss Macdonald answered, that they had been sent directly back to South Uist. Mrs Macdonald observed that it was wrong to have sent the boat back immediately, as in case of capture on their return, the boatmen might disclose the business which brought them to Skye, and the prince's pursuers might in consequence overtake him before he could leave that island. Mrs Macdonald was right in her conjecture; for the boatmen were seized on their return to South Uist, and being threatened with torture, and ultimately with death, revealed all they knew, giving even a minute description of the prince's dress. To lessen the dangers of a discovery of the prince's route, Flora advised

\* *Genuine and True Journal*, 29.

† "Donald Macleod said the prince used to smoke a great deal of tobacco; and as in his wanderings from place to place the pipes behaved to break and turn into short *cutties*, he used to take quills, and putting one into another, 'and all,' said Donald, 'into the end of the *cutty*, this served to make it long enough, and the tobacco to smoke cool.' Donald added, that he never knew, in all his life, any one better at finding out a shift than the prince was, when he happened to be at a pinch, and that the prince would sometimes sing them a song to keep up their hearts."—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 401.

the prince to change his clothes next day, a proposal which met with his cordial approbation, as he found the female attire very cumbrous.

The luxury of a good bed had not been enjoyed by Charles for many weeks. Three, or at most four, hours' sleep was all he had generally been accustomed to during his wanderings; but, on the present occasion he slept ten hours without interruption, and might have added a few more to the number, had he not been wakened by Kingsburgh, who was prevailed upon by Miss Macdonald, contrary to his own inclination, to rouse him. He informed Kingsburgh, in answer to a kind inquiry how he had reposed, that he never slept better nor sounder in his life. In talking of Charles's intended departure, Kingsburgh, acting upon Flora's suggestion, urged upon the prince the propriety of changing his dress, lest the circumstance of his being in female attire might transpire, and Kingsburgh offered him a Highland dress of his own. Charles at once assented to the proposal; but, to prevent suspicion among the servants, and to keep them in ignorance of the nature and description of the new dress in which Charles was to travel, it was arranged that he should leave the house in the same dress he entered it, and, when out of reach of observation, assume that offered to him by his kind entertainer.

Having dressed himself, the ladies went into his chamber to pin his cap, put on his apron, and adjust the other parts of his dress. Before Miss Macdonald put on the cap, Mrs Macdonald requested her, in Gaelic, to ask Charles for a lock of his hair. Flora declined, desiring her, at the same time, to make the application herself to his Royal Highness. The prince, though unable to comprehend what they were saying, clearly perceived that they were disputing about something, and, desiring to know the subject of altercation, was informed thereof by Mrs Macdonald. Charles then told her that her request was granted, and laying down his head upon Flora's lap, he desired her to cut off a lock. She complied, and divided the destined relic between them. Before leaving the house Kingsburgh thought there was an article of dress that Charles might instantly change without much risk. This was his shoes, which were so much worn that his toes protruded through them. He, therefore, presented a new pair of his own to his Royal Highness, and, taking up the out-worn brogues, said to Charles, "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely in St James's; I will introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof." The prince, amused with the quaintness of the idea, could not refrain from smiling, and, to humour the joke, enjoined his host to keep his promise. Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived, and after his death they were purchased by a zealous Jacobite gentleman, who gave twenty guineas for them.\*

On being dressed, the prince partook of breakfast, and having taken

\* Boswell's Tour.

a kind leave of Mrs Macdonald, left Kingsburgh-house for Portree, where it had been concerted he should embark for the island of Raasay. He was accompanied by Miss Flora and Kingsburgh, who carried under his arm the suit of clothes designed for the prince. When Charles left the house, Mrs Macdonald went up stairs to the room in which he had slept, and, folding the sheets in which he had lain, put them carefully aside, declaring that henceforth they should never again be washed or used till her death, when they should serve her as a winding sheet; to which use they were accordingly applied, in fulfilment of injunctions she delivered before her death.\* After walking a short distance from the house, Charles and Kingsburgh entered a wood, where the prince threw off his female attire, and put on the clothes which his good friend had provided. These consisted of a tartan short coat and waistcoat, with philibeg and short hose, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet. When Charles had shifted, he embraced Kingsburgh, and thanked him for his valuable services, which he assured him he would never forget. Both wept, and the prince was so excited, that a few drops of blood fell from his nose. Charles, conducted by a guide, then set out on foot across the hills, and Miss Macdonald took another and a shorter way on horseback, to obtain intelligence, and prevent a discovery.

In consequence of the resolution to proceed to Raasay, Donald Roy had been despatched from Mugstot by Kingsburgh the preceding day, in quest of John Macleod, the young laird of Raasay, to ascertain from him the place of his father's concealment, in order to communicate to him Charles's design of placing himself under his protection. When it is considered, that Macleod, the laird of Raasay, was himself a fugitive for the part he had taken in the insurrection, such a design may appear singular; but the prince had only a choice of difficulties before him, and the little island of Raasay, which was then clear of troops, appeared to offer the securest retreat. Donald Roy met young Raasay at Portree, who informed him, that his father was skulking in Knoydart; but offered to send an express for him, being certain his father would run any risk to serve the prince in his distress. Donald Roy then proposed that he should conduct Charles to the mainland, to the place where old Raasay was; but young Raasay said that such a step would be too dangerous at that time, and that it would be better to conceal the prince in the isle of Raasay till his father should be informed of Charles's intention to put himself under his protection. As they could not trust a Portree crew, the difficulty of transporting the prince to Raasay, without observation,

\* When Dr Johnson visited Kingsburgh, in company with Mr Boswell, in 1774, he slept in the same bed that Charles had occupied twenty-eight years before. "To see (says Boswell) Dr Samuel Johnson in that bed, in the isle of Skye, in the house of Miss Flora Macdonald, struck me with such a group of ideas, as it is not easy for words to describe, as they passed through the mind. He smiled and said, 'I have had no ambitious thoughts in it.'" Boswell describes Flora (then Mrs Macdonald of Kingsburgh,) at the time of the visit, as "a little woman, of genteel appearance, and uncommonly mild and well bred."—*Tour to the Hebrides*.



occurred. Dr Murdoch Macleod, a brother of young Raasay, who had been wounded at the battle of Culloden, being informed of this dilemma, said he would risk his life once more for the prince, and it having occurred to him that there was a little boat upon a fresh water lake in the neighbourhood, the two brothers, with the aid of some women, by extraordinary exertions, brought the boat to sea, over a Highland mile of land, one half of which was bog, and the other a steep precipice. The two brothers, with the assistance of a little boy, rowed the boat, which was very old and leaky, to Raasay.

Malcolm Macleod, young Raasay's cousin, who will be frequently mentioned in the sequel, was then in the island. He had been a captain in the prince's service, and was considered by his cousin a proper person to accompany them on their expedition. They accordingly waited on Malcolm, who offered to provide a boat; but he proposed, that as his cousin, young Raasay, had not been engaged in the insurrection, he should not run any risk by holding any communication with the prince, more particularly as Charles could be brought over without his assistance. Young Raasay, resolutely bent upon seeing Charles, declared his resolution to see the prince, if the result should be the loss of the estate as well as of his head; and Malcolm, seeing that any farther attempt to dissuade him would be fruitless, exclaimed, "In God's name then let us proceed." Malcolm Macleod pitched upon two strong men, named John Mackenzie and Donald Macfrier, to row the boat; but, when they came to the beach, they declined to leave the shore till informed of their destination. They were then sworn to secrecy, and being told the object of their voyage, professed the utmost alacrity to go to sea. The whole party accordingly set off from Raasay on Monday evening, the thirtieth of June, and landed about half a mile from Portree. By this time Miss Macdonald had arrived at the inn, where Donald Roy was in waiting to receive her and the prince. Leaving young Raasay and his brother in the boat, Malcolm Macleod, accompanied by Macfrier, went towards the inn, and in walking from the shore he observed three persons proceeding in the direction of the inn, who happened to be the prince, Neil Mac Eachan, and a little boy who had served as Charles's guide from Kingsburgh.

Donald Roy Macdonald had left the inn shortly after Miss Macdonald's arrival, for the purpose of meeting Charles; but, after remaining out about twenty minutes without seeing him, he returned to the house, afraid lest the rain, which fell in torrents, might fester a wound in his foot which he had received at the battle of Culloden, and which was still open. He had scarcely entered the inn, when Maenab, the landlord, informed him that a boy wanted to see him. The boy, whose name was Macqueen, having informed Donald Roy that a gentleman who was waiting a little above the house wished to speak with him, he went out and met the prince, who caught him in his arms. Donald then conducted him into the inn. Charles was wet to the skin, and the

water poured down from his clothes. The first thing he asked for was a dram, on taking which he proceeded to shift himself. He put on a dry shirt; but before he had replaced the other habiliments which he had thrown off, a supply of roasted fish, bread, cheese, and butter was brought into the room, which the prince attacked with such avidity that Donald Roy could not help smiling; and being observed by the prince, he remarked that he believed the prince was following the English fashion. "What fashion do you mean?" said the prince. "Why," replied Donald Roy, "they say the English, when they are to eat heartily, throw off their clothes." The prince smiling, said, "They are in the right, lest any thing should incommode their hands when they are at work." Asking for some drink, Charles was told that there were no liquids of any sort in the house but whisky and water, not even milk, of which he had desired a little. The only substitute in the room for a tumbler or jug was a dirty-looking bucket, which the landlord used for throwing the water out of his boat, and the mouth of which was broken and rough from the frequent use to which it had been thus applied. Donald Roy, who had previously quaffed out of the bucket, handed it to Charles, who took it out of his hand, and after looking at it, stared Donald in the face. As the landlord was in the room, Donald was afraid that, from the shyness of Charles to drink out of a dish to which no objection perhaps had ever before been stated, he might think he had a visiter of distinction in his house, and he therefore went up to Charles, and in a gentle whisper desired him to drink out of the obnoxious vessel without ceremony. Charles taking the hint, put the pail to his head, and took a hearty draught of water.\*

Malcolm Macleod, on being informed of the prince's arrival at the inn, had returned to the boat, and with his cousins waited anxiously for the prince. On the landlord of the inn leaving the room, Donald Roy, who had grown impatient to get away, urged the prince to depart; but Charles showed no inclination to leave the inn, and even proposed to remain there all night, as the rain was still heavy. Donald told him that as the house he was in was frequented by all kinds of people, he would incur danger by remaining; for the very appearance of a stranger would excite speculation among the country people, who were always desirous to know who the persons were that came among them. Charles assented to the correctness of Donald's observations, but called for some tobacco that he might smoke a pipe before his departure. There being no tobacco in the house but roll or pigtail, Charles said it would answer very well; and the landlord, at the request of Donald Roy, brought in a quarter of a pound in the scales in which it had been weighed. The price was fourpence halfpenny, and Charles gave the landlord a sixpence. Donald Roy desired him to bring in the difference. The prince smiled, and on the change being brought he refused to receive it. Donald,

\* Donald Roy's Narrative among the Forbes Papers.

however, insisted that he should take the three halfpence ; because he considered that in his present situation he might find “bawbees” very useful. Donald then opened Charles’s sporan ; and, finding an empty partition, put the three halfpence into it. In paying his bill Charles got change for a guinea. He then desired the landlord to give him silver for another, but Macnab could muster only eleven shillings. Charles, thinking that eleven shillings would be more useful to him than a guinea in gold, proposed to take the silver ; but Donald, prudently judging that such a piece of liberality might excite a suspicion in the breast of the landlord as to the rank of the donor, persuaded Charles to retain his guinea, which Donald Roy contrived to obtain silver for.\*

When about to leave the inn, Charles solicited Donald Roy to accompany him to Raasay, observing that he had always found himself safe in the hands of the Macdonalds, and that as long as he had a Macdonald with him he would still think himself safe. This faithful attendant, whilst he stated his inclination to serve the prince in his distress, represented to him the impossibility of following him from place to place, in consequence of the wound in his left foot, which rendered him incapable of enduring fatigue ; and that as he would be obliged from his lameness to travel occasionally on horseback, his presence would only endanger the safety of the prince. He agreed, however, to meet Charles in Raasay in a few days, and stated that, in the mean time, he would remain in Skye, and collect for the future guidance of the prince such information as he could, in relation to the movements and plans of his pursuers.

Before leaving Portree Charles had a most painful task to perform, that of parting with the amiable and high-minded young woman, who, during three eventful days, had with generous sympathy, and at the imminent hazard of her own life, watched over him with the tenderest solicitude and affection, and rescued him from the many perils with which he had been environed. He repaid Miss Flora a small sum of money he had borrowed from her, and, presenting her with his own portrait in miniature, saluted her. He then returned her his sincere thanks for the great assistance she had afforded him, and taking leave, expressed a hope that, notwithstanding the present unfavourable aspect of his affairs, he should yet meet her in St James’s. He also took farewell of Neil Mac Eachan, who certainly at that time had no expectation that he was to be one of those who were afterwards to accompany the prince to France.

Charles had brought along with him from Kingsburgh, four shirts, a cold fowl, some sugar, and a bottle of brandy. To this small stock he added at Portree a bottle of usquebaugh. He tied this bottle to his belt at one side, and at the other the bottle of brandy, and the shirts and cold fowl which were put up in a handkerchief. Thus provided, Charles left the inn, accompanied by Donald Roy, on the morning of the first of

\* Donald Roy’s Narrative.

July, while it was yet dark. The landlord, surprised perhaps at the early departure of his guests, cast a look after them as they went out at the door, which being observed by Charles's conductor, he led the prince off in a direction opposite to that they had to go, till out of view of the landlord, and then making a circle they went down towards the shore, and in their way met Malcolm Macleod, who conducted the prince to the boat. He then took leave of Donald Roy, whom he enjoined not to mention the place of his destination to any person, not even to his fair protectress. Donald returned to the inn, and was immediately accosted by his host, who expressed a strong desire to know the name of the gentleman who had left his house. Donald told him, with apparent unconcern, that the stranger who had gone away was Sir John Macdonald, an Irish gentleman, and a brother rebel, who, having got free of his enemies, had been skulking among his friends, the Macdonalds of Skye; and that, tired of remaining in one place, and afraid of being discovered in the island, he had set out for the mainland to seek an asylum among the other Macdonalds. The landlord, whom he enjoined to secrecy, apparently satisfied with this explanation, said that he was strongly impressed with an idea that the gentleman was the prince in disguise, as he observed something about him that looked very noble.\*

Portree, (in Gaelic Portrigh,) a small bay opposite the island of Raasay, from which Charles was about to depart, had derived its name, which signifies the King's Port, from the circumstance of King James the Fifth having landed there during his excursion amongst the western islands. Charles left this creek after midnight, under the protection of the enthusiastic young laird of Raasay, to whom Malcolm Macleod introduced him when he entered the boat. As the two boatmen had served in the prince's army, the whole party, with the exception of young Raasay himself, were under the ban of the government, and the young laird, whose only motive in not joining the insurrection was probably a desire to save the estate, now fearlessly put his life and fortune in jeopardy, when the risk was even greater.

Charles slept a little upon the passage, and reached Raasay about day-break, a few hours after his departure from Portree. The party landed at a place called Glam, about the distance of ten miles from that haven. Charles, Malcolm, and Murdoch Macleod took up their abode in a wretched hut which some shepherds had lately erected. They had no bedding of any sort, and were obliged to repose upon some heath. On entering the hut they kindled a fire and partook of some provisions. On this as on other occasions, Charles, to please the Highlanders, never tasted wheat-bread or brandy while oat-bread and whisky lasted, for, he observed, that these last were his "own country bread and drink." Young Raasay had nothing to dread from his own people; and, lest the military might revisit the island, he placed the two boatmen upon different emi-

\* Macleod's Narrative.



nences to watch their approach. He visited Charles and his friends occasionally, and always carried provisions along with him. Though comparatively secure, Charles was very uneasy in his new retreat; and frequent starts and exclamations in his slumbers indicated the agitated workings of his mind. Malcolm Macleod often overheard him in his sleep muttering imperfect sentences, in Italian, French, and English. One of his expressions in English was, "O God! poor Scotland!"\*

During Charles's stay in Raasay no person visited the island, but he and his friends were kept in a state of uneasiness by a person who prowled about without any apparent business, and who had come into the island to sell a roll of tobacco. He had arrived about twelve or fourteen days before Charles. Having disposed of his merchandise very speedily, it was expected that he would have departed, but continuing to stroll up and down the island in an idle way, he was suspected to be a spy. Malcolm Macleod happening to see him approaching the hut one day, a council of war was held by Charles and his friends. The three Macleods were for putting the poor tobacco vender to death, and Malcolm Macleod offered to go out immediately and shoot him through the head; but Charles indignantly reprobated the inhuman proposal. "God forbid (said he) that we should take away a man's life who may be innocent, while we can preserve our own." John Mackenzie, who sat as sentinel at the door, overhearing the debate, said to himself in Gaelic, "Well, well: he must be shot: you are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we choose." Observing his friends smile, Charles asked what John had said; and being told the man's observation in English, the prince observed that he was a clever fellow; and, notwithstanding his perilous situation, laughed loud and heartily.† Notwithstanding Charles's remonstrances, the stranger would have been despatched had he entered the hut, but luckily he walked past without looking into it. It was afterwards ascertained, that the stranger himself was a fugitive from the Highland army.‡ While Charles resided in this hut, he and his companions indulged in a great deal of conversation. Alluding to passing events and his present situation, the prince observed that his life was to be sure a very hard one; but that he would rather live in the way he then did for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies, not because

\* Boswell's Tour.

† "John Mackenzie is alive (in 1774); I saw him at Rasay's house. About eighteen years ago he hurt one of his legs when dancing, and being obliged to have it cut off, he now was going about with a wooden leg. The story of his being a *Member of Parliament* is not yet forgotten. I took him out a little way from the house, gave him a shilling to drink Rasay's health, and led him into a detail of the particulars which I have just related. With less foundation, some writers have traced the idea of a Parliament, and of the British Constitution in rude and early times. I was curious to know if he had really heard or understood any thing of that subject, which, had he been a greater man, would probably have been eagerly maintained. 'Why, John,' said I, 'did you think he should be controlled by a Parliament?' He answered, 'I thought, Sir, there were many voices against one.'"—*Boswell*.

‡ Ibid. p. 227. *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 270.

he believed they would dare to take away his life publicly, but because he dreaded being poisoned or assassinated. He was very particular in his inquiries at Dr Macleod about the wound he had received at Cul-loden, from a ball which entered at one shoulder and went across to the other. He threw out some reflections upon the conduct of some of his officers at Culloden, but confessed that perhaps it was rash in him to do so. Talking of the different Highland corps, the Macleods asked Charles which, in his opinion, were the best soldiers; but he evaded a direct answer, said he did not like comparisons among such corps; and that they were all best.\*

Charles resided two days in Raasay, when becoming uneasy, and thinking the island too narrow and confined for the purpose of concealment, he resolved to depart. Understanding that he expected a French ship at Lochbroom, Malcolm Macleod offered to carry him thither, but Charles declined the proposal on account of the danger of the voyage in a small boat. He expressed a wish to go to Trotternish in Skye, but his friends attempted to dissuade him, as they considered him safer in Raasay. Persisting however in going, the whole party, including the two boatmen, left Raasay on the evening of the second of July, in the same boat which they had used to carry them into the island. After they had gone a little off the shore the wind began to blow hard, and soon increased to a gale. The sea became so very rough, that the waves broke over the boat and almost filled it with water. All on board begged the prince to return, but he declined, observing, that as Providence had carried him through so many dangers, he did not doubt of the same care now as before. To encourage the men who kept tugging at the oars, whilst Malcolm Macleod occupied himself in throwing out the water, Charles sung a lively Gaelic song with much vivacity, having by this time obtained a pretty good knowledge of Gaelic. About eleven o'clock at night they landed at a place in Skye, called Nicolson's rock, near Scorobreck in Trotternish, after a very boisterous voyage of about fifteen miles. There was a large surf on the shore, and there being no convenient landing place, they had to jump out among the water. Charles was the third man who leapt into the sea. Standing in the surf, the whole party, including Charles, laid hold of the boat and drew it up on dry ground. The prince wore a large great coat, which had become very heavy and cumbersome from the water. As the ascent up the rock was very steep and troublesome, Malcolm offered to carry the coat, but Charles refused to part with it.

On this desolate coast, the royal wanderer could find no other resting place than a cow house, belonging to Mr Nicolson of Scorobreck, about two miles from that gentleman's seat. The party entered this wretched hovel and took a little refreshment of oat cakes, which had mouldered down into very small crumbs, and some cheese. Charles being wet to the

\* Boswell's Tour.

skin, Malcolm Macleod advised him to put on a dry shirt. This he declined, and continued to sit in his wet clothes. Overcome with fatigue he fell asleep; but he enjoyed little sound repose. He would frequently start in his sleep, look briskly up, and stare boldly around him, as if about to fight the persons around him. "Oh poor England! poor England!" were the exclamations he would sometimes utter, with a deep sigh, during these disturbed moments.

In all his wanderings it was the constant practice of Charles to conceal his future movements from every person with whose services he was about to dispense, so as to prevent any clue to his discovery. Wishing to get quit of young Raasay and his brother, he despatched the former to look out for Donald Roy, and he desired the latter to go to a place called Cammistinawag, where he would meet him. Murdoch Macleod and the two boatmen then took leave. At parting he presented Murdoch with a case, containing a silver-spoon, knife, and fork, which he requested him to keep till they met.

The prince and Malcolm Macleod remained in the hut till seven o'clock in the morning, when Charles, taking the little baggage in his hand, walked out, and desired Malcolm to follow him. Macleod took the bundle out of Charles's hand, and followed him in silence till out of sight of the cow-house, when Charles taking a direction Malcolm did not like, this faithful adherent went up to him and asked him where he was going, as he was afraid that he might fall into the hands of one of the numerous military parties, who were dispersed over the island. "Why, Macleod, (replied Charles,) I now throw myself entirely into your hands, and leave you to do with me what you please; only I want to go to Strath, Mackinnon's country. I hope you will accompany me, if you think you can lead me safe enough into Strath." Malcolm declared that he would go with his royal highness wherever he pleased, and offered to bring him safe into that part of Skye which belonged to the chief of Mackinnon, provided he would consent to go by sea; but Macleod objected to a journey over land which he considered would be attended with dangers from the soldiers. Charles, however, insisted on going by land, and observed that they could now do nothing without danger. The better to prevent a discovery, Charles proposed that he should act the part of Macleod's servant, and that he should assume the name of Lewis Caw, there being at the time a young surgeon of that name, who had been in the prince's service, skulking in Skye, where he had some relations. Observing that his scarlet tartan waist-coat with gold twist buttons, was finer than that worn by Macleod, which was of plain ordinary tartan, Charles exchanged it for Macleod's. Then taking the bag which contained his linen out of Malcolm's hands, Charles threw it over his shoulder, and set out on his perilous journey, preceded by the faithful Malcolm, who, to complete the deception, had proposed that Charles should keep up his new character of a gilly or footman, by walking in the rear.

Strath, the country of the Mackinnons, was at a considerable distance, and the route to it which these two travellers took lay through one of the wildest and most mountainous districts of the island. Though a good pedestrian, Malcolm could scarcely keep his distance ahead of Charles, whose locomotive powers were surprising, there being few persons who could match him at walking. Alluding to his celerity of foot, he told Malcolm that provided he got out of musket-shot, he had no dread of a pursuit by English soldiers, but he had not the same confidence if chased by a party of Highland militia. He asked Malcolm what they would do in the event of meeting any persons among the mountains, who might attempt to kill or take them. "That depends upon their numbers," replied Malcolm; "if there should be no more than four of them, I'll engage to manage two." "And I," rejoined Charles, "will engage to manage the other two." Malcolm, in his turn, asked Charles what they should do if attacked by a party of English soldiers, "Fight, to be sure," was the reply.

As Malcolm expected that they would fall in with some of the country people before they came to the end of their journey, by whom, from his being well known in the island, he might be recognised, he desired Charles not to evince any anxiety when he (Malcolm) should speak to them, but remove to a short distance and sit down till the conversation ended. They met a few of these people from time to time, on which occasion Charles not only observed the injunction of Malcolm, but superadded the customary menial duty, of touching his bonnet when addressed by his supposed master. With the exception of a bottle of brandy, the two travellers appear to have had no other sustenance during their long and fatiguing journey. When reduced to a single glass, Charles urged Malcolm to take it, lest he should faint with the excessive fatigue. Malcolm refused, and insisted that the prince himself should drink it, but Charles resolutely refused, and compelled Malcolm to drain the bottle. Malcolm then hid the bottle in a thick bush of heath, where he found it about three years thereafter. Honest Macleod long preserved it "as a curious piece," which he expected would one day make a figure in Westminster.\*

When opportunity offered, the prince and Malcolm relieved the tediousness of the journey, by conversing on a variety of topics. The conversation happening to turn upon Lord George Murray, Charles observed that his lordship, whether from ignorance or with a view to betray him, he would not say, misconducted himself in not obeying orders, and that in particular, for two or three days before the battle of Culloden, Lord George scarcely did any thing he desired him to do. When Malcolm told him of the many atrocities committed after that battle, he appeared amazed, and said, "Surely that man who calls himself the duke, and pretends to be so great a general, cannot be guilty of such cruelties. I can-

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 478.



not believe it." Talking of the fatigues he was obliged to undergo, the prince said, "Do you not think, Macleod, that God Almighty has made this person of mine for doing some good yet. When I was in Italy, and dining at the king's (his father's) table, very often the sweat would have been coming through my coat with the heat of the climate, and now that I am in a cold country, where the climate is more trying and exposed to different kinds of fatigues, I really find I agree equally with both. I have had (pointing to his kilt) this philibeg on now for some days, and I find I do as well with it as any of the best breeches I ever put on. I hope in God, Macleod, to walk the streets of London with it yet." \* A man holding such sentiments as these, was not likely to be easily discouraged.

When approaching Mackinnon's bounds, Malcolm stated to the prince his apprehensions, that, disguised as he was, he was afraid he would still be recognised by some of Mackinnon's people, who had been out in his service. He, therefore, suggested that Charles should disguise himself still farther. The prince then proposed to blacken his face with powder; but Macleod objected to this plan, which, he said, would tend rather to discover than to conceal him. "Then," observed Charles, "I must be put into the greatest dishabille possible;" and pulling off his wig and putting it into his pocket, took out a dirty white napkin, which Malcolm, at his desire, tied about his head close to his eyebrows. He then put off his bonnet, tore the ruffles from his shirt, and took the buckles out of his shoes, and made Macleod fasten them with strings. Charles now asked his friend if he thought he would still be recognised, and on Malcolm answering that he thought he would, Charles said, "I have so odd a face, that no man that ever saw me once but would know me again." In Malcolm's opinion, Charles, though almost a Proteus, could never disguise his majestic mien and carriage; and he declared that there was not a person who knew what the air of a noble or great man was, that would not, upon seeing the prince, however disguised he might be, at once perceive something about him that was not ordinary,—something of the stately and grand.†

They had not gone far after this conversation, when Malcolm Macleod's opinion was verified, for no sooner had the travellers entered Strath, than Charles was recognised by two men of Mackinnon's clan, who had been out in the insurrection. They stared at the prince for a little, and on discovering him, lifted up their hands and wept bitterly. Malcolm begged that they would compose themselves, lest by showing so much concern they might discover the prince. After cautioning them not to mention the meeting to any one, he swore them to secrecy upon his naked dirk, and then dismissed them. They kept their word.

Being within two miles of the laird of Mackinnon's house, Malcolm

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 477--8.

† Ibid. p. 480.

asked him if he wished to see the old chief; "No," said Charles, "by no means. I know Mackinnon to be as good and as honest a man as any in the world; but he is not fit for my purpose at present. You must conduct me to some other house, but let it be a gentleman's house. They then proceeded, at Malcolm's suggestion, to a place called Ellagol, or rather Ellighiul, near Kilvory or Kilmaree, where they arrived in the morning after a journey of twenty-four Highland miles, being upwards of thirty English miles. At Ellagol there lived one John Mackinnon, who had served as captain under the laird of Mackinnon, and had married a sister of Malcolm. Being desirous to ascertain the state of matters in the neighbourhood before conducting Charles into the house of his brother-in-law, Malcolm left the prince at a little distance from the house, and went forward to make the necessary inquiries. He found that Mackinnon was from home; and on informing his sister that he had come to stay a short time at Ellagol, if he could do so with safety, she assured him that he would be perfectly safe, as there were no military people about the place, and that he was very welcome. Malcolm then told that he had nobody along with him but one Lewis Caw, son of Mr Caw a surgeon in Crieff, whom, being a fugitive like himself, he had engaged as his servant, but that he had fallen sick. Mrs Mackinnon felt interested in the stranger, and requested her brother to bring him in.

Charles accordingly entered with the baggage on his back, and, taking off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat down at a distance from Malcolm. Mrs Mackinnon looked at the prince, and instantly her sympathy was excited. "Poor man!" she exclaimed, "I pity him. At the same time, my heart warns to a man of his appearance." Malcolm having told his sister that he was almost famishing with hunger, she set before him a plentiful Highland breakfast. Charles still sitting at a respectful distance, Malcolm invited him, as there were no strangers in the house, to draw near and share with him, there being abundance for both. Charles appeared very backward to obey the summons to eat, and said that though in an humble station, he knew better how to conduct himself than by sitting at the same table with his master; but Malcolm pretending to insist upon compliance, Charles rose from his seat, made a profound bow, and advancing towards the table, sat down, and attacked the viands without farther ceremony.

In the course of their journey, Charles and his companion had fallen into a bog during the night, and as their feet and legs were still dirty, Malcolm desired the servant-maid in Gaelic, as she could not speak English, to bring some water into the room, and as he was much fatigued, to wash them. Whilst in the act of washing Macleod's feet, he said to the girl, "You see that poor sick man there. I hope you'll wash his feet too: it will be a great charity; for he has as much need as I have." "No such thing," said she, "although I wash the master's feet, I am not obliged to wash the servant's. What! he's but a

low country woman's son. I will not wash his feet indeed." Malcolm, however, with much entreaty, prevailed upon the girl to wash Charles's feet and legs; but being rather rough in her treatment, he implored Macleod to desire her not to rub so hard.\*

After this operation the wearied travellers went to bed; and at the desire of Malcolm, Mrs Mackinnon went out of the house, and sat down upon a neighbouring knoll, where she kept watch, whilst her guests remained in bed. Charles, who had thrown himself upon the bed in his clothes, slept two hours only; but Malcolm slept much longer. When Macleod awoke, he was surprised to find Charles out of bed dandling Mrs Mackinnon's child, singing to it, and appearing as alert as if he had been in bed all night. He expressed a hope that the little boy—Neil Mackinnon—whom he carried in his arms, would be one day a captain in his service.

Informed that his brother-in-law was seen approaching the house, Malcolm went out to meet him. After the usual salutations, Malcolm, pointing to some ships of war that were hovering about the coast, said to Mackinnon, "What if the prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid," replied Mackinnon, "I would not wish that for any thing." "What," said Malcolm, "if he were here, John? Do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here," rejoined Mackinnon, "for he would be safe enough." Macleod, now fully assured that his brother-in-law might be confided in, said, "Well, then, he is now in your house." Mackinnon, transported with joy, was for running directly in and paying his obeisance to the prince; but Malcolm stopped him for a little, till he should recover from his surprise. "When you go in," continued Malcolm, "you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you. He passes for one Lewis Caw, my servant." Mackinnon promised to observe faithfully the injunction given him, which he thought he would be able to fulfil; but, as soon as he entered the house, he could not avoid fixing his eyes upon Charles; and unable to repress his feelings at the spectacle he beheld, this generous and faithful Highlander, turning his face aside, burst into tears. To prevent suspicion, Mackinnon, at Malcolm's desire, left the room to compose himself.

Before being introduced to the prince, Mackinnon sent away all his servants from the house on different messages, and, during their absence, a consultation was held as to Charles's future destination. It was then resolved that he should proceed to the mainland immediately; and John Mackinnon was directed to go and hire a boat, as if for the sole

\* *Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 482. Boswell, in his *Tour*, gives a different version of this story. "After this (breakfast) there came in an old woman, who, after the mode of ancient hospitality, brought warm water, and washed Malcolm's feet. He desired her to wash the feet of the poor man who attended him. She at first seemed averse to this from pride, as thinking him beneath her, and in the periphrastic language of the Highlanders and the Irish, said warmly, 'Though I wash your father's son's feet, why should I wash his father's son's feet?' She was, however, persuaded to do it."

use of his brother-in-law. As the laird of Mackinnon was old and infirm, and could be of little service to Charles in his present situation, Mackinnon was enjoined not to say any thing about Charles to his chief, should he fall in with him. Meeting the old chieftain, however, on his way, Mackinnon, unable or unwilling to conceal the fact of the prince's arrival at Ellagol, disclosed the secret, and mentioned that he was going to hire a boat to carry Charles to the mainland. Gratified with the intelligence, the chief desired his clansman not to give himself any farther trouble about a boat, as he would provide a good one himself, and would wait upon the prince immediately. John returned to Ellagol, and having informed Charles of the interview with the laird, the latter said that he was sorry that Mackinnon had divulged the secret; but as there was now no help for it, he would comport himself according to circumstances. In a short time the aged chief appeared, and after doing homage to the royal wanderer, he conducted the prince to a neighbouring cave, where he found Lady Mackinnon, who had laid out a refreshment of cold meat and wine, of which the whole party partook.

Before the arrival of the chief, Malcolm Macleod had represented to the prince, that, being within the laird's bounds, it would be necessary to allow him to direct every thing in relation to the voyage, and, to prevent a difference of opinion arising between him and the chief, he suggested the propriety of remaining behind. Charles, extremely unwilling to part with one who had rendered him such important services, insisted upon his going along with him to the mainland; but Malcolm insisting on the other hand that the measure was proper, Charles, with much reluctance, consented to part with the faithful Macleod.

About eight o'clock at night the party left the cave, and proceeded towards the place where the boat lay. In their way they observed two English men-of-war standing in for the island, before the wind, under a press of sail. Malcolm thereupon entreated the prince to defer his voyage till such time, at least, as these vessels should take another course, more particularly as the wind was against him; but Charles disregarded the admonition, and observed, that after so many escapes, he had no apprehensions of being caught at that time; that Providence would still take care of him; and that he had no doubt of obtaining a favourable wind immediately. Recollecting his sham appointment with Murdoch Macleod, for not keeping which, Malcolm promised to make his apology, Charles thought the least thing he could do was to notify his departure, which he accordingly did, by writing him a short note, which he delivered to Malcolm.\* He then desired Malcolm to light his pipe, as

\* The following is a copy of the note:—

"SIR,—I thank God I am in good health, and have got off as designed. Remember me to all friends, and thank them for the trouble they have been at.—I am, Sir,

"Your humble servant,

"JAMES THOMSON."

"ELLIGHUL, July 4th, 1746."



he wished to enjoy a smoke with him before parting. Snapping his gun, Malcolm, by means of the flash in the pan, lighted some tow which he held at the mouth of the pipe whilst Charles blew it. As the pipe was extremely short, Charles's cheek was scorched with the blaze of the tow. At parting, Charles presented him with a silver stock-buckle, and then embracing Malcolm in his arms, saluted him twice, and begging God to bless him, put ten guineas into his hand. Malcolm at first positively refused to accept the money, as he perceived that the prince's purse was much exhausted; but Charles insisted upon his taking it, and assuring him that he would get enough for all his wants upon the mainland, Malcolm yielded. Having procured a better pipe, Charles presented the one with which he had been smoking to Malcolm, who preserved it with great care.\*

Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of Friday, the fourth of July, the prince departed for the mainland, accompanied by the chief and John Mackinnon. The observation of Charles, that he would obtain a fair wind after putting to sea, had made a deep impression upon the superstitious mind of the generous Malcolm, who accordingly sat down upon the side of a hill to watch the expected change, which, according to him, took place very soon, for the crew had not rowed the boat half a mile from the shore in the direction of the ships, before the wind chopped about, and whilst it favoured the prince, drove the men-of-war out of sight.†

After a rough voyage, the party reached a place called Little Mallag or Malleck, on the south side of Loch Nevis in Moidart, distant about thirty miles from the place where they had embarked. At sea they met a boat, containing some armed militia. No attempt was made to board, and a few words were exchanged in passing. Charles's visit to Skye soon became public, and the fact of his having been harboured and protected by certain persons in that island, could not be disguised. Malcolm Macleod's connexion with the prince being reported, he was apprehended a few days after Charles's departure for the mainland, put on board a ship, and conveyed to London, where he remained a prisoner till the first of July, seventeen hundred and forty-

\* This 'cutty,' as a small tobacco-pipe, almost worn to the stump, is called in Scotland, was presented by Malcolm, when at London, to Dr Burton of York, a fellow-prisoner, who got a fine shagreen case made for it.—*Jacobite Memoirs*, p. 487. Mr Boswell gives the following sketch of this worthy Highlander in his *Tour to the Hebrides*: "He was now (1774) sixty-two years of age, hale and well proportioned, with a manly countenance, tanned by the weather, yet having a ruddiness in his cheeks, over a great part of which his rough beard extended. His eye was quick and lively, yet his look was not fierce; but he appeared at once firm and good-humoured. He wore a pair of brogues, tartan hose which came up nearly to his knees, a purple camblet kilt, a black waistcoat, a short green cloth coat bound with gold cord, a yellow bushy wig, a large blue bonnet with a gold thread button. I never saw a figure which gave a more perfect representation of a Highland gentleman. I wished much to have a picture of him just as he was. I found him frank and polite in the true sense of the word."

† True Journal, p. 17.

seven, when he was discharged without being asked a single question. Kingsburgh also was taken up and conveyed to Fort Augustus, where, after being plundered of his shoe-buckles, garters, watch, and money, he was thrown into a dungeon, and loaded with irons. He was discharged by mistake for another person of the same name, but was brought back, and afterwards conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the castle, in which he remained till the fourth of July, in the same year.

Flora Macdonald was also apprehended about the same time by a party of militia, while on her way to the house of Donald Macdonald, of Castleton in Skye, who had sent her notice that Macleod of Talisker, an officer of an independent company, had requested him to send for her. She was put on board the *Furnace Bomb*, and afterwards removed to Commodore Smith's sloop, and treated with great kindness and attention by him and General Campbell. She was confined a short time in Dunstaffnage castle.\* After being conveyed from place to place, she was put on board the *Royal Sovereign*, lying at the Nore, on the twenty-eighth of November, and carried up to London on the sixth of December following, where she remained in confinement till July in the following year, when she was discharged, at the especial request—according to the tradition of her family—of Frederick, prince of Wales, father of George III. without a single question having been put to her. After her liberation, Miss Macdonald was invited to the house of Lady Primrose, a zealous Jacobite lady, where she was

\* When sent to Dunstaffnage, General Campbell sent the following letters to the 'Captain':—

“HORSE SHOE BAY, August 1, 1746.

“DEAR SIR,

“I must desire the favour of you to forward my letters by an express to Inverary; and if any are left with you, let them be sent by the bearer. I shall stay here with Commodore Smith till Sunday morning. If you can't come, I beg to know if you have any men now in garrison at your house, and how many? Make my compliments to your lady, and tell her that I am obliged to desire the favour of her for some days to receive a very pretty young rebel. Her zeal, and the persuasion of those who ought to have given her better advice, has drawn her into a most unhappy scrape, by assisting the young Pretender to make his escape. I need say nothing further till we meet; only assure you, that I am, dear Sir,

“Your sincere friend and humble servant,

“JOHN CAMPBELL.

“I suppose you have heard of Miss Flora Macdonald.

“To NEIL CAMPBELL, ESQ. *Captain of Dunstaffnage.*”

“WEDNESDAY EVENING.

“SIR,

“You will deliver to the bearer, John Macleod, Miss Macdonald, to be conducted in his wherry. Having no officer to send, it would be very proper you send one of your garrison alongst with her.—I am, Sir,

“Your most obedient, humble servant,

“JOHN CAMPBELL.

“To the Captain of Dunstaffnage.”

visited by a number of distinguished persons, who loaded her with presents. She and Malcolm Macleod returned to Scotland together in a post-chaise provided by Lady Primrose, and, on their way, paid a visit to Dr Burton at York, who had been previously liberated from jail. This gentleman having asked Malcolm his opinion of the prince, the trusty Highlander replied, that "he was the most cautious man he ever saw, not to be a coward, and the bravest, not to be rash." Few persons, now-a-days, will be disposed to concur in this eulogium, for though personally brave, Charles was extremely rash and inconsiderate.\*

\* The subsequent history of the estimable Flora Macdonald may be stated in a few words. After her return to Skye, she married young Macdonald of Kingsburgh, whom she accompanied to America some years thereafter. Having lost her husband, and suffered many privations during the war of American independence, she returned with her family to her native island before the termination of that contest. She lived to an advanced period, and retained her Jacobite predilections to the last hour of her existence. Though mild in her disposition, she was roused to anger when any attempt was made in her hearing to depreciate the exiled family; and nothing offended her so much as the absurd appellation of 'Pretender' applied to Prince Charles and his father.

## CHAPTER XII.

Pursuit of Charles on Loch Nevis—Proceeds to Morar—Interview with Macdonald of Morar—Arrives at Borodale—Meets Glenaladale—Sets off for Glen Morar—Escapes many dangers, and crosses the chain of posts placed to intercept him—Arrives at Glenshiel—Entertained by a party of robbers in a cave—Death of Roderick Mackenzie, who is mistaken for the Prince—Charles arrives in Strathglass—Proceeds to the Braes of Glengary—Meets with Cameron of Clunes—Joins Lochiel and Cluny in their retreat on Benalder—A description of the cage fitted up for Charles—The Prince embarks at Borodale—Safe arrival in France.

As parties of the military were known to be stationed at a short distance from the place where Charles and his party landed, they were afraid to leave it, and slept three nights in the open air on the banks of Loch Nevis. On the fourth day the old laird and one of the boatmen ventured a little way into the country in quest of a place of concealment; and the prince, along with John Mackinnon and the other three boatmen, proceeded up the loch close to the shore. In turning a point they unexpectedly came upon a boat tied to a rock, and so near as to touch her with their oars. This boat belonged to a militia party who were seen standing on the shore, and were at once recognised by their badge, which was a red cross on their bonnets. This party immediately hailed the boat, and demanded to know whence they came. The boatmen answered that they were from Sleat. The militiamen then ordered the boat to come ashore; but the boatmen continuing to row, the military jumped into their boat and gave chase. Charles, who lay in the bottom of the boat with John Mackinnon's plaid spread over him, wished to get up and attempt to escape by jumping ashore, but Mackinnon would not allow him, as he considered the experiment very dangerous. During the pursuit, Charles, who was anxious to know the relative progress of the two boats, kept up a conversation with the trusty Highlander, who assured him from time to time that the pursuers did not gain upon them. Both parties were equal in point of numbers; and as Mackinnon contemplated the possibility of the militiamen overtaking them, he directed the boatmen to keep their muskets close by them, but not to fire till he should give the word of command by firing first. "Be sure, (said John,) to take an aim. Mark well, and there is no fear. We will be able to manage these rogues, if



we come to engage them." Charles, begging that no lives might be sacrificed without an absolute necessity, Mackinnon said he would not fire if it could be avoided; but if compelled to do so in self-defence, their own preservation required that none of the assailants should escape to tell the news of their disaster. Observing a wood at some distance which reached down to the water, Mackinnon directed the boatmen to pull in that direction; and on reaching the shore, the prince, followed by Mackinnon and one of the boatmen, sprang out of the boat, and plunging into the wood, nimbly ascended the hill. The alarm into which they had been thrown gave place to feelings of a very different description, when, on reaching the summit of the hill, they perceived their pursuers returning from their fruitless chase.\*

Finding himself much fatigued, Charles slept three hours on this eminence, and, returning down the hill, crossed the loch to a small island near the seat of Macdonald of Scothouse. Understanding that old Clanranald was there on a visit, Charles sent Mackinnon to solicit his protection, but the old chief positively refused to receive him. Upon Mackinnon's return the party repassed the loch, and returned to Mal-lag, where they rejoined the old laird. After refreshing themselves, they set out for the seat of Macdonald of Morar, about eight miles distant. In crossing the promontory between Loch Nevis and Loch Morar they passed a shieling, or cottage, where they observed some people coming down towards the road. Afraid that he would be known, the prince made John Mackinnon fold his plaid for him, and threw it over his shoulder with his knapsack upon it. To disguise himself still farther, he tied a handkerchief about his head. In this attire Charles passed for Mackinnon's servant. A grandson of Macdonald of Scothouse, who was at the shieling, gave the party a draught of milk. At another shieling they procured another draught; and, as the night was dark and the road bad, they took a guide along with them to conduct them across the ford to Morar's house. When they came to this ford, an amusing occurrence took place. Mackinnon, desirous to keep Charles dry in crossing, desired the guide to be so good as carry "this poor sick fellow," (pointing to the prince,) upon his back across the ford, as it was then pretty deep; but the guide indignantly answered, "The deil be on the back he comes, or any fellow of a servant like him; but I'll take *you* on my back, Sir, if you please, and carry you safely through the ford." "No, by no means," said Mackinnon, "if the lad must wade, I'll wade along with him, and help him, lest any harm should happen to him;" on saying which, he laid hold of Charles's arm, and they crossed the ford together. Both Charles and Mackinnon were pleased to find that the guide had no suspicion that the pretended sick person was the prince.

A little before day-break the party arrived at the end of their journey,

\* Jacobite Memoirs, pp. 488—490, 492.

but were disappointed to find, that the mansion where they expected to meet with an hospitable reception had been burnt to the ground, and that its proprietor had been obliged to take up his abode in a bothy or hut in the neighbourhood. Morar, who had acted as lieutenant-colonel of Clanranald's regiment, gave the prince a hearty welcome. Having entertained Charles and his party, he conducted them to a cave for security, and went off in quest of young Clanranald, whom the prince was most anxious to see. After some hours' absence Morar returned, and, reporting that he could not find Clanranald, Charles told him that as he had failed in meeting with that young chief, he would put himself under Morar's charge. According to Mackinnon's statement, Morar declined to take such a responsibility upon him, and even declared that he did not know any person to whose care he could commit Charles's person. The prince, stung by the altered demeanour of Morar, thus accosted him: "This is very hard. You were very kind yesternight, Morar! and said you could find out a hiding-place, proof against all the search of the enemy's forces; and now you say you can do nothing at all for me! You can travel to no place but what I will travel to; no eatables or drinkables can you take but what I can take a share along with you, and be well content with them, and even pay handsomely for them. When fortune smiled upon me and I had pay to give, I then found some people ready enough to serve me; but now that fortune frowns on me, and I have no pay to give, they forsake me in my necessity." The chief of Mackinnon and his clansman were highly indignant at Morar, and insisted that he must have seen young Clanranald, and that he had been advised to his present course, but Morar resolutely denied the charge. Charles in great distress exclaimed, "O God Almighty! look down upon my circumstances, and pity me; for I am in a most melancholy situation. Some of those who joined me at first, and appeared to be fast friends, now turn their backs upon me in my greatest need; and some of those again who refused to join me, and stood at a distance, are now among my best friends; for it is remarkable that those of Sir Alexander Macdonald's following have been most faithful to me in my distress, and contributed greatly to my preservation." Then turning round to Mackinnon, he said, "I hope, Mr Mackinnon, you will not desert me too, and leave me in the lurch; but that you will do all for my preservation you can." The old laird, thinking that these words were meant for him, said, with tears in his eyes, "I never will leave your royal highness in the day of danger; but will, under God, do all I can for you, and go with you wherever you order me."—"Oh no!" rejoined Charles, "that is too much for one of your advanced years, Sir; I heartily thank you for your readiness to take care of me, as I am well satisfied of your zeal for me and my cause; but one of your age cannot well hold out with the fatigues and dangers I must undergo. It was to your friend John here, a stout young man, I was addressing myself."—"Well then," said

John, "with the help of God, I will go through the wide world with your royal highness, if you desire me."\*

Disappointed in his inquiries after Clanranald, and unsuccessful, if John Mackinnon's statement be correct, in his application to Morar, Charles resolved to go to Borodale, and solicit the assistance of "honest old Æneas Macdonald." Accordingly, after taking leave of the laird of Mackinnon, Charles set off for Borodale, accompanied by John Mackinnon, under the direction of a boy, a son of Morar, as guide. The party reached Borodale, on the morning of the tenth of July, before day-break. As at Morar, the house of the proprietor had been burnt by a body of troops, under Captain Ferguson, and Borodale was residing in a hut hard by the ruins of his mansion. Borodale was in bed when Charles arrived, and the door was shut. Mackinnon called upon Borodale to rise, who, knowing his voice, got up, and throwing some blankets about him, went to the door. Mackinnon asked him if he had heard any thing of the prince. "No," replied the old gentleman. "What would you give," rejoined John, "for a sight of him?" "Time was," said the warm-hearted Highlander, "that I would have given a hearty bottle to see him safe; but since I see you I expect to hear some news of him." "Well, then," replied Mackinnon, "I have brought him here, and will commit him to your charge. I have done my duty, do you yours." "I am glad of it," said Borodale, "and shall not fail to take care of him: I shall lodge him so secure that all the forces in Britain shall not find him out." John Mackinnon then took his leave, and returned to Ellagol; but he had scarcely reached his house when he was apprehended by a party of militia, and along with his chief, who was also captured by another party at Morar, the morning after Charles's departure, conveyed to London, and kept in confinement till July, seventeen hundred and forty-seven.

Borodale conducted his guest to a hut in a neighbouring wood, where he entertained him in the best manner he could for three days, and in the meantime, Charles despatched John Macdonald, junior, one of Borodale's sons, with a letter to Alexander Macdonald of Glenaladale, who had been in his service as Major of the Clanranald regiment.† Receiving, shortly after this express had been sent, information of the laird of Mackinnon's capture, and judging that his residence in the wood was not safe, Borodale, accompanied by his son Ronald, who had been a lieutenant in Clanranald's own company, conducted Charles to an almost inaccessible cave four miles eastward, in which he directed him to remain till Glenaladale should arrive.

Charles's letter was punctually delivered to Glenaladale, who, two days after it was written, viz. on the fifteenth of July, met Borodale at

\* Jacobite Memoirs, p. 491.

† Author of the Journal and Memoirs, printed among the Lockhart papers, beginning at p. 579.

an appointed place, and paid a visit to Charles. Next day Borodale received a letter from his son-in-law, Angus Mac Eachan, residing in the glen of Morar, who had served as surgeon to Glengary's regiment, informing him that a rumour was beginning to prevail in the country, that the prince was in concealment about Borodale; and representing the danger Charles would be in, by remaining on Borodale's lands any longer, he offered him a more secure asylum, in a place he had prepared for him. Before accepting this offer, Ronald Macdonald was sent to reconnoitre the place. Next day, John Macdonald was despatched to view the coast, and ascertain the motions of the military; and having brought intelligence that he saw a boat approaching that part of the coast where the grotto was situated, Charles, without waiting for the return of Ronald Macdonald, immediately left the cave, and set off for the glen of Morar, to the place prepared for him. He was accompanied by Glenaladale, Borodale, and John Macdonald junior, son of the latter. They were met, at a place called Corrybeine Cabir, by Borodale's son-in-law, who informed Charles that Clanranald was waiting a few miles off, to conduct him to a safe place of concealment he had prepared for him. Charles would have proceeded to meet Clanranald, but as the evening was far advanced, and as he was much nearer his intended quarters in Glen Morar, than the place where Clanranald was, he proceeded onward, intending to communicate with him next day.

Borodale, who had proceeded to Glen Morar in advance of the party to procure some necessaries, received information, on his arrival there, that some men-of-war with troops on board, under General Campbell, had anchored in Loch Nevis. He thereupon despatched two men to Loch Nevis, by way of Loch Morar, to observe General Campbell's motions, and having received farther intelligence, that Captain Scott had arrived with a party in the lower part of Arisaig, he returned to Charles, and communicated to him the information he had received. Being assured that Charles was upon one of the promontories betwixt Loch Hourn and Loch Shiel, the English commanders had formed a chain of posts across the heads of these and the intermediate arms of the sea, so as to intercept him should he attempt to escape by land into the interior; and to catch him should he venture to return to the islands, cruizers and boats were stationed at the mouths of the lochs. The sentinels along this line, which extended to the length of thirty miles, were placed so near one another in the day time, that no person could pass without being seen by them, and at night fires were lighted at every post, and the opposite sentinels passed, and repassed one another, from fire to fire. To cross such a chain during the day was quite impossible, nor did a passage by night appear practicable; but with all their vigilance, the English officers committed a capital mistake, which set at nought all their precautions. The error consisted in making the opposite sentinels cross each other, by which plan, they walked for a time with their backs turned towards each other,



during which a person might pass over the intermediate space, without being seen by the sentinels, when moving in contrary directions.

Finding thus, that the whole of Clanranald's country was wholly surrounded by the government troops, and that he would not be able to join that chief, Charles resolved to leave it immediately. To lessen the risk of discovery, by reducing the number of his companions, he took leave of Borodale and his son-in-law, and attended by Glenaladale, his brother Lieutenant John Macdonald, who had been an officer in the French service, and John Macdonald junior, Borodale's son, set out in the morning of the eighteenth of July, and by mid-day reached the summit of a hill, called Scoorvuy, at the eastern extremity of Arisaig. Here they rested and took some refreshment, and Glenaladale's brother was then despatched to Glenfinnin, to obtain intelligence, and to direct two men whom Glenaladale had stationed there, to join the prince about ten o'clock at night, on the top of a hill called Swernink Corrichan, above Loch Arkaig in Lochiel's country. After Lieutenant John Macdonald's departure, Charles set out with his two remaining companions, and at two o'clock came to the top of a neighbouring hill, called Fruigh-vein. Observing some cattle in motion, Glenaladale went forward to ascertain the cause, and found that these cattle belonged to some of his own tenants, who were driving them away out of the reach of a body of six or seven hundred troops, who had come to the head of Loch Arkaig, to hem in the prince. As Charles and his friends meant to pass in that direction, they were greatly disconcerted at this intelligence, and they resolved to alter their course. Glenaladale sent one of his tenants to Glenfinnin, which was only about a mile off, to recall his brother and the two men; and at the same time he sent another messenger for Donald Cameron of Glenpean, who had removed with his effects to a neighbouring hill, on the approach of the troops, that he might ascertain from him the situation of the troops about Fort Augustus, and to obtain his assistance in conducting the prince through the chain of posts. As they waited the return of the messengers, one of the tenants' wives, regretting the condition of Glenaladale her landlord, and desirous of giving him some refreshment, milked some of her cows, and brought the milk to him. Observing the woman approaching, Charles covered his head with a handkerchief, and passed for one of Glenaladale's servants, who had got a headach. Though this refreshment, from the excessive heat of the day, was very seasonable, yet they would have gladly dispensed with the obtrusive kindness of the warm-hearted female. That Charles might participate in the present, without observation from the donor, Glenaladale prevailed upon her, though with some difficulty, to retire, and leave her dish behind.

After a short absence the messenger who had been despatched to Glenfinnin, returned without finding Glenaladale's brother, or the two men who had, before his arrival there, departed for the appointed place

of rendezvous. He brought the alarming intelligence, that a hundred of the Argyleshire militia had arrived at the foot of the hill on which the prince now stood. Without waiting for the return of the other messenger, the party set out about sunset on their hazardous attempt. They travelled at a pretty quick pace till about eleven o'clock at night; when passing through a hollow way between two hills, they observed a man coming down one of them towards them. Charles and young Macdonald kept behind, and Glenaladale went forward to ascertain whether this person was friend or foe. Strange to tell, the suspected individual was Donald Cameron of Glenpean, the very person whom, of all others, Glenaladale wished to see. He was immediately conducted to Charles, to whom he communicated such information as he had obtained about the government troops.

Undertaking to guide the prince and his companions past the guards, Cameron conducted them over roads almost impassable in day-light; and after travelling all night, they arrived about four o'clock in the morning of the nineteenth of July, on the top of a hill in the braes of Loch Arkaig, called Mamnyn-Callum, from which they could perceive the enemy's camp about a mile distant. Being informed by their guide, that the hill on which they now stood, had been searched the previous day, they supposed there would not be a second search for some time, and they therefore resolved to remain on the hill all the day, and selecting a proper place of safety, lay down to repose themselves. After sleeping two hours, the whole party, with the exception of Charles, rose to keep watch. About ten o'clock they observed a man at a little distance coming up the hill. As there was a probability that Cameron, being generally acquainted with the inhabitants of that part of the country, might know this person, he was sent forward to speak with him, and was agreeably surprised to find that he was no other than Glenaladale's brother, who not meeting the prince at the place appointed, had become alarmed for his safety, and was in search of him.

The whole party remained on the top of the hill all the day, and about nine o'clock at night set out in a southern direction; and about one o'clock in the morning came to a place called Corrinangaull, on the confines of Knoydart and Loch Arkaig, where Cameron expected to have met some of the Loch Arkaig people, who had fled with their cattle on the approach of the soldiery. Cameron had calculated on getting a supply of provisions from these people, as the prince and his party had only a small quantity of butter and oatmeal, which they could not prepare for want of fire. Perceiving some huts down the face of the hill, Glenaladale's brother and the guide, at the risk of being observed by some of the sentinels who were going their rounds, ventured down to them, in expectation of meeting some of the country people, and obtaining a supply of provisions; but they found these shielings uninhabited. Judging themselves no longer safe on the top of the hill, the whole party shifted their quarters, and went to a fastness in the brow of a hill at the head of Lochnaigh, about a mile distant from the troops. They lay down

in this retreat to take some rest. With the exception of Charles, they all awoke after a short repose; and it was resolved that, dangerous as the experiment might be, Glenaladale's brother and the guide should again go in quest of provisions, of which they now stood in very great need. Leaving, therefore, Glenaladale, and Borodale's son to stand sentry over Charles, they set off, while it was yet dark, on their errand. The place which the weary wanderers had chosen for their nocturnal abode commanded a view of the lake, and when the sun rose, Charles and his friends observed the enemy's camp at the head of Lochnaigh. They would have gladly removed to a greater distance, but they resolved to wait for the return of the foraging party, who accordingly arrived about three o'clock in the afternoon, with two small cheeses, which were all the provisions they could procure. They also brought the alarming intelligence, that about a hundred soldiers were marching up the opposite side of the hill to search for some of the country people, who were supposed to have fled thither for shelter.

As it was far from improbable that this party would in the course of their examination find out the place where Charles and his friends lay concealed, the most direful apprehensions must have seized the minds of the unhappy fugitives. Seeing no possibility of leaving their retreat without observation, whilst the soldiers were on the hill, they resolved to remain and abide the result. The soldiers made a general and narrow search all around, but fortunately did not come to the place where the wanderers lay. After the search was over the soldiers returned to their camp; and about eight o'clock in the evening Charles and his friends left their place of concealment, and, travelling at a very quick pace till it became dark, ascended a steep hill called Drimachosi, on arriving at the top of which, they observed the fires of a camp directly in their front, which in passing onward they imagined they could scarcely avoid. Determined, however, to make the attempt, whatever might be the consequences, they proceeded forward, and came so near the posts as to hear the soldiers talking together.

In passing over the top of this mountain Charles made a very narrow escape. Down a steep and pathless descent a small stream glided, the waters of which spreading among a mixture of grass and heath, with which the descent was covered, rendered it slippery, and of course very dangerous. When about to descend, Charles's foot slipped, and he would have undoubtedly fallen headlong down the precipice, and been dashed to pieces, had not Cameron, who preceded him, seized him by one of his arms, and held him fast with one hand, whilst, with the other, he laid hold of the heath to prevent both from tumbling down together. In this situation, Cameron held Charles till Glenaladale came down, who, laying hold of the prince's other arm, rescued him from his danger. Arriving at the bottom, they crept up the next hill, and, on reaching its summit, perceived the fires of another camp at the foot of the hill, in the direct way they were to have gone down.

To pass this post seemed to be an undertaking utterly hopeless, and certain destruction appeared inevitable in the attempt; yet extremely dangerous as it was, the party resolved to make it. Unwilling, however, to expose the prince to such great risk, before putting the practicability of the measure to the test, Cameron, entirely regardless of his own safety, proposed to make the experiment himself before Charles ventured to pass. "If I succeed," said the generous Highlander, "and return safe, then your royal highness may venture, and I shall conduct you." At this time Cameron's nose began to itch,—a circumstance which was regarded by Donald as a dangerous omen. Whilst rubbing his nose, he could not avoid stating his apprehensions to Charles; but these superstitious fears did not divert him from his purpose. Cameron accordingly went forward, and, in a short time, returned to his companions with the agreeable information that he had entirely succeeded. No doubt now existing of the practicability and even the safety of the attempt, the whole party set off about two o'clock in the morning. Turning a little westward, Cameron conducted them to the channel of a small brook, through which they crept on their hands and feet to escape observation; and watching their opportunity when the backs of the sentinels were turned towards one another, quietly passed between them. After they were out of danger from the guards, Charles came up to Glenpean, and jocularly said to him, "Well, Donald, how does your nose do now?" "It is better now," answered Cameron, "but it still yucks (itches) a little." "Aye, Donald," rejoined the prince, as if taking the hint, "have we still more guards to go through?"

Having thus fortunately cleared the line of posts, the party proceeded in their course, and, at about the distance of two miles, came to a place called Corriscorridill, on the Glenelg side of the head of Loch Hourn, where they stopped, and, having chosen a secure place, sat down and took some refreshment. They had no bread; but Charles supplied the deficiency by covering a slice of the dry cheese with oatmeal. He partook of this coarse fare cheerfully, and washed it down with some water brought from a neighbouring spring. They remained in this retreat till eight o'clock in the evening.

It being now evident that Charles could not remain with any chance of safety in the west Highlands, Glenaladale proposed, that instead of going eastward, as Charles intended, he should proceed north into Ross-shire, and seek an asylum among that part of the Mackenzies who had not joined in the insurrection, and whose territory had not, on that account, been visited by the military. Charles resolved to adopt the advice of his kind friend; and as Cameron was unacquainted with the route, he and Glenaladale left the covert to look out for a guide. Before they had gone far, however, they were astonished to find that they had passed all the day within cannon-shot of two little camps, and they perceived, at same time, a company of soldiers driving some sheep into a hut, for the purpose, as they supposed, of being slaughtered. Return-



ing to their place of concealment, they apprized Charles of their discovery; and as no time was to be lost in providing for their safety, the whole party immediately set off, and about three o'clock next morning, July the twenty-seventh, reached Glenshiel, in the earl of Seaforth's country. As their small stock of provisions was exhausted, Glenaladale and Borodale's son went forward in quest of a supply, and to find out a guide to conduct them to Pollew, where it was reported some French vessels had been. Whilst Glenaladale was conversing with some country people about a guide, a Glengary man, who had been chased that morning by a party of soldiers from Glengary, after they had killed his father, came running up. This man, who had served in the prince's army, was recognised at once by Glenaladale, and as he knew him to be trust-worthy, he resolved to keep him in reserve as a guide, in case they should be obliged to change their plan, and to remain about Glengary. Having procured some provisions, Glenaladale and his companion returned to Charles, and after the whole party had partaken of the food, they retired to the face of an adjacent hill, and lay down to rest in a cave. They slept till between four and five o'clock in the afternoon, when Cameron, who had acted so faithfully, took his leave, as he was unacquainted with that part of the country. After Cameron's departure, Glenaladale, observing the Glengary man returning to his own country, stepped out of the cave and prevailed upon him to remain in a by-place for a short time, as he said he had something to communicate to him. Glenaladale, on his return, stated his plan to Charles, which was to keep the Glengary man without explaining to him any thing, till such time as he could ascertain whether he could depend upon getting a guide to Pollew, failing whom, he would retain the Glengary man. Charles approved of what Glenaladale had done. About seven o'clock, Glenaladale repaired to a place where he had appointed a man, who had promised to procure a guide, to meet him, and having found this person, was informed by him that he could not get one, and that the only French vessel that had touched at Pollew had gone away. Glenaladale, therefore, dismissed this person, and returning to Charles, informed him of what had passed. They then gave up the idea of proceeding farther into Ross-shire, and the Glengary man, having been introduced to the prince, cheerfully undertook to conduct him to Strathglass, or Glenmoriston, to either of which districts he intended, according to circumstances, to shape his course.\*

\* Mr Home mentions an interview with one Macraw in the Braes of Kintail, which is not even alluded to in the narrative of the prince's escape, drawn up by Glenaladale and others, printed among the Lockhart Papers. If such an interview took place, its omission can only be fairly accounted for by supposing that the writer of that part of the narrative, (Captain Alexander Macdonald, a younger brother of the laird of Dalley,) was not aware of it. The following is Mr Home's account of this affair:—

"After having crossed the line of posts, Glenaladale thinking the west Highlands a very unsafe place for Charles, resolved to conduct him to the Ross-shire Highlands, amongst those Mackenzies who remained loyal, and therefore were not visited with troops.

Accordingly, the whole party, accompanied by their new guide, set out through Glenshiel at a late hour ; but they had not proceeded more than half a mile, when Glenaladale stopped short, and clapping his hand upon his side, declared that his purse, which contained a small purse of forty guineas, which the prince had given him for defraying expenses, was gone. Thinking that he had left it at their last resting place, Glenaladale proposed to go back in quest of it, and desired the prince to remain behind an adjacent hill till he returned ; but Charles was averse to the proposal, though the purse contained his whole stock of money. Glenaladale, however, went back along with Borodale's son, and, on arriving at their last resting place, found the purse, but its contents were gone. Recollecting that a little boy had been at the place with a present of milk from a person whom Glenaladale had visited, he supposed that the boy might have taken away the small purse, and he and his companion proceeded to the house of Gilchrist M'Rath, the person alluded to, and found the boy, who, as he had conjectured, had stolen the purse of gold. By means of Gilchrist, the money was restored to Glenaladale, with the exception of a trifle.

The temporary loss of the purse was a very fortunate occurrence for Charles and his friends, as, during Glenaladale's absence, an officer and two privates passed close by the place where Charles stood, having come by the very road he and his party had intended to proceed. As they went in the direction taken by Glenaladale and his companion, Charles grew very uneasy about his friends, lest they should, on their return, meet with this party ; but returning by a different way they rejoined the prince without interruption. Charles was overjoyed at the return of his friend ; and with reference to his late providential escape observed, "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come ; for I believe I should not be taken though I

These Mackenzies, Glenaladale thought, would not betray Charles ; and the person whom he had pitched upon to confide in was Sir Alexander Mackenzie of Coul. Charles and his attendants, setting out for Ross-shire on foot, suffered greatly in their journey from want of provisions ; and when they came to the Braes of Kintail, inhabited by the Macraus, a barbarous people, among whom there are but few gentlemen, necessity obliged them to call at the house of one Christopher Macraus. Glenaladale, leaving Charles and the French officer at some distance, went to Macraus's house, and told him that he and two of his friends were like to perish for want of food, and desired him to furnish them with some victuals, for which they would pay. Macraus insisted upon knowing who his two friends were, which Glenaladale seemed unwilling to tell. Macraus still insisted, and Glenaladale told him at last that it was young Clan Ronald, and a relation of his. Notwithstanding the consequence of the persons, Macraus, though rich for an ordinary Highlander, made Glenaladale pay very dear for some provisions he gave him. Having received the money, he grew better humoured, and desired Glenaladale and the other two to pass the night in his house, which they did. In the course of the conversation they talked of the times, and Macraus exclaimed against the Highlanders who had taken arms with Charles, and said that they and those who still protected him were fools and madmen ; that they ought to deliver themselves and their country from distress by giving him up, and taking the reward which government had offered. That night a Macdonald, who had been in the rebel army, came to Macraus's house. At first sight he knew Charles, and took an opportunity of warning Glenaladale to take care that Christopher should not discover the quality of his guest."

had a mind to it." The party now continued their journey. In passing over the field of Glenshiel, the Glengary man entertained Charles with an account of the action which happened there in seventeen hundred and nineteen. Charles, it is said, could not help admiring the sagacity of his guide, who, though he had not been in the battle, gave as circumstantial and accurate an account of it as if he had been present.\*

Travelling all night, Charles and his friends arrived on the side of a hill above Strathelhuaine, where, fixing upon a secure place of retreat, they reposed till near three o'clock in the afternoon of the following day, viz. twenty-eighth of July. They then continued their journey along the hill-side; but they had not travelled above a mile, when they heard the firing of small arms on the hill above them, which they judged to proceed from some of the troops who were engaged in their usual occupation of shooting the people, who had fled to the mountains with their cattle and effects. To avoid these bloodhounds the party took a northern route, and ascended a high hill, between the Braes of Glenmoriston and Strathglass. They reached the summit of this mountain at a late hour, and sought repose for the night in an open cave, in which they could neither lie nor sleep. They had no fuel, and as they were wet to the skin with a heavy rain which fell during the whole of the day, they passed a most uncomfortable night. Charles felt himself very cold, and he endeavoured to warm himself by smoking a pipe.

Resolving again to go to Pollew, Glenaladale's brother and the Glengary man were despatched, about three o'clock in the morning of the twenty-ninth, in quest of some trusty persons to conduct the prince thither, and were appointed to meet Charles and the rest of the party on the top of a neighbouring hill. Charles and his friends set off about five o'clock, and, after a walk of two hours, reached the top of the appointed hill, where they met the guide, who stated that he was directed by some proper persons he had found out, to desire Glenaladale to repair to a hill in the Braes of Glenmoriston called Corambian, where they promised to come at an appointed hour with some victuals. The persons alluded to were a party of seven men, who, having been engaged in the insurrection, had formed themselves into a sort of predatory fraternity; intending, perhaps, to resume their former habits of industry when the persecutions of the government ceased. These had taken up their abode in a romantic cave on the side of Corambian, and seldom removed to any considerable distance from their rocky den, unless compelled by the necessity of providing for their immediate wants.

As directed, Charles and his friends proceeded to Corambian, and when they came near the cave, Glenaladale and the guide went forward, leaving Charles and the other two Macdonalds at a little distance. All the inmates of the den were present except one, and having killed a

sheep that day, had just sat down to dinner. Glenaladale said he was glad to see them so well provided, and they invited him to sit down and share with them. He then said he had a friend with him, outside, for whom he must beg the same favour. Being asked by them who the friend was, he answered that it was young Clanranald, his chief. Nobody could be more welcome, they said, than the young chief; and they added, that they were willing to purchase food for him at the point of their swords. Glenaladale then left the cave and brought in Charles, who, being immediately recognised by its residents, had every respect shown him by these men, who fell on their knees before him. It is almost unnecessary to add, that Charles, who had scarcely tasted food for forty-eight hours, made ample amends for his long fast. After dinner, Charles's entertainers made up a bed for him of ferns and tops of heath, on which he was soon lulled asleep by the gentle murmurs of a purling stream that ran through the grotto close to his bedside.

The dress which Charles wore at this time is thus described by Mr Home, who obtained his information from Hugh Chisholm, one of the seven persons who were in the cave at the time Charles resided in it.\* Upon his head he had a wretched yellow wig and a bonnet, and about his neck a clouted handkerchief. He wore a coat of coarse, dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan vest, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, the only one he had, was of the colour of saffron. The inhabitants of the cave had no change of dress to offer their guest; but an incident occurred which enabled them to supply his wants. Hearing that a detachment of government troops, under Lord George Sackville, was marching from Fort-Augustus to Strathglass, and knowing that they must pass at no great distance from their abode, the robbers resolved to make an attempt upon their baggage. For this purpose they placed themselves between two hills, near the road to Strathglass, where, free from observation, they awaited the detachment. It soon appeared, and after it had passed, the Highlanders fired at some officers' servants, who were a considerable distance behind, and, rushing down upon them, seized and carried off some portmanteaus, in which they found every thing that Charles stood in need of.

The search for Charles, which had hitherto been pursued with the most persevering assiduity, now began to slacken, in consequence of an occurrence, which, it was supposed, rendered farther search unnecessary. Among other persons who had joined Charles at Edinburgh, there was a young man of respectable family, named Roderick Mackenzie. He had served as one of the prince's life-guards. Being about the

\* Chisholm was at Edinburgh many years after the rebellion, and was visited by several persons out of curiosity, some of whom gave him money. In shaking hands with his benefactors he always gave the left hand, and excused himself for offering that hand by stating that as he had shaken hands at parting with the prince, he was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the prince again.



same age as Charles, tall and somewhat slender, like the prince, and with features resembling, in some degree, those of Charles, he might, with ordinary observers, who had not been accustomed to see them together, have passed off for the prince. As he could not venture with safety to Edinburgh, where he had two maiden sisters living, he fled to the Highlands after the battle of Culloden, and, while skulking among the hills of Glenmoriston, was surprised by a party of soldiers, about the middle of July. Mackenzie endeavoured to escape; but being overtaken, he turned round upon his pursuers, and, drawing his sword, bravely defended himself. He was shot by one of the soldiers, and as he fell, he exclaimed, "You have killed your prince! you have killed your prince!" and immediately expired. Overjoyed at their supposed good fortune, the soldiers cut off the young man's head, and hurried to Fort-Augustus with their prize. The duke of Cumberland, convinced that he had got the head of his relative, had it, it is said, packed up, and ordering a post-chaise, went off to London, carrying the head along with him. Shortly after his arrival, however, the deception, which had been of essential service to Charles, was discovered.\*

Being pretty secure in Coiraghoth, as the cave was called, Charles remained three days in this retreat, during which he recruited so well that he considered himself able to encounter any hardships. The whole party then shifted their quarters to another hill, about two miles off, and took up their abode in another cave, on the second of August. After staying four days in their new dwelling they were again obliged to shift, in consequence of information they received, that one Campbell, a steward of Lord Seaforth and captain of militia, had pitched his camp at a little distance, to graze a large herd of cattle. Leaving one of their party behind to watch Campbell's motions, they set off in a northerly direction, and travelled to the heights of Strathglass. Charles was conducted to a sheep-cot, in which a bed was made up for him, consisting of turf, with the grass-side uppermost, and a pillow of the

\* Richard Morison, who had been valet-de-chambre to Charles, and was, at the time of Mackenzie's death, under sentence of death at Carlisle, was carried to London, and promised a pardon if he would declare truly whether the head was that of the prince. The chevalier Johnstone, who was in London some months after this occurrence, says that Morison was attacked on the road with a violent fever accompanied with delirium, that he remained in bed in the messenger's house, in that state, for fifteen days after his arrival in London, and that, when he began to recover, the head was in such a putrid state that it was judged unnecessary to examine him, as the features could no longer be distinguished. But the Editor of Johnstone's *Memoirs* states, from what appears to be more correct information, that Morison examined the head, and declaring that it was not that of the prince, was pardoned. Morison went to France, and continued several years in the prince's service. Charles afterwards recommended him to his father, and informed him that he "could not make a better acquisition than to take him for a valet-de-chambre. He shaves and combs a wig perfectly well, and is of the best character I can express. He had very good living when I took him in my service at Edinburgh, since which he was made prisoner and condemned to be hanged. It would be too long to say how he escaped."—*Letter from Charles, under the signature of John Douglas, to his Father, 16th Sept., 1755, in the Appendix, copied from the original in the possession of his Majesty.*

same. He remained in this hovel three days, during which an express was sent to Pollew, to ascertain whether a report which had reached him of some French vessels having been seen off the coast, was correct. On the supposition that the report would turn out to be well founded, the party followed the express, and crossing along the moor, put up at another shieling for the night, and about twelve o'clock, next day, August the tenth, arrived at a place called Glencanna, and passing the day in a neighbouring wood, repaired at night to a village hard by. About two o'clock next morning they scrambled up a hill on the north side of Glencanna, and sending off two of their number to forage for provisions, they waited two days in a neighbouring shieling for the return of their messenger from Pollew. The express accordingly arrived, and brought notice that a French ship had been upon the coast, which had landed two gentlemen, who had gone to Lochiel's country in quest of the prince. In expectation of meeting these gentlemen, Charles resolved to retrace his steps.

Upon the thirteenth of August they crossed the water of Casina, and passing near the house of young Chisholm, arrived at a place called Fassanacoil in Strathglass, about two o'clock in the morning. They concealed themselves in a thick wood, and some of the party were despatched as scouts to the Braes of Glengary and Lochaber, to ascertain whether the search for the prince was over, and if the troops had returned to their camp at Fort Augustus. Having ascertained on the return of their spies that the government troops had returned to their head-quarters, the whole party left the wood, where they had remained three days, and, on the morning of the seventeenth of August, set out through an unfrequented road, and again reached the Braes of Glenmoriston. Passing the day on the top of a hill, they continued their journey at night; but they had gone scarcely a mile, when they received information that a strong party of military were among the heights of Glengary in quest of the prince. They, therefore, stopped short in their journey till they should ascertain the motions of the enemy, and passed the remainder of the night in a shieling.

Charles being now extremely desirous of opening a communication with his friends in Lochaber, which was by this time almost free from troops, despatched two messengers on the morning of the eighteenth of August to Loch Arkaig in quest of Cameron of Clunes, to inform him that Glenaladale wished to meet him at a convenient place. Another of the party was, at the same time, sent to the Braes of Glengary to ascertain if the troops were still in that quarter. Having ascertained, by the return of this messenger, who came back next day, that the roads were clear, Charles and his party, consisting altogether of ten persons, set out in the afternoon of the nineteenth, and passing under the favour of a fog through Glenmoriston and Glenlyne, arrived late at night in the Braes of Glengary. The river Gary was swelled to a great height by the heavy rains which had fallen for some days; but some of the party having ascertained that it was fordable, Charles and his friends

waded across with the water up to their middle. After passing the river, they proceeded onward about a mile in a very dark night, and finding no covert, they remained on the side of the hill during the night, without shelter, amid a torrent of rain. Next morning they continued their course over hills and moors till they reached a height near a place called Achnasalt, or Achnasual, where the messengers sent to Loch Arkaig had been appointed to meet them. The rain having poured down without intermission all night and during the day, the situation of these forlorn wanderers had become very uncomfortable; and, to add to their distress, their whole stock of provisions was exhausted. As none of the messengers had arrived, they were exceedingly perplexed what to do; but they were soon relieved from their anxiety by the appearance of Peter Grant, one of the most active of the seven men, who brought notice from Cameron of Clunes that he could not meet Glenaladale that night, but that he would visit him at the appointed place of rendezvous next morning, and in the mean time directed him to pass the night in a wood about two miles distant. Before setting out for their new quarters, of which they received a favourable report from two of the party, who were sent to examine the place, Glenaladale, with the consent of the prince, sent a messenger to Lochgarry, who lay concealed a few miles off, acquainting him of their arrival at Achnasual, and requesting him to meet them in the wood. After entering the wood, fortune threw a buck in their way, which one of the party immediately shot. Having kindled a fire, they roasted the flesh, and made a hearty meal, but without bread or salt. Lochgarry joined them the same night.

At ten o'clock next morning, August the fifteenth, Cameron of Clunes came to the wood, and conducted Charles to another forest at the foot of Loch Arkaig, in which he lay all night. With the exception of Hugh Chisholm and Peter Grant, all the Glenmoriston men took their leave. Charles expressed a wish to go to Rannoch or Badenoch, where Lochiel and Cluny were; but upon Clunes informing him that he could not pass without great danger, as all the ferries were strictly guarded, he gave up his design, and, early next morning, sent a messenger to Lochiel, desiring his attendance. Concluding that Charles was to the north of the lakes, these chiefs had, about this period, sent Dr Cameron and the Rev. John Cameron by different routes, to obtain information respecting the prince. On arriving within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, Charles's messenger met the Doctor and the two French officers who had lately landed. As the messenger was desired to communicate no information about Charles to any person but Lochiel himself, he declined to answer any questions respecting the prince; but having stated that he had business of the utmost importance with Lochiel, the Doctor conducted him to his brother. Lochiel being unable, from the state of his wounds, to travel to a distance, then sent his brother to wait upon the prince, and to make his apology.

Dr Cameron, accompanied by two servants, arrived at the foot of

Loch Arkaig on the nineteenth of August, and when near the place of Charles's concealment, he met Cameron of Clunes. At this time, Charles and one of Clunes's sons were sleeping on the mountain, and Peter Grant was keeping watch; but, nodding upon his post, Grant did not observe the approach of the party till they were pretty near. He instantly awaked Charles and his companion. Cameron and Grant proposed that they should flee to the top of the mountain; but Charles thought differently. He said he considered there was more danger in attempting to escape than in remaining where they were; and he proposed that they should take up a position behind some stones, take aim, and fire upon the party when they came nearer. He said, that as Grant and he were good marksmen, they would certainly do some execution, and that he had in reserve a brace of pocket pistols, which, for the first time, he produced. Fortunately, however, before a single shot was fired, the person of Clunes was recognised among the party. The joy of Charles and of young Cameron, at the narrow escape which the friends of the one and the father of the other had made, may be easily conceived. When informed by Dr Cameron that Lochiel was well, and almost recovered of his wounds, the prince expressed the unbounded satisfaction he felt by fervently returning thanks to God three times. The appearance of Charles at this time was singular, and even terrific. He was bare-footed, and his beard had grown to a great length. He wore a dirty shirt, an old black tartan coat, a plaid and a philibeg, carried a musket in his hand, and wore a pistol and dirk by his side. Had he not had one of the best and soundest constitutions ever enjoyed by a prince, he must, ere this, have fallen a victim to the numerous privations he had suffered; but his health remained unimpaired, and his flow of spirits continued. His companions had killed a cow on the present occasion, and when Dr Cameron arrived, a part of it was preparing for dinner. Charles partook heartily of the beef which was seasoned by a supply of bread from Fort Augustus, a commodity to which he had been for some time unaccustomed.

Next day the party went to a wood called Torvuilt, opposite to Achinacary, where they held a council. Charles now proposed to go south, and join Lochiel; but one of the party mentioning that he had seen a paragraph in some newspapers, which had been brought from Fort Augustus, which stated that he and Lochiel had passed Corryarrick with thirty men, he judged it advisable to defer his journey for a few days, as a search might be made for him about that mountain. In the mean time, it was agreed that Dr Cameron should visit Lochaber to procure intelligence, and that Lochgary should go to the east end of Loch Lochy, and remain upon the isthmus between the lakes to watch the motions of the troops. They accordingly left Charles the same day, and Cameron of Clunes, after conducting the prince and his party to another hut in the neighbourhood, also took leave.

Charles remained eight days in the neighbourhood of Achinacary.



Having expressed a strong desire to see the French officers who had landed at Pollew, they were brought to him. These gentlemen had come from Dunkirk in a small vessel with sixty others who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers under these two officers. Two of the volunteers landed along with the officers, and were taken prisoners. One of them, named Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, was hanged at Fort William, on the ground of having been a spy in Flanders, and the other, a M. de Berard, a French officer, was afterwards exchanged upon the cartel. The officers fell in with Mr Alexander Macleod, one of Charles's aides-de-camp, to whom they delivered some despatches they had brought over to the French ambassador, and they continued to wander in Seaforth's country till Lochgary, hearing that they had letters to the prince, sent a Captain Macraw and his own servant to find them out, and bring them to Lochiel, as the prince could not be found. When brought to Lochiel, he suspected them to be government spies. On Charles expressing his wish to see these officers, the Rev. John Cameron, who had lately joined, told him what his brother Lochiel thought of them, and advised him to act with great caution. The prince confessed that it appeared a very suspicious circumstance, that two men, without knowing a word of Gaelic, and being perfect strangers in the country, should have escaped so long, if they were not really spies; but as they had told Lochiel that they had never seen the prince, he thought that he might see them safely by a stratagem, without being known to them. He, therefore, wrote them a letter to this effect;—that in order to avoid falling into his enemies' hands, he had been under the necessity of retiring to a distant part of the country, where he had no person with him except one Captain Drummond and a servant, and as he could not remove from the place of his concealment without danger, he had sent Captain Drummond with the letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired them to deliver any message they had to Drummond. This letter the prince proposed to deliver himself as Captain Drummond, and the officers being sent for, were introduced to him under his assumed name. He delivered them the letter, which they perused, and he then obtained from them all the information they had to communicate, which, as his affairs then stood, was of little importance. They remained with him two days, and put many questions about the prince's health, his manner of living, &c. Thinking the packet they had delivered to Mr Macleod might be of use, Charles sent for it; but as the letters were in cipher, he could make nothing of them, not having the key.

About this time Charles made a very narrow escape under the following circumstances. Information having been sent to the camp at Fort-Augustus, that Charles, or some of his principal adherents, were in the neighbourhood of Loch Arkaig, a party was despatched in quest of them. One of Clunes's sons and Cameron the minister had gone to the strath of Clunes to obtain intelligence, and had entered a hut which

Clunes had built for his family after his house had been burnt. They had not, however, been half an hour within when a little girl came running into the house, in great haste, and said that she saw some soldiers approaching. At first they thought that the child was mistaken, as Lochgary had promised to place a guard between Fort-Augustus and Clunes, to give intelligence of the approach of troops; but going out of the house, they found that the girl was correct in her information. It was then about eight o'clock in the morning, and the prince, with one of Clunes's sons and Peter Grant, was sleeping in a hut on the face of the hill on the other side of the water of Kaig, about a mile from Clunes's hut. Whilst old Cameron, therefore, remained to watch the motions of this party, one of his sons and the minister went off to arouse Charles. Crossing the water under cover of the wood, they came within pistol-shot of the soldiers, who proceeded down into the strath. When awaked and informed of his danger, Charles, with great composure, called for his gun, and, looking down the vale, saw a number of soldiers demolishing Clunes's hut and searching the adjacent woods.\* Charles and his attendants immediately resolved to remove to a distance, and to conceal their flight, ascended the hill along the channel of a torrent which the winter rains had worn in the face of the mountain. Clearing this hill without being seen, they proceeded to another mountain, called Mullentagart, of a prodigious height, and very steep and craggy. They remained all day on this hill without a morsel of food. One of Clunes's sons came to them about twelve o'clock at night with some whisky, bread, and cheese, and told them that his father would meet them at a certain place in the hills, at a considerable distance, with provisions, and the young man returned to let his father know that he might expect them. Charles and his attendants set out for the appointed place at night, and travelled through most dreadful ways, amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs. Such were the difficulties they encountered, that the guides proposed to halt and rest till the morning, but Charles, though exceedingly exhausted, insisted on going, that they might not break their appointment with Clunes. Worn out at last with fatigue and want of food, the prince was not able to proceed farther without assistance. Though almost in the same situation themselves, the Highlanders offered him their aid, and two of them laying hold each of an arm, supported him till he arrived at the end of this very laborious journey. They met Clunes and his son, who had already killed a cow and dressed a part of it for their use.

Charles remained in this remote place with his companions till the arrival of Lochgary and Dr Cameron. They informed him that they had been with Lochiel and Cluny, and that it had been concerted among them that the prince should come to their asylum for some time; and they added, that Cluny would meet his Royal Highness at Achnacary,

\* The party in question consisted of about two hundred of Lord Loudon's Highlanders, under Captain Grant of Knockando, Strathspey.

on a certain day, in order to conduct him to Badenoch. Being also informed by them that the passes were not so strictly guarded as formerly, Charles crossed Loch Arkaig, and took up his abode in a fir wood belonging to Lochiel, on the west side of the lake, to wait the arrival of Cluny. Impatient to see two such tried friends as Lochiel and Cluny, Charles would not wait for Cluny's coming to Achnacary, but, in expectation of meeting them on the way, set out for Badenoch on the twenty-eighth of August, with such guides as he had. Glenaladale had taken his leave of the prince two or three days before, and returned to his own country. Next day Charles arrived at a place called Corineuir, in Badenoch, where he passed the night. Cluny had passed on to Achnacary the same day by another way. Lochiel, who had skulked in his own country about two months, had sought an asylum among the Braes of Rannoch, where he was attended by Sir Stewart Thriepland, an Edinburgh physician, for the cure of the wounds he had received in his ancles. On the twentieth of June they fell in with Macpherson of Cluny, on a hill called Benouchk, who conducted them to a more secure retreat on Benalder, a hill of immense circumference, on his own property, on the borders of Rannoch. Lochiel, who had since that time lived on this mountain with his friend Cluny, was now residing in a small miserable hovel on the side of the hill, at a place called Mellenaur, or Millanuir, attended by Macpherson of Breakachie; Allan Cameron, his principal servant; and two servants of Cluny.

On the morning of the thirtieth of August, Charles, accompanied by Lochgary, Dr Cameron and two servants, set out for Mellenaur. They were all armed, and on approaching the hut they were mistaken by Lochiel for a party of militia, who, he supposed, had been sent out in search of him from a camp a few miles off. From the lameness in his feet, Lochiel was not in a condition to attempt an escape, but there seemed to be little danger, as both parties were equal in point of numbers, and the party in the hut had this advantage, that they could fire their first volley without being observed, and as they had a considerable quantity of fire-arms, they could discharge another volley or two before the advancing party could reload their pieces. The danger to which Charles and his friends were now exposed was greater than that which Dr Cameron and Clunes had run, as, on the present occasion, the party in the hut, resolving to receive their supposed enemies with a general discharge of all the fire-arms, had actually planted and levelled their pieces; but, happily for Charles and his friends, they were recognised just as Lochiel and his attendants were about giving their fire. Upon making this fortunate discovery Lochiel left the hut, and, though very lame, went forward to meet the prince. On coming up to Charles Lochiel was about to kneel, but Charles prevented him, and clapping him on the shoulder, said, "Oh no, my dear Lochiel, we do not know who may be looking from the top of yonder hills, and if they see any such motions they will immediately conclude that I am here." Charles always con-

sidered Lochiel as one of his best friends, and placed the greatest confidence in him; and the generous chief showed, by his unbounded attachment to the prince, that this confidence was not misplaced. The meeting, therefore, of two such friends, after so many perils and escapes, was extremely joyous.

After they had recovered from the first transports of their joy, Lochiel conducted Charles into the hut, where the latter beheld a sight to which his eyes had not been accustomed for many months. Besides abundance of mutton, the hut contained an anker of whisky, of twenty Scotch pints, some good dried beef sausages, a large well-cured bacon ham, and plenty of butter and cheese. On entering the prince took a hearty dram, and drank to the health of his friends. Some minced collops were then prepared for him with butter in a large saucepan, which Lochiel and Cluny always carried about with them, being the only fire-vessel they had. The pan was set before Charles with a silver spoon. He took this repast with great gusto, and was so delighted with this little change in his circumstances, that he could not help exclaiming, with a cheerful countenance, "Now, gentlemen, I live like a prince." After dinner he asked Lochiel if he had always fared so well during his retreat. "Yes, Sir," answered Lochiel; "for near three months past I have been hereabout with my cousin Cluny; he has provided for me so well that I have had plenty of such as you see, and I thank Heaven your Royal Highness has got through so many dangers to take a part."

Finding, on his arrival at Achnacary, that Charles had departed with his friends for Badenoch, Cluny had retraced his steps, and he reached Mellenaur two days after Charles's arrival there. On entering the hut Cluny would have kneeled before Charles, but the prince prevented him, and, giving him a kiss, said, "I am sorry, Cluny, you and your regiment were not at Culloden: I did not hear till very lately that you were so near us that day."

The day after his return to Mellenaur, Cluny, thinking it time to remove to another retreat, conducted the prince and his attendants to a little shieling called Uiskchibra, about two miles farther into Benalder. This hut was very bad and extremely smoky; but Charles accommodated himself, as he had always done, to circumstances. After passing two nights in this miserable abode, he was conducted to a very extraordinary and romantic habitation, called the Cage, which Cluny had fitted up for Charles's reception. From the description given by Cluny of this remarkable retreat, it will be seen how well adapted it was for the purpose of concealment.

"It was," says Cluny, "situated in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, still a part of Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was



steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage; and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney where the fire was placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking out, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking.\*

\* Appendix to Home's Works, Vol. iii. No. 46. Cluny himself had several places of concealment on his estate. "He lived for nine years chiefly in a cave, at a short distance from his house, which was burnt to the ground by the king's troops. This cave was in the front of a woody precipice, the trees and shelving rocks completely concealing the entrance. It was dug out by his own people, who worked by night, and conveyed the stones and rubbish into a lake in the neighbourhood, in order that no vestige of their labour might betray the retreat of their master. In this sanctuary he lived secure, occasionally visiting his friends by night, or when time had slackened the rigour of the search. Upwards of one hundred persons knew where he was concealed, and a reward of £1000 was offered to any one who should give information against him; and as it was known that he was concealed on his estate, eighty men were constantly stationed there, besides the parties occasionally marching into the country to intimidate his tenantry, and induce them to disclose the place of his concealment. But though the soldiers were animated with the hope of the reward, and through a step of promotion to the officer who should apprehend him was superadded, yet so true were his people, so strict to their promise of secrecy, and so dexterous in conveying to him the necessaries he required, in his long confinement, that not a trace of him could be discovered, nor an individual found base enough to give a hint to his detriment. At length, wearied out with this dreary and hopeless state of existence, and taught to despair of pardon, he escaped to France in 1755, and died there the following year."—*Stewart's Sketches*, 3d Edition, vol. i. p. 62.

"The late Sir Hector Munro, then a lieutenant in the 34th regiment, and from his zeal and knowledge of the country and the people, intrusted with the command of a large party, continued two whole years in Badenoch, for the purpose of discovering the chief's retreat. The unwearied vigilance of the clan could alone have saved him from the diligence of this party. At night Cluny came from his retreat to vary the monotony of his existence, by spending a few of the dark hours convivially with his friends. On one occasion he had been suspected, and got out by a back window just as the military were breaking open the door. At another time, seeing the windows of a house kept close, and several persons going to visit the family after dark, the commander broke in at the window of the suspected chamber, with two loaded pistols, and thus endangered the life of a lady newly delivered of a child, on account of whose confinement these suspicious circumstances had taken place. This shows that there was no want of diligence on the part of the pursuers. Cluny himself became so cautious, while living the life of an outlaw, that, on parting with his wife, or his most attached friends, he never told them to which of his concealments he was going, or suffered any one to accompany him,—thus enabling them, when questioned, to answer, that they knew not where he was."—*Ibid.*

It may be here stated *en passant* that Cluny did not leave Scotland from his "dreary and hopeless state of existence," but in compliance with a special request made to him by

Charles's deliverance was now nearer at hand than he or his friends probably expected. Several small vessels had arrived on the west coast, from time to time, to carry him off to France; but the persons in charge of these not being able to find him had returned home. Charles knew this, and now that he was able to keep up a communication with his friends, he took care to provide against a similar recurrence. He was at a considerable distance from the coast, but matters were so concerted, that, if a French vessel appeared, he could easily get the intelligence. There were some of his partisans skulking near the west coast, who, though they did not know where he himself was, had instructions to convey the news to others who were concealed in the interior, who would again communicate it to persons in the knowledge of the prince's place of retreat. For some time Colonel Warren, of Dillon's regiment, had been exerting himself to induce the French government to fit out an expedition to rescue Charles from his toils. He at last succeeded in procuring two vessels of war, *L'Heureux* and *La Princesse de Conti*, with which he departed from St Malo, about the end of August. In the event of his bringing the prince safe away, the Chevalier de St George had promised to make him a Knight Baronet, a dignity which he afterwards conferred upon him.\*

These vessels arrived in Lochnanuagh early in September, and Captain Sheridan, a son of Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a Mr O'Beirne, a lieutenant in the French service, immediately landed and waited upon Glenaladale, who, they were informed, knew where Charles was. This faithful friend, happy at the prospect of escape which now offered, set off the same night for the place where he expected to find Charles, to communicate to him the agreeable intelligence; but to his great sorrow he found the prince gone, and he could fall in with no person who could give him the least information of his route. Clunes, from whom Glenaladale expected to get tidings of Charles, had, in consequence of the destruction of his hut, gone to another quarter, and was not to be found. Whilst ruminating over his disappointment a poor woman accidentally came to the place where he was, and he had the good fortune to ascertain from her the place of Clunes's retreat. Having found him out, he and Clunes instantly despatched a messenger to Charles with the joyful intelligence; and Glenaladale then returned to Lochnanuagh, to notify to Colonel Warren that Charles might be speedily expected in that quarter.

The messenger arrived at Benalder on the thirteenth of September, on which day Charles left his romantic abode, and, after taking leave of Cluny, set off on his journey for the coast, accompanied by Lochiel and

Prince Charles. See the letter from the prince to Cluny, of 4th Sept., 1754, in the Appendix copied from the original draught in Charles's own hand, among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

\* Vide several letters from Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George and others, in the Appendix, copied from the originals in the possession of his Majesty.

others. He at the same time sent off confidential messengers in different directions to acquaint such of his friends as he could reach, announcing the arrival of the ships, that they might have an opportunity of joining him if inclined. As Charles and his friends travelled only by night, they did not reach Borodale, the place of embarkation, till the nineteenth. On the road Charles was joined by Lochgary, John Roy Stewart, Dr Cameron, and other gentlemen who intended to accompany him to France. Besides these, many others had left their different hiding places on hearing of the arrival of the French vessels, and had repaired to the coast of Moidart, also waiting for the arrival of him for whose sake they had forfeited their lives, intending to adopt the bitter alternative of bidding an eternal adieu to their native land. The number of persons assembled was about a hundred.

The career of Charles in the hereditary dominions of his ancestors was now ended. Attended by seven persons only he had with daring hardihood landed about fourteen months before on the spot where he was destined to depart as a fugitive, and with a handful of men had raised the standard of insurrection and set the whole power of the government at open defiance. The early part of his progress had been brilliant. With a few thousand undisciplined mountaineers he had overrun Scotland, defeated the army opposed to him, and, penetrating into the very heart of England, in the face of three hostile armies, had carried dismay to the capital, and shook the throne of George the Second to its base. The masterly retreat from Derby, the merit of which belongs to Lord George Murray exclusively, quieted for a time the apprehensions of the government; but the defeat at Falkirk again convinced it that the succession settlement was still in danger; and that, perhaps, at no distant day, the young and daring adventurer might place the son of James the Second upon the throne from which his father had been expelled. Even after his retreat to Inverness, the supporters of the house of Hanover could have no assurance that the duke of Cumberland's army might not share the fate of its predecessors, in which event the new dynasty would probably have ceased to reign; but the triumphs of Charles were at an end; and the fatal field of Culloden, after witnessing the bravery of his troops, became the grave of his hopes. Then commenced that series of extraordinary adventures, unparalleled sufferings, and wonderful escapes, of which some account has been given, and which could scarcely have been credited had they not been authenticated beyond the possibility of dispute. During the brilliant part of his career Charles had displayed a moderation and forbearance worthy of a conqueror; and though his spirits sunk when compelled to retreat; yet in the hour of adversity, when beset with perils and exposed to privations which few men could have endured, he exhibited uncommon fortitude and strength of mind, and would even occasionally indulge his vein for pleasantry by jocular remarks whenever any thing ludicrous occurred.

In his wanderings Charles laid down a rule to himself, and to which

he scrupulously adhered, never to intrust any person from whom he was about to depart with the secret of his route, so that, with the exception of the few friends who were about him for the time being, none of those to whom he had been formerly indebted for his preservation knew the place of his retreat. This was a wise precaution, but was attended with this disadvantage, that it prevented him from acquiring early information of the arrival of the French vessels upon the coast. But no means he was able to take for his own security could have saved him had he not had a guarantee in the incorruptible fidelity of the persons into whose hands he committed himself. At the risk of their own destruction they extended to him the aid of their protection, and relieved his necessities. Many of these persons were of desperate fortunes, and there were others in the lowest ranks of life; yet among nearly two hundred persons to whom Charles must have been known during the five months he wandered as a fugitive, not one ever offered to betray him, though they knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head. History no where presents such a splendid instance of disinterested attachment to an unfortunate family.

Accompanied by Lochiel, Lochgary, John Roy Stewart, Dr Cameron, and a considerable number of other adherents, Charles departed from Locknanuagh on the twentieth of September, and had a favourable passage to the coast of France. He intended at first to have proceeded to Nantes, in which case he would probably have fallen in with Admiral Lestock's squadron, which having landed a body of troops to attack L'Orient, was cruising off the southern coast of Bretagne; but he altered his course, and, after being chased by two English ships of war, from which he escaped in a thick fog, arrived in safety off Roscoff, or Roscort, near Morlaix, in Lower Bretagne, where he landed on Monday the twenty-ninth of September, at half-past two o'clock in the afternoon. He immediately proceeded to Morlaix, whence he despatched Colonel Warren the same day to Paris to announce his arrival to the French court. He also sent at the same time a letter to his brother Henry to the same effect, and inclosed a similar one to his father.\*

\* A copy of the letter to Prince Henry will be found in the Appendix, taken from the original among the Stuart Papers.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Commission of Oyer and Terminer for trying the prisoners taken at Carlisle—Opening of the Court at St Margaret's Hill, Southwark—Bills of indictment found—Trial and execution of Colonel Francis Townley and others—Affecting circumstances attending their execution—Trial of Lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, and Balmerino—Cromarty pardoned—Execution of Kilmarnock and Balmerino—Trial and execution of Sir John Wedderburn and others—Trials and executions of other prisoners—Trial and execution of Mr Ratcliffe, titular Earl of Derwentwater—Trial and execution of Lord Lovat—Act of indemnity passed.

WHILST the issue of the contest remained doubtful the government took no steps to punish the prisoners who had fallen into their hands at Carlisle; but after the decisive affair of Culloden, when there appeared no chance of the Jacobite party ever having it in their power to retaliate, the government resolved to vindicate the authority of the law by making examples of some of the prisoners.

As it was intended to try the prisoners at different places for the sake of convenience, an act was passed empowering his majesty to try them in any county he might select. Pursuant to this act a commission of oyer and terminer, and gaol delivery for the county of Surrey passed the great seal about the latter end of Trinity term, seventeen hundred and forty-six, directed to every privy-councillor by name, to all the judges, and some private gentlemen, empowering them, or any three of them, to execute the commission. The precept was signed by the three chief judges, and made returnable on the twenty-third of June, making fifteen days exclusive between the teste and the return. On that day most of the judges met at Serjeant's-inn, and from thence proceeded in order of seniority to the court-house at St Margaret's-hill, in the borough of Southwark.

On the two following days bills of indictment were found against thirty-six of the prisoners taken at Carlisle, and against one David Morgan a barrister, who had been apprehended in Staffordshire. The prisoners were then brought to the bar, and informed of the bills found against them, and the court ordered that they should be furnished with copies of the indictments, which were delivered to them the same day. The court then adjourned to the third of July, on which day the prison-

ers were severally arraigned. Three only pleaded guilty. The rest applied for a postponement of their trials on the ground that material witnesses for their defence were at a considerable distance. The court in consequence ruled that in cases where witnesses were in England the trial should be put off to the fifteenth of July, and where they were in Scotland, to the twenty-fifth of the same month.

The court accordingly met on the fifteenth of July, and proceeded with the trial of Francis Townley, Esquire, before a grand jury at the court-house, Southwark. This unfortunate gentleman had been colonel of the Manchester regiment. He was of a respectable family in Lancashire. Obligated to retire to France in seventeen hundred and twenty-eight, he had obtained a commission from the king of France, and had served at the siege of Philipsburgh under the duke of Berwick, who lost his life before the walls of that place. He continued sixteen years in the French service; and after his return to England had received a commission to raise a regiment. A plea was set up by his counsel, that holding a commission in the French service he was entitled to the benefit of the cartel as well as any other French officer, but this was overruled, and he was found guilty. On the next, and two following days, eighteen other persons, chiefly officers in the said regiment, were brought to trial. Five were attainted by their own confession of high treason, twelve on a verdict of high treason of levying war against the king, and one was acquitted. These seventeen persons, along with Townley, were all condemned to death. The nine following were selected for execution on the thirtieth, an order to that effect having arrived the previous day, viz. Francis Townley, George Fletcher, Thomas Chadwick, James Dawson, Thomas Theodorus Deacon, Andrew Blood, Thomas Syddal, John Berwick, and David Morgan. With the exception of the last, all these were officers in the Manchester regiment. The rest were reprieved for three weeks.

The place destined for the execution of these unfortunate men was Kennington-common, to which, at an early hour in the morning of the thirtieth of July, crowds of people were seen hastening from London to witness the revolting spectacle. At six o'clock in the morning the prisoners received notice to prepare for death, and were shortly thereafter removed to the court-yard of the gaol, where they partook of some coffee. With the exception of Syddal,\* who began to tremble when the halter was put about his neck, the rest displayed uncommon fortitude and presence of mind. After their irons were knocked off, their arms were pinioned, and the ropes being placed about their necks they were put into three hurdles, on which they were drawn to the place of exe-

\* This man, who was a peruke-maker by profession, and Deacon were strongly tinged with religious enthusiasm. They made each of them the following profession of faith at their last moments: "I die a member not of the church of Rome, nor yet that of England; but of a pure episcopal church, which hath reformed all the errors, corruptions, and defects that have been introduced into the modern churches of Christendom."

cution, surrounded by a strong guard. Townley, Blood, and Berwick, and the executioner with a naked scimitar in his hand, were in the first sledge. Near the gallows a pile of faggots and a block were placed, and whilst the prisoners were removing from their hurdles into a cart under the gallows, the faggots were set on fire, and the guards formed a circle round the fire and place of execution. No clergyman of any description attended on the occasion, but the deficiency was in some measure supplied by Morgan, who read some prayers and pious meditations from a book of devotion. All the prisoners appeared to listen with great attention, and evinced their devotion by the fervour of their responses. They spent half an hour in these exercises, after which they drew some papers from their pockets which they threw among the spectators. In these papers they asserted the justice of the cause for which they were about to suffer, declared that they did not repent of their conduct in acting as they had done, and stated their conviction that their deaths would be avenged. At the same time they delivered papers of a similar description to the sheriff; and taking off their hats, some of which were gold-laced, threw them also among the crowd. These hats, it is said, contained some treasonable papers.

The prisoners being now ready, the executioner pulled caps over their eyes, and on a given signal instantly turned them off. After they had hung three minutes some of the soldiers went forward, and whilst they pulled off the shoes, white stockings, and breeches of these ill-fated sufferers, the executioner drew off the rest of their clothes. After they had been all stripped quite naked, Mr Townley was cut down and laid on the block. Although he had been suspended six minutes there was still life in him, to extinguish which the executioner gave him several knocks on the breast. The executioner finding that these blows had not the desired effect, he immediately cut the gentleman's throat. He then cut off the *verenda*, which he threw into the fire. With a cleaver he next chopped off the head, then ripped the body open, took out the bowels and heart and threw them into the fire. He finally separated the four quarters, and put them along with the head into a coffin. The other bodies underwent the same barbarous process of beheading, embowelling, and quartering. When the executioner threw the last heart into the fire, which was that of James Dawson, he vociferated, "God save the king," an invocation which was answered with a shout by the spectators. The mutilated remains of these unfortunate men were conveyed back to prison on the hurdles. Three days after the execution, the heads of Townley and Fletcher were fixed upon Temple-bar; and those of Deacon, Chadwick, Berwick, and Syddal were preserved in spirits for the purpose of being exposed in the same way at Carlisle and Manchester. All the bodies except Townley's were interred in the burying-ground near the Foundling hospital, that of Townley at Pancrass.

Two singular and interesting circumstances occurred at this execution. The one was the attendance of a younger brother of Deacon's, and one

of those who had obtained a reprieve. At his own request he was allowed to witness the execution of his brother in a coach under the charge of a guard. The other was one of a very affecting description. Hurried away by the impetuosity of youth, James Dawson, one of the sufferers, the son of a Lancashire gentleman, had abandoned his studies at St John's college, Cambridge, and had joined the Jacobite standard. He and a young lady of a good family and handsome fortune were warmly attached to each other, and had Dawson been acquitted, or, after condemnation, found mercy, the day of his enlargement was to have been that of their marriage. When all hopes of mercy were extinguished, the young lady resolved to witness the execution of her lover, and so firm was her resolution that no persuasions of her friends could induce her to abandon her determination. On the morning of the execution she accordingly followed the sledges to the place of execution in a hackney coach, accompanied by a gentleman nearly related to her, and one female friend. She got near enough to see the fire kindled which was to consume that heart she knew was so much devoted to her, and to observe the other appalling preparations without committing any of those extravagances her friends had apprehended. She had even the fortitude to restrain her feelings while the executioner was pulling the cap over the eyes of her lover; but when he was thrown off she in an agony of grief drew back her head into the coach, and, crying out, "My dear, I follow thee, I follow thee;—sweet Jesus, receive both our souls together!" fell upon the neck of her female companion, and instantly expired.\*

The individuals next proceeded against were persons of a higher grade. The marquis of Tullibardine escaped the fate which awaited him, having died of a lingering indisposition in the Tower on the ninth of July; but on the twenty-third of that month the grand jury of the county of Surrey found bills for high treason against the earls of Kilmarnock, and Cromarty, and Lord Balmerino. The three indictments against these noblemen having been drawn up, a *certiorari* was issued from chancery removing the indictments in order to their trials by their peers, and before the return of the writ his majesty appointed Lord-chancellor Hardwicke to be the lord-high-steward for the trial of these peers. The lord-high-steward then directed a precept under his seal to the commissioners named in the special commission to certify that the indictments were found. The indictments being certified, the house of lords, on the motion of the lord-high-steward, fixed the twenty-eighth of July for the day of trial; and a precept was directed to Lord Cornwallis, constable and lieutenant of the Tower, to bring the bodies of the prisoners that day to Westminster hall at eight o'clock in the morning.

Accordingly, at the time appointed the three lords proceeded from the

\* Shenstone has commemorated this melancholy event in his plaintive ballad of 'Jemmy Dawson.'



Tower towards Westminster-hall, in three coaches. In the first coach was the earl of Kilmarnock, attended by Lieutenant-general Williamson, deputy-governor of the Tower, and the captain of the guard. In the second was the earl of Cromarty, attended by Captain Marshall; and in the third Lord Balmerino, attended by Mr Fowler, gentleman-gaoler, who had the axe lying before him on the seat of the coach. The coaches were escorted by a strong guard of soldiers. The lord-high-steward, accompanied by the judges in their robes, the master of the rolls, and a number of officials, went to the house of peers at an early hour. After the names of the peers had been called over, and a list made of the names of those present, the whole court, preceded by the lord-high-steward, walked in procession to Westminster-hall, and took their seats. There were a hundred and thirty-five peers present. The appearance of the hall, which was elegantly fitted up, and the great pomp with which the whole proceedings were conducted, were calculated to impress every person present with feelings of awe and respect. At the request of Lord Cromarty, Mr Adam Gordon was appointed his solicitor, and Mr George Ross solicitor for the other lords, in terms of their own wish.

The prisoners were received at the gate of Westminster-hall by General Folliott. The commission having been read, and proclamation made for the lord-lieutenant of the Tower to return the precept directed to him with the bodies of the prisoners, the gentleman-gaoler brought them to the bar, the axe being carried before them by that functionary, with its edge turned away from them. After the indictments had been read, the earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded "guilty," and threw themselves entirely upon the king's mercy. Before pleading to his indictment, Lord Balmerino stated that he was not at Carlisle at the time specified in the indictment, being eleven miles off when that city was taken, and he requested to know from his grace if it would avail him any thing to prove that fact. Lord Hardwicke said that such a circumstance might, or might not, be of use to him; but he informed him that it was contrary to form to permit him to put any questions before pleading to the indictment, by saying whether he was guilty or not guilty. His grace desiring his lordship to plead, the intrepid Balmerino apparently not understanding the meaning of that legal term, exclaimed, with great animation, "Plead! Why, I am pleading as fast as I can." The lord-high-steward having explained the import of the phrase, the noble baron answered, "Not guilty."

The trial then proceeded. Four witnesses were examined. One of them proved that he saw Lord Balmerino ride into Carlisle on a bay horse the day after it was taken by the Highlanders;—that he saw him afterwards ride up to the market-place with his sword drawn at the head of his troop of horse, which was the second troop of Charles's body guards, and was called Elphinstone's horse. Another witness deposed that he saw his lordship ride into Manchester at the head of his

troop, and that he was there when the young Chevalier was proclaimed regent. Two other witnesses proved that his lordship was called colonel of his troop ;—that he always acted in that station ;—gave orders on all occasions to his officers ;—and that he was in great favour with Prince Charles. The evidence on the part of the crown having been finished, the lord-high-steward asked the prisoner if he had any thing to offer in his defence, or meant to call any witnesses. His lordship replied that he had nothing to say, but to make an exception to the indictment which was incorrect in charging him with being at Carlisle at the time it was taken by the Highlanders. The peers then adjourned to their chamber to consider the objection, and after a long debate, the house came to the resolution of taking the opinion of the judges upon the point. The peers having returned to the court, the lord-high-steward put the question to the judges, who were unanimously of opinion, that, as an overt act of treason and other acts of treason had been proved beyond contradiction, there was no occasion to prove explicitly every thing that was laid in the indictment ; and that, of course, the prisoner's objection was not material. Proclamation for silence having been then made, the lord-high-steward, addressing each peer by name, one by one, beginning with the youngest baron, said, "What says your lordship? Is Arthur Lord Balmerino guilty of the high treason whercof he stands impeached, or not guilty?" Whereupon, each peer so called upon, stood up in his place uncovered, and laying his right hand upon his breast, said, "Guilty, upon my honour." After Lord Balmerino had been found guilty, the other two lords were brought to the bar, and were informed by the lord-high-steward, that if either of them had any thing to move in arrest of judgment, they must come prepared on the Wednesday following at eleven o'clock, and state their objections, otherwise sentence of death would be awarded against them. The three lords were then carried back to the Tower in coaches, and the axe, which was in the coach with Lord Balmerino, had its edge pointed towards him.

The court accordingly met again on Wednesday the thirtieth of July, when the lord-high-steward addressed the prisoners ; and beginning with Lord Kilmarnock, asked him if he had any thing to offer why judgment of death should not be passed against him. His lordship stated, that having, from a due sense of his folly, and the heinousness of his crimes, acknowledged his guilt, he meant to offer nothing in extenuation, but to throw himself entirely on the compassion of the court, that it might intercede with his majesty for his royal clemency. He observed that his father had been an early and steady friend to the Revolution, and very active in settling and securing the succession, and in promoting the union between the two kingdoms ; and that he had endeavoured to instil into the prisoner, in his early years, the principles of the Revolution ;—that the whole tenor of his (the prisoner's) life had been in conformity with these principles till the fatal moment when he was induced

to join in the insurrection ;—that, in proof of this, he had only to refer to the manner in which he had educated his children, the eldest of whom had the honour of holding a commission under his majesty, and had always conducted himself like a gentleman ;—that he had endeavoured, to the best of his ability, to be useful to the crown on all occasions, and even at the breaking out of the rebellion, he was so far from approving of it, or showing the least proneness to promote that “unnatural scheme,” that he had used his interest in Kilmarnock and places adjacent, and had prevented numbers from joining in the insurrection ;—that after joining the insurrection after the battle of Prestonpans, he was so far from assuming any consequence, that he had neither provided arms nor raised a single man for the service of the insurgents ;—that he had been instrumental in saving the lives of many of his majesty’s loyal subjects who had been taken prisoners ;—that he had assisted the sick and wounded, and had done every thing in his power to make their confinement tolerable ;—that he had not been long with the insurgents till he saw his error ;—and that, with this impression, he had allowed himself to be taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, when he could have escaped. He concluded by stating, that if after what he had stated their lordships did not feel themselves called upon to employ their interest with his majesty for his royal clemency, that he would lay down his life with the utmost resignation, and that his last moments should “be employed in fervent prayer for the preservation of the illustrious house of Hanover, and the peace and prosperity of Great Britain.”

The earl of Cromarty began a most humiliating but pathetic appeal, by declaring that he had been guilty of an offence which merited the highest indignation of his majesty, their lordships, and the public ; and that it was from a conviction of his guilt that he had not presumed to trouble their lordships with any defence. “Nothing remains, my lords,” he continued, “but to throw myself, my life, and fortune, upon your lordships’ compassion ; but of these, my lords, as to myself is the least part of my sufferings. I have involved an affectionate wife, with an unborn infant, as parties of my guilt, to share its penalties ; I have involved my eldest son, whose infancy and regard for his parents hurried him down the stream of rebellion. I have involved also eight innocent children, who must feel their parents’ punishment before they know his guilt. Let them, my lords, be pledges to his majesty ; let them be pledges to your lordships ; let them be pledges to my country for mercy ; let the silent eloquence of their grief and tears ; let the powerful language of innocent nature supply my want of eloquence and persuasion ; let me enjoy mercy, but no longer than I deserve it ; and let me no longer enjoy life than I shall use it to deface the crime I have been guilty of. Whilst I thus intercede to his majesty through the mediation of your lordships for mercy, let my remorse for my guilt as a subject ; let the sorrow of my heart as a husband ; let the anguish of my mind as a father, speak the rest of my misery. As your lordships are men,

feel as men ; but may none of you ever suffer the smallest part of my anguish. But if after all, my lords, my safety shall be found inconsistent with that of the public, and nothing but my blood can atone for my unhappy crime ; if the sacrifice of my life, my fortune and family, is judged indispensably necessary for stopping the loud demands for public justice ; and if the bitter cup is not to pass from me, not mine, but thy will, O God, be done."

When the lord-high-steward addressed Lord Balmerino, he produced a paper, and desired it might be read. His grace told his lordship that he was at liberty to read it if he pleased ; but his lordship replied that his voice was too low, and that he could not read it so distinctly as he could wish. One of the clerks of parliament, by order of the lord-high-steward, then read the paper, which was to this effect :—That although his majesty had been empowered by an act of parliament, made the last session, to appoint the trials for high treason to take place in any county he should appoint ; yet, as the alleged act of treason was stated to have been committed at Carlisle, and prior to the passing of the said act, he ought to have been indicted at Carlisle, and not in the county of Surrey, as the act could not have a retrospective effect. His lordship prayed the court to assign him counsel to argue the point. The peers then retired to their own house where they debated the matter, and after they had returned to the court, the lord-high-steward stated to Lord Balmerino, that the lords had agreed to his petition for counsel, and at his request they assigned him Messrs Wilbraham and Forrester, and adjourned the court to the first of August.

The three prisoners were again brought back from the Tower. On that day the lord-high-steward asked Lord Balmerino if he was then ready by his counsel to argue the point, which he proposed to the court on the previous day. His lordship answered, that as his counsel had advised him that there was nothing in the objection sufficient to found an arrest of judgment upon, he begged to withdraw the objection, and craved their lordships' pardon for giving them so much trouble. The prisoners then all declaring that they submitted themselves to the court, Lord Hardwicke addressed them in a suitable speech, and concluded by pronouncing the following sentence :—" The judgment of the law is, and this high court doth award, that you, William, earl of Kilmarnock ; George, earl of Cromarty ; and Arthur Lord Balmerino, and every of you, return to the prison of the Tower from whence you came : from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution : when you come there, you must be hanged by the neck, but not till you are dead ; for you must be cut down alive ; then your bowels must be taken out and burnt before your faces ; then your heads must be severed from your bodies ; and your bodies must be divided each into four quarters ; and these must be at the king's disposal. And God Almighty be merciful to your souls." Then the prisoners were removed from the bar to be carried back to the Tower ; and the lord-high-steward standing up un-



covered, informed the lords that all the business was completed, which, by his commission, he was required to execute, and then taking the white rod in both his hands, broke it in two pieces, and declared the commission at an end. The peers then adjourned to their chamber; and the three prisoners, after taking a cold collation which had been prepared for them, were carried back to the Tower in the same order and form as before.

The earl of Kilmarnock immediately presented a petition to the king for mercy, couched in the same servile strain as his speech, and almost in similar language. He also presented another, which was a copy of the first, to the prince of Wales, praying his royal highness's intercession with his majesty in his behalf; and a third to the duke of Cumberland for a similar purpose. In this last mentioned petition he asserted his innocence of charges which had been made against him, of having advised the putting to death of the prisoners taken by the Highland army before the battle of Culloden, and of advising or approving of an alleged order for giving no quarter to his majesty's troops in that battle. In the petitions to the king and the prince of Wales, the earl repeated the statement he had made in his speech after his condemnation, that he had surrendered himself at the battle of Culloden, at a time when he could have easily escaped; but he afterwards declared that the statement was untrue, and that he was induced to make it from a strong desire for life;—that he had no intention of surrendering;—and that, with the view of facilitating his escape, he had gone towards the body of horse which made him prisoner, thinking that it was Fitz-James's horse, with the design of mounting behind a dragoon. These petitions were entirely disregarded.

The earl of Cromarty, with better claims to mercy, also petitioned the king. In support of this application the countess waited upon the lords of the cabinet-council, and presented a petition to each of them; and, on the Sunday following the sentence, she went to Kensington-palace in deep mourning, accompanied by Lady Stair, to intercede with his majesty in behalf of her husband. She was a woman of great strength of mind, and though far advanced in pregnancy, had hitherto displayed surprising fortitude; but on the present trying occasion she gave way to grief. She took her station in the entrance through which the king was to pass to chapel, and when he approached she fell upon her knees, seized him by the coat, and presenting her supplication, fainted away at his feet. The king immediately raised her up, and taking the petition, gave it in charge of the duke of Grafton, one of his attendants. He then desired Lady Stair to conduct her to one of the apartments. The dukes of Hamilton and Montrose, the earl of Stair and other courtiers, backed these petitions for the royal mercy by a personal application to the king, who granted a pardon to the earl on the ninth of August.

The high-minded Balmerino disdained to compromise his principles

by suing for pardon, and when he heard that his fellow-prisoners had applied for mercy, he sarcastically remarked, that as they must have great interest at court, they might have squeezed his name in with their own. From the time of his sentence down to his execution, he showed no symptoms of fear. He never entertained any hopes of pardon, for he said he considered his case desperate, as he had been once pardoned before. When Lady Balmerino expressed her great concern for the approaching fate of her lord, he said, "Grieve not, my dear Peggy, we must all die once, and this is but a few years very likely before my death must have happened some other way: therefore, wipe away your tears; you may marry again, and get a better husband." About a week after his sentence a gentleman went to see him, and apologizing for intruding upon him when he had such a short time to live, his lordship replied, "Oh! Sir, no intrusion at all: I have done nothing to make my conscience uneasy. I shall die with a true heart, and undaunted; for I think no man fit to live who is not fit to die; nor am I any ways concerned at what I have done." Being asked a few days before his execution in what manner he would go to the scaffold, he answered, "I will go in the regimentals which I wore when I was first taken, with a woollen shirt next my skin, which will serve me instead of a shroud to be buried in." Being again asked why he would not have a new suit of black, he replied, "It would be thought very imprudent in a man to repair an old house when the lease of it was near expiring; and the lease of my life expires next Monday." The king could not but admire the high bearing and manly demeanour of this unfortunate nobleman; and when the friends of the other prisoners were making unceasing applications to him for mercy, he said, "Does nobody intercede for poor Balmerino? He, though a rebel, is at least an honest man."

On the eleventh of August an order was signed in council for the execution of the earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, and on the twelfth two writs passed the great seal, empowering the constable of the Tower to deliver their bodies to the sheriffs of London, for execution on Monday the eighteenth. The order for their execution was announced to the unfortunate noblemen by Mr Foster, a dissenting clergyman. Lord Kilmarnock received the intelligence with all the composure of a man resigned to his fate, but at the same time with a deep feeling of concern for his future state. Balmerino, who perhaps had as strong a sense of religion as Kilmarnock, received the news with the utmost unconcern. He and his lady were sitting at dinner when the warrant arrived, and, being informed of it, her ladyship started up from the table and fainted away. His lordship raised her up, and, after she had recovered, he requested her to resume her seat at table and finish her dinner.

On the Saturday preceding the execution, General Williamson, at Kilmarnock's desire, as is supposed, gave him a minute detail of all the

circumstances of solemnity and outward terror which would accompany it. He told the earl, that, on Monday, about ten o'clock in the morning, the sheriffs would come to demand the prisoners, who would be delivered to them at the gate of the Tower; that thence, if their lordships thought proper, they should walk on foot to the house appointed on Tower-hill for their reception, where the rooms would be hung with black to make the more decent and solemn appearance, and that the scaffold also would be covered with black cloth; that his lordship might repose and prepare himself in the room fitted up for him as long as he thought it convenient, remembering only that the warrant for the execution was limited to, and consequently expired at, one o'clock; that, because of a complaint made by Lord Kenmure, that the block was too low, it was ordered to be raised to the height of two feet; that, in order to fix it the more firmly, props would be placed directly under it, that the certainty or decency of the execution might not be obstructed by any concussion or sudden jerk of the body. All this Lord Kilmarnock heard without the least emotion, and expressed his satisfaction with the arrangements. But when the general told him that two mourning hearses would be provided, and placed close by the scaffold, in order that, when their heads were struck off, the coffins might be soon taken out to receive the bodies, he said he thought it would be better for the coffins to be upon the scaffold, that the bodies might be sooner removed out of sight. And being further informed, that an executioner had been provided who would perform his duty dexterously, and that, moreover, he was "a very good sort of man," Kilmarnock said, "General, this is one of the worst circumstances you have mentioned. I cannot thoroughly like for such business your good sort of men; for one of that character, I apprehend, must be a tender-hearted and compassionate man, and a rougher and a less sensible temper might be fitter to be employed." The earl then desired that four persons might be appointed to receive the head when it was severed from the body, in a red cloth, that it might not, as he had been informed was the case on some former executions, roll about the scaffold, and be thereby mangled and disfigured; for that, though this was, in comparison, but a trifling circumstance, he was unwilling that his body should appear with any unnecessary indecency after the law had been satisfied. Being told that his head would be held up to the multitude, and public proclamation made that it was the head of a traitor, his lordship observed, that he knew that such a practice was followed on all such occasions, and spoke of it as a thing which did not in the least affect him. After this conversation, Mr Foster advised the earl to think frequently on the circumstances which would attend his death, in order to blunt their impression when they occurred.

Balmerino was not actuated with the same feeling of curiosity as Kilmarnock was, to know the circumstances which would attend his execution; but awaited his fate with the indifference of a martyr desirous of sealing his faith with his blood. The following letter, written by him

on the eve of his execution, to the Chevalier de St George, strikingly exemplifies the cool intrepidity of the man, and the sterling honesty with which he adhered to his principles :—

“SIR,—You may remember, that, in the year 1716, when your Majesty was in Scotland, I left a company of foot purely with a design to serve your Majesty, and, had I not made my escape then, I should certainly have been shot for a deserter.

“When I was abroad I lived many years at my own charges before I ask’d any thing from you, being unwilling to trouble your Majesty while I had any thing of my own to live upon, and when my father wrote me that he had a remission for me, which was got without my asking or knowledge, I did not accept of it till I first had your Majesty’s permission. Sir, when his Royal Highness the Prince, your son, came to Edinburgh, as it was my bounden and indispensable duty, I joyn’d him, for which I am to-morrow to lose my head on a scaffold, whereat I am so far from being dismayed, that it gives me great satisfaction and peace of mind that I die in so righteous a cause. I hope, Sir, on these considerations, your Majesty will provide for my wife so as she may not want bread, which otherwise she must do, my brother having left more debt on the estate than it was worth, and having nothing in the world to give her. I am, with the most profound respect, Sir, your Majesty’s most faithful and devoted subject and servant,

“BALMERINO.”\*

“TOWER OF LONDON, }  
17th August, 1746.” }

On Monday, the eighteenth of August, about six o’clock in the morning, a thousand foot-guards, a troop of life-guards, and one of horse-guards, marched through the city, and drew up on Tower-hill. They

\* The original of the above letter, from which this copy was taken, is in the possession of his Majesty, and is written in a remarkably bold and steady hand. The Chevalier sent a copy of this letter to Charles on 20th January, 1747. “I send you,” says he, “a copy of poor Lord Balmerino’s letter. I shall inquire about his widow, and send her some relief if she stands in need of it.”—*Stuart Papers*. James was as good as his word. See Mr Theodore Hay’s letter to Secretary Edgar, of 10th June, 1747, and Lady Balmerino’s receipt, 18th May following, for £60, in the Appendix. The originals are in the possession of his Majesty. The letter of Lord Balmerino, and the circumstances of his death, are feelingly alluded to in a letter written by Lady Balmerino to the Chevalier from Edinburgh, on 15th June, 1751 :—“Before my dear lord’s execution, he leaving this world, and having no other concern in time but me, wrote a letter to your Majesty, dated 17th August, 1746, recommending me and my destitute condition to your Majesty’s commiseration and bounty. You are well informed of his undaunted courage and behaviour at his death, so that even your Majesty’s enemies and his do unanimously confess that he died like a hero, and asserted and added a lustre which never will be forgot to the undoubted right your Majesty has to your three realms. He had the honour to have been in your Majesty’s domestick service in Italy, and ever preserved, before his last appearance, an inviolable, constant attachment to your royal house and interest, which at last he not only confirmed by his dying words, but sealed it with his blood, than which a greater token and proof it is not of a subject to give of his love and fidelity to his sovereign.”—See this and another letter of Lady Balmerino to the Chevalier de St. George, 5th February, 1752, in the Appendix, taken from the originals, in the possession of his Majesty.



formed round the scaffold, and extended themselves to the lower gate of the Tower, in two lines, with a sufficient interval between to allow the procession to pass. About eight o'clock the sheriffs of London and Middlesex, the under-sheriffs, six sergeants at mace, six yeomen, and the executioner, met at the Mitre Tavern, in Fenchurch-street, where they breakfasted. After breakfast they proceeded to the house on Tower-hill, hired by them for the reception of the prisoners, in front of which the scaffold had been erected. At ten o'clock the block was fixed on the stage, covered with black cloth, and several sacks of saw-dust were provided to be strewed upon the scaffold. Soon after, the two coffins were brought and placed upon the scaffold. They were covered with black cloth fixed with gilt nails. Upon Kilmarnock's coffin was a plate with this inscription, "*Gulielmus Comes de Kilmarnock, decollatus 18<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 42,*" with an earl's coronet over it, and six coronets over the six handles. The plate on Balmerino's coffin bore this inscription, "*Arthurus Dominus de Balmerino, decollatus 18<sup>o</sup> Augusti, 1746, ætat. suæ 58,*" surmounted by a baron's coronet, and with six others over the handles.

These preparations were completed about half-past ten, when the sheriffs, accompanied by their officers, went to the Tower, and, knocking at the door, were interrogated by the warder from within, "Who's there?" "The sheriffs of London and Middlesex," was the answer made by one of the sheriffs' officers. The warder then, agreeably to an ancient practice, asked, "What do they want?" when the same officer answered, "The bodies of William, earl of Kilmarnock, and Arthur, Lord Balmerino." The warder then said, "I will go and inform the lieutenant of the Tower." General Williamson thereupon went to inform the prisoners that the sheriffs were in attendance. When told that he was wanted, Lord Kilmarnock, who had just been engaged in prayer with Mr Foster, betrayed no fear, but said, with great composure, "General, I am ready; I'll follow you." At the foot of the stair he met Lord Balmerino. They embraced each other, and Balmerino said, "I am heartily sorry to have your company in this expedition." The ill-fated noblemen were then brought to the Tower-gate, and delivered over to the sheriffs, who granted receipts for their persons to the deputy-lieutenant of the Tower. When the prisoners were leaving the Tower, the deputy-lieutenant, according to an ancient usage, cried, "God bless King George!" to which Kilmarnock assented by a bow, but Balmerino emphatically exclaimed, "God bless King James." The procession then moved slowly forward in the following order:—First, the constables of the Tower Hamlets, followed by the knights' marshal's men and tipstaves, and the sheriffs' officers. Then the prisoners, attended by their chaplains, and the two sheriffs, followed by the warders of the Tower, next a guard of musketeers. Two hearses and a mourning coach closed the procession. When the procession had passed through the lines into the area of the circle, the passage was closed, and the

horse that were stationed in the rear of the foot, on the lines, wheeled off, and drew up five deep behind the foot, on the south side of the hill, facing the scaffold. The prisoners were then conducted to the house fitted up for their reception, and, being put into separate apartments, their friends were admitted to see them. When the prisoners arrived at the door of the house, some persons among the crowd were heard asking others, "Which is Lord Balmerino?" His lordship overhearing the question, turned a little about, and with a smile said, "I am Balmerino, gentlemen, at your service."

About eleven o'clock Lord Balmerino sent a message to Lord Kilmarnock requesting an interview, which being consented to, Balmerino was brought into Kilmarnock's apartment. The following dialogue, as reported by Mr Foster, then ensued. BALMERINO—"My lord, I beg leave to ask your lordship one question." KILMARNOCK—"To any question, my lord, that you shall think proper to ask, I believe I shall see no reason to decline giving an answer." B. "Why then, my lord, did you ever see or know of any order signed by the prince, to give no quarter at Culloden?" K. "No, my lord." B. "Nor I neither; and therefore it seems to be an invention to justify their own murders." K. "No, my lord, I do not think that inference can be drawn from it; because, while I was at Inverness, I was informed by several officers that there was such an order, signed 'George Murray;' and that it was in the duke's custody." B. "Lord George Murray! Why, then, they should not charge it upon the prince." After this conversation the prisoners tenderly saluted each other, and Balmerino, after bidding his friend in affliction an eternal and happy adieu, added, with a countenance beaming with benignity, "My dear lord, I wish I could alone pay the reckoning and suffer for us both."

Lord Kilmarnock appeared to be most anxious to impress upon the minds of those who were with him the sincerity of his repentance for the crime for which he was about to suffer. He declared himself fully satisfied with the legality of King George's title to the crown, and stated that his attachment to the reigning family, which had suffered a slight interruption, was then as strong as ever. He spent a considerable time in devotion with Mr Foster, till he got a hint from the sheriffs that the time was far advanced, his rank as an earl giving him a melancholy priority on the scaffold. After Mr Foster had said a short prayer, his lordship took a tender farewell of the persons who attended him, and, preceded by the sheriffs, left the room followed by his friends. Notwithstanding the great trouble he had taken, in accordance with the wish of Mr Foster, to familiarize his mind with the outward apparatus of death, he was appalled when he stepped upon the scaffold at beholding the dreadful scene around him, and, turning round about to one of the clergymen, said, "Home, this is terrible!" He was attired in a suit of black clothes, and, though his countenance was composed, he had a melancholy air about him, which indicated great mental suffering.

Many of the spectators near the scaffold were so much affected by his appearance that they could not refrain from tears, and even the executioner was so overcome that he was obliged to drink several glasses of spirits to enable him to perform his dreadful duty.

Mr Foster, who had accompanied his lordship to the scaffold, remained on it a short time in earnest conversation, and having quitted it, the executioner came forward and asked his lordship's forgiveness in executing the very painful task he had to perform. The unhappy nobleman informed the executioner that he readily forgave him, and presenting him a purse containing five guineas, desired him to have courage. His lordship then took off his upper clothes, turned down the neck of his shirt under his vest, and undoing his long dressed hair from the bag which contained it, tied it round his head in a damask cloth in the form of a cap. He then informed the executioner that he would drop a handkerchief as a signal for the stroke about two minutes after he had laid his head down upon the block. Either to support himself, or as a more convenient posture for devotion, he laid his hands upon the block. On observing this the executioner begged his lordship to let his hands fall down, lest they should be mangled or break the blow. Being told that the neck of his waistcoat was in the way, he rose up, and with the help of Colonel Craufurd of Craufurdland, one of his friends, had it taken off. The neck being now made completely bare to the shoulders, the earl again knelt down as before. This occurrence did not in the least discompose him, and Mr Home's servant, who held the cloth to receive his head, heard him, after laying down his head the second time, put the executioner in mind that in two minutes he would give the signal. He spent this short time in fervent devotion, as appeared by the motion of his hands and now and then of his head. Then, fixing his neck upon the block, he gave the fatal signal: his body remained without the least motion till the stroke of the axe, which at the first blow severed the head almost altogether from the body. A small piece of skin, which still united them, was cut through by another stroke. The head, which was received into a piece of scarlet cloth, was not exposed, in consequence, it is said, of the earl's own request, but, along with the body, was deposited in the coffin, which was delivered to his friends, and placed by them in the hearse. The scaffold was then strewed over with fresh saw-dust, and the executioner, who was dressed in white, changed such of his clothes as were stained with blood.

The first act of this bloody tragedy being now over, the under-sheriff went to Balmerino's apartment to give him notice that his time was come. "I suppose," said his lordship on seeing this functionary enter, "my Lord Kilmarnock is no more." Being answered in the affirmative, he asked the under-sheriff how the executioner had performed his duty, and upon receiving the account, he said, "then it was well done; and now, gentlemen, (continued the inflexible Balmerino, turning to his friends,) I will detain you no longer, for I desire not to protract

my life." During the time spent in Kilmarnock's execution Balmerino had conversed cheerfully with his friends, and twice refreshed himself with a bit of bread and a glass of wine, desiring the company to drink him "a degree to heaven." Saluting each of his friends in the most affectionate manner, he bade them all adieu, and leaving them bathed in tears, he hastened to the scaffold, which he mounted with a firm step.

The strong feeling of pity with which the spectators had beheld the handsome though emaciated figure of the gentle Kilmarnock gave place to sensations of another kind when they beheld the bold and strong built personage who now stood on the stage before them. Attired in the same regimentals of blue turned up with red which he had worn at the battle of Culloden, and treading the scaffold with a firm step and an undaunted air, he gloried in the cause for which he suffered, and forced the assembled multitude to pay an unwilling tribute of admiration to his greatness of soul. His friends, on beholding the apparatus of death, expressed great concern; but his lordship reproved their anxiety. His lordship walked round the scaffold, and bowed to the people. He then went to the coffin, and reading the inscription, said it was correct. With great composure he examined the block, which he called his "pillow of rest." He then put on his spectacles, and pulling a paper from his pocket, read it to the few persons about him, in which he declared his firm attachment to the house of Stuart, and stated that the only fault he had ever committed deserving his present fate, and for which he expressed his sincere regret, was in having served in the armies of the enemies of that house, Queen Anne and George the First. He complained that he had not been well used by the lieutenant of the Tower, but that having received the sacrament the day before, and read several of the psalms of David, he had forgiven him, and said that he now died in charity with all men.

Calling at last for the executioner, that functionary stepped forward to ask his forgiveness, but Balmerino interrupted him, and said, "Friend, you need not ask my forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable." Then presenting him with three guineas, his lordship added, "Friend, I never had much money; this is all I have, I wish it was more for your sake, and am sorry I can add nothing else to it but my coat and waistcoat." These he instantly took off, and laid them down on the coffin. He then put on the flannel waistcoat which he had provided, and a tartan cap on his head, to signify, as he said, that he died a Scotchman; and going to the block, placed his head upon it in order to show the executioner the signal for the blow, which was by dropping his arms. Returning then to his friends, he took an affectionate farewell of them, and surveying the vast number of spectators, said, "I am afraid there are some who may think my behaviour bold; but," addressing a gentleman near him, he added, "remember, Sir, what I tell you; it arises from a confidence in God, and a clear conscience."

Observing at this moment the executioner with the axe in his hand,



he went up, and taking it from him, felt the edge. On returning the fatal instrument Balmerino showed him where to strike the blow, and encouraged him to do it with resolution, "for in that, friend, (said he,) will consist your mercy." His lordship then, with a countenance beaming with joy, knelt down at the block, and extending his arms, said the following prayer, "O Lord, reward my friends, forgive my enemies, bless the prince and the duke; and receive my soul." He then instantly dropt his arms. The executioner taken unawares by the suddenness of the signal, hurriedly raised the axe, and missing his aim, struck the ill-fated lord between the shoulders, a blow which, it has been said, deprived the unfortunate nobleman of sensation; but it has been averred by some of the spectators that Balmerino turned his head a little round upon the block, gnashed his teeth, and gave the executioner a ghastly stare. Taking immediately a better aim, the executioner gave a second blow which almost severed the head from the body, and deprived the noble victim of life. The body having fallen from the block, it was instantly replaced, and the executioner once more raising the fatal weapon finished his task. The head was received in a piece of red cloth, and deposited along with the body in the coffin, and being put into a hearse was carried to the chapel of the Tower, and buried with that of Lord Kilmarnock, near the remains of Lord Tullibardine. Mr Humphreys, curate of the chapel, read the funeral service, and when he came to the words, "Ashes to ashes, dust to dust," two gentlemen, friends of the deceased, took up the spades, and performed that part of the office instead of the grave-diggers.

For a time the unhappy fate of the two lords almost exclusively engaged the attention of the public, and in private circles, as well as in the periodicals of the day, the conduct and bearing of the unfortunate noblemen were viewed and commented upon according to the partialities and political feelings of the parties. By the whigs, and generally by all persons of a real or affected seriousness of mind, Kilmarnock was regarded as a perfect model of the dying Christian, who, though he had been guilty of base ingratitude to the government, and had told a falsehood at his trial, had fully atoned for his offences by his contrition; whilst his companion in suffering was looked upon as an incorrigible rebel, who had braved death with an unbecoming levity. The Jacobites, however, and even some of the friends of the revolution settlement, whilst they could not but admire the calm resignation of Kilmarnock, heartily despised the cringing pusillanimity which he displayed to soften the resentment of the government. Balmerino was viewed by them in a very different light. Whilst the Jacobites looked upon him as an illustrious martyr, who had added a lustre to their cause by his inflexible intrepidity, and the open avowal of his sentiments; the other section of his admirers applauded his courage, and paid a just tribute to his honesty. The more dispassionate judgment of posterity has done ample justice to the rectitude and magnanimity of this unfortunate nobleman.

The next victims to the offended laws were Donald Macdonald, of the Keppoch family, who had served as a captain in the regiment of that chief; Walter Ogilvy, a young man of good family in Banffshire, a lieutenant in Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; and James Nicolson, who had kept a coffee-house in Leith. These three with one Alexander Macgrowther, who also held a commission in the Highland army, were taken at Carlisle. When brought to the bar of the court at St Margaret's-hill, the three first pleaded guilty, and begged for mercy; but Macgrowther attempted to defend himself on the ground that he was forced into the insurrection by the duke of Perth against his will, having as a vassal no power to withstand the commands of his superior. This defence, which was also made by many of the Scotch prisoners, was overruled. On the second of August these four persons were condemned, and Macgrowther having been afterwards reprieved, the remainder suffered on Kennington-common, on the twenty-second of the same month. Macdonald and Nicolson were executed in their Highland dress. The same revolting process of unbowelling, &c. practised upon the bodies of Townley and his companions, was gone through; but the spectators were spared the revolting spectacle, which was witnessed on that occasion, of cutting down the prisoners whilst alive.

On the nineteenth of September Captain Crosby, who had deserted from the British army in Flanders, and come to Scotland with the French troops, was hanged, and two deserters were shot at Perth. A singular incident happened on this occasion. To carry the sentence against Crosby into execution on the day appointed the hangman of Perth was secured in the town prison; but having apparently no certainty that he would perform his painful duty, the hangman of Stirling was sent for by the magistrates, who, upon his appearance, liberated the timorous functionary. The hangman immediately fled the place. Captain Crosby was brought to the place of execution on the appointed day, but before the time for throwing him off arrived, the executioner dropt down dead. After remaining a considerable time at the place of execution the guard was returning with Crosby to the prison, when an infamous criminal, who was a prisoner in the jail, offered to hang the captain for a reward of ten guineas and a free pardon. The authorities having acceded to the demand of this ruffian, Crosby was immediately carried back to the place of execution, and suffered with great fortitude.\*

The sittings at St Margaret's-hill were resumed on the twenty-third of August, and were continued from time to time for about two months. Bills were found against thirty-two persons, besides Lord Macleod and Secretary Murray; but these last were not brought to trial. Of the thirty-two tried no less than twenty-two were convicted at different times, all of whom received sentence of death on the fifteenth of No-

\* True Copies of the Papers wrote by Arthur Lord Balmerino and others, published in the year 1746.

vember. Of these, eight of the principal were ordered for execution on the twenty-eighth of that month. Among these were Sir John Wedderburn, John Hamilton, Andrew Wood, Alexander Leith, and James Bradshaw. Sir John Wedderburn had acted as receiver in the counties of Perth and Angus of the ale and malt arrears raised by the Highland army; Hamilton had been governor of Carlisle; Wood, a youth of two-and-twenty, had distinguished himself as a volunteer in Roy Stewart's regiment; Leith had served as a captain in the duke of Perth's regiment, and though old and infirm had been remarkable for zeal and activity; and Bradshaw had shown his devotion to the cause of the Stuarts by giving up a lucrative business as a merchant in Manchester, and expending all his wealth to promote it. He entered the Manchester regiment; but thinking that he could be of more use by marching with the Highland army into Scotland than by remaining at Carlisle, he joined Lord Elcho's corps, and was taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden.

The prisoners were apprized of their fate, but some of them entertained hopes of mercy. Sir John Wedderburn probably may have indulged such an expectation, but if so, he appears to have abandoned it on the day preceding his execution, when he addressed the following letter to Prince Charles:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

"I had the honour to be employed by your royal highness to collect the excise of ale and malt arrear in the counties of Perth and Angus. My eldest son attended Lord Ogilvy the length of Derby and back again. I happened to be taken prisoner at the battle of Culloden, was carried up here, condemned, and am to be executed to-morrow. I leave a wife and nine children in a very miserable way as to subsistence. I have given strict injunctions to my wife to educate my children, being five sons and four daughters, in the strictest principles to your highness's family. If your royal highness pleases to honour them with your protection in consideration of my suffering, while my last moments shall be spent in praying for the prosperity of your royal highness and family, by him who is, and ever has been,

"May it please your Royal Highness,

"Your most devoted, humble servant, and faithful subject,

"JOHN WEDDERBURN."\*

"SOUTHWARK NEW GAOL, }  
17th November, 1747." }

On the morning of the execution two of the prisoners of the name of Farquharson and Watson obtained a reprieve, and the keeper of the

\* The original of this letter, from which the above is taken, is in the possession of his Majesty, and is thus quoted by the Prince "From Sir John Wedderburn." This letter negatives an allegation which has been made, that Sir John was not informed of his fate till the morning of his execution.

jail, entering the apartments of the other prisoners about nine o'clock, informed them that the sheriff was in attendance to receive their persons. Wood, who appears to have been more concerned for Hamilton than himself, inquired of the jailer if he had been respited, and being answered in the negative, said, "that he was sorry for that poor old gentleman." After being conducted into the court of the prison, the unfortunate gentlemen were provided with some refreshment. Wood there called for some wine, and drank the health of "King James," and the prince. Bradshaw, still in hopes of pardon, looked cheerful. A reprieve *did* arrive at this awful crisis, but it was for a prisoner named Lindsay, who was about going into the sledge. The effect upon this man's feelings, when his pardon was announced, was such, that his life appeared for a time in danger.

The five prisoners were then drawn to the place of execution in two sledges. As they approached the fatal spot, Sir John and Bradshaw fixed their eyes steadfastly upon the gallows, and Bradshaw was observed to shed tears. When upon the scaffold, Bradshaw recovered himself, and read a paper, in which he declared that he had joined "the king's forces" from a principle of duty only, and that he never had reason since to be convinced that he had been mistaken; but that, on the contrary, every day's experience had strengthened his opinion that what he had done was right and necessary. He stated that he had had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the most ungenerous enemy he believed ever assumed the name of a soldier,—“the pretended duke of Cumberland, and those under his command,” whose inhumanity, he observed, had exceeded every thing he could have imagined, “in a country where the name of a God is allowed of.” He then contrasted the inhumanity exercised towards the prisoners taken by the royal forces with the humanity of Charles, who, he stated, ordered his prisoners the same allowance of meat as his own troops, and always made it his particular concern that all the wounded should be dressed and used with the utmost tenderness. He stated that the extreme caution of the prince to avoid the effusion of blood, even in the case of spies when his own safety made it absolutely necessary, and his surprising generosity towards all his enemies without distinction certainly demanded different treatment, and he could scarce have thought that an English army under English directions could possibly have behaved with such unprovoked barbarity. He expressed his firm conviction, that the order attributed to Charles to give no quarter was “a malicious, wicked report, raised by the friends of the usurper” to excuse the cruelties committed by his troops in Scotland. After a high eulogium upon the qualifications of the prince, the paper concluded with a prayer for the preservation of “King James the Third, the prince of Wales, and the duke of York.” When Bradshaw had finished reading, he delivered the paper into the hands of the sheriff. All the prisoners prayed for “King James.” After being tied up they remained a short time in prayer, when they were thrown off. After hanging for some time, their bo-



lies were cut down, and their bowels taken out and thrown into the fire. This was the last execution in the neighbourhood of London of such as were condemned by the commissioners at Southwark.

Besides the trials at Southwark, other trials took place at Carlisle and York, chiefly of prisoners taken at Culloden. Early in August, no less than three hundred and eighty-five of these unfortunate beings had been brought to Carlisle; but as the trial of such a great number of persons, with a view to capital punishment, might appear extremely harsh, a proposal was made to the common prisoners, who formed the great mass, that only one in every twenty should be tried according to lot, and that the remainder should be transported. This proposal was acceded to by a considerable number.

The commission was opened at Carlisle on the eleventh of August, when bills of indictment were found against a hundred and nineteen persons. The judges adjourned to the ninth of September; and, in the mean time, they repaired to York, where the grand jury found bills against seventy-five persons confined there. The judges resumed their sittings at Carlisle for the trial of the prisoners there, on the ninth of September, on which, and the two following days, the prisoners, against whom bills had been found, were arraigned. Bills were found against fifteen more on the twelfth, making a total of one hundred and thirty-four. Of these, eleven pled guilty when arraigned; thirty-two entered the same plea when brought to trial; forty-eight were found guilty, of whom eleven were recommended to mercy, thirty-six acquitted, five remanded to prison till further evidence should be procured, and one obtained delay on an allegation of his being a peer. The judges resumed their sittings at York on the second of October, and sat till the seventh. Of the seventy-five persons indicted, two pled guilty when arraigned, fifty-two when brought to trial, and sixteen were found guilty, four of whom were recommended to mercy. All these received sentence of death. Five only were acquitted.

Of the ninety-one prisoners under sentence at Carlisle, thirty were ordered for execution; nine of whom were accordingly executed at Carlisle on the eighteenth of October. The names of these were Thomas Coppock,\* (created bishop of Carlisle by Charles,) John Henderson, John Macnaughton, James Brand, Donald Macdonald of Tyerndrich, Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart, Francis Buchanan of Arnprior, Hugh Cameron and Edward Roper. Six were executed at Bampton on the twenty-first of the same month, viz. Peter Taylor, Michael De-

\* Coppock made a long speech in support of the claims of the house of Stuart. He prayed for "King James," Prince Charles, and the rest of the Stuart family, called King George an usurper, and when found guilty, he thus addressed his fellow-prisoners at the bar:—"Never mind it, my boys; for if our Saviour was here, these fellows would condemn him." Observing Brand extremely dejected, he said to him, "What the devil are you afraid of? We shan't be tried by a Cumberland jury in the other world."—*Scots Mag.* vol. viii. p. 498.

laird, James Innes, Donald Macdonald, Peter Lindsay, and Thomas Park. The following seven suffered at Penrith, viz. David Home, Andrew Swan, Philip Hunt, Robert Lyon, James Harvey, John Roebotham, and Valentine Holt. Seven out of the thirty were reprieved, and one died in prison. All those who were executed underwent the usual process of unbowelling.

On the first of November ten of the prisoners condemned at York suffered in that city. The names of these were Captain George Hamilton, who had been taken at Clifton, Edward Clavering, Daniel Fraser, Charles Gordon, Benjamin Mason, James Mayne, William Conolly, William Dempsey, Angus Macdonald, and James Sparke. And on the eighth of the same month, the eleven following suffered the same fate, viz. David Roe, William Hunter, John Endsworth, John Maclellan, John Macgregor, Simon Mackenzie, Alexander Parker, Thomas Maginnes, Archibald Kennedy, James Thomson, and Michael Brady. Another prisoner, named James Reid, suffered on the fifteenth of November. The work of death also closed at Carlisle on the fifteenth of December by the immolation of eleven more victims, namely, Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunnipace, Charles Gordon of Dalpersy, Patrick Murray, who had been a goldsmith in Stirling, Alexander Stevenson, Robert Reid, Patrick Keir, John Wallace, James Michel, Molineux Eaton, Thomas Hays, and Barnaby Matthews.

Out of the seventy-seven persons who thus suffered, it is remarkable that, with the solitary exception of Lord Kilmarnock, they all maintained, to the very last, the justice of the cause for which they suffered. The more enthusiastic among them even openly declared that they would continue to support the claim of the exiled family to the crown if set at liberty.

Notwithstanding this wasteful expenditure of human blood, the government did not consider the work of destruction complete till the lives of two individuals, who lay more especially under its ban, were sacrificed, as a last atonement to public justice. These were Charles Ratcliffe and Lord Lovat. The former was a younger brother of the earl of Derwentwater, who suffered in seventeen hundred and sixteen, and whose title Mr Ratcliffe had assumed. He had been engaged in the former insurrection, taken at Preston, and condemned, but made his escape out of Newgate; and after passing some years in France and Italy, married the countess of Newburgh at Paris. He had visited England privately in seventeen hundred and thirty-three, and returned again two years thereafter, when he appeared openly in public. Soliciting his pardon without success, he returned to France, where he remained till November, seventeen hundred and forty-five, when he was made prisoner on board a French vessel, when on her way to Scotland with supplies for Prince Charles. He was arraigned at the bar of the court of king's bench on the twenty-first of November, seventeen hundred and

forty-six, upon his former sentence ; but he refused either to plead or to acknowledge the authority of the court, on the ground that he was a subject of France, where he had resided thirty years, and honoured with a commission in the service of his most christian majesty. Being brought to the bar next day, his former sentence being read over to him, he pleaded that he was not the person therein mentioned ; but his identity being clearly established, he was ordered to be executed on the eighth of December. His aunt, Lady Petre, did every thing in her power to save him, or at least to procure a respite till his lady should arrive from Paris, but without success. Some demur seems, however, to have existed, as the preparations for his execution were so long delayed, that the carpenters were obliged to work on the scaffold on Sunday the day before the execution, and all the following night.

About ten o'clock in the morning of Monday the eighth of December, the block and cushion, which were covered with black cloth, were brought up and fixed upon the stage, and soon thereafter the coffin was also placed upon the platform. It was covered with black velvet, fixed on with nails gilt with gold, and had eight handles similarly gilt ; but it is said that there was no plate or inscription on the coffin at this time. About eleven o'clock the two sheriffs, attended by their officers, made their appearance, and after inspecting the scaffold, went to the Tower and demanded the body of Mr Ratcliffe from General Williamson, the deputy-governor. Being delivered up, he was put into a landau, and conducted over the wharf, at the end of which he entered a booth lined with black adjoining the stairs of the scaffold, which had been fitted up for his reception. After spending about half an hour in devotion, he proceeded to the scaffold, preceded by the sheriffs, and attended by a clergyman and some friends. He was dressed in a suit of scarlet, faced with black velvet trimmed with gold, a gold-laced waistcoat, and wore a white feather in his hat. When he came upon the scaffold he took a tender farewell of his friends. He then addressed the executioner, to whom he presented a purse of ten guineas. After spending about seven minutes in prayer on his knees, he rose, and pulling off his clothes, went forward to the block, on which he placed his head to try how it fitted. He then spoke to the executioner as if giving him directions, and kneeling down again, and fixing his head upon the block, in about two minutes he gave the signal to the executioner, who, as in the case of Balmerino, did not complete his work till he had given the third blow. The head was received in a scarlet cloth. Without the levity of Balmerino, Mr Ratcliffe displayed the same manly fortitude and contempt of death exhibited by that unfortunate nobleman. He died, as he had lived, a catholic ; and so warmly was he attached to the faith of his ancestors, that when some zealous protestant objected to him, that some of the tenets of his religion were contrary to reason, he is said to have wished, that for every such tenet, the belief of which was required by the church, there were twenty, that

he might have a larger field for exercising his faith.\* His body was delivered over to his friends, and interred by them on the eleventh of November, at St Giles's-in-the-fields, near the remains of his brother. A gilt plate was put on his coffin, with this inscription, "Carolus Ratcliffe, Comes de Derwentwater, decollatus Die 8<sup>o</sup> Decembris, 1746, Ætat 53. Requiescat in pace." †

The last scene of this bloody tragedy ended with the trial and execution of the aged Lord Lovat, who had been confined in the Tower since the fifteenth of August. He was impeached by the house of commons on the eleventh of December, and was brought to the bar of the house of peers on the eighteenth, when the articles of impeachment were read to him.‡ At his own desire, Messrs Starkie, Forrester, Ford, and Wilmott, were assigned him for counsel, and he was appointed to put in answers to the articles of impeachment on or before the thirteenth of January. The trial, which was appointed to take place on the twenty-third of February, was postponed to the fifth, and afterwards to the ninth of March, on which day it commenced. The articles of impeachment were in substance, that he had compassed and imagined the death of the king,—that he had corresponded with the Pretender, accepted a commission from him to be a lieutenant-general of his forces, and another to be general of the Highlanders, and that he had accepted a patent from the Pretender, creating him duke of Fraser,—that he had met with armed traitors, and had raised, and caused to be raised, great numbers of armed men, the king's subjects, for the service of the Pretender and his son, and had traitorously levied, and caused to be levied, a cruel and unnatural war against his majesty,—that he had written and sent a treasonable letter to the son of the Pretender when

\* Boyse, p. 176.

† The Chevalier de St George wrote "Lady Derwentwater" a letter of condolence on her husband's execution, which, with the answer, will be found in the Appendix. The first is taken from the original copy, and the last from the original, both in possession of his Majesty.

‡ The laird of Macleod, in a letter to Lord-president Forbes, dated 18th December, 1746, says, "I saw unhappy Lovat to-day. Except for the feebleness of his limbs, his looks are good. He asked me several general questions, and particularly about you;—said he was resigned, and ready to meet his fate, since it was God's will;—asked after his children, &c." In another letter to the president, written two days thereafter, he again alludes to his lordship:—"Lovat behaved well at the bar of the house of peers, and they say with spirit. Granville and Bath spoke very strongly with regard to the seizure of his estate and effects; and that matter is ordered to be rectified, except in so far as private creditors come in the way." Sir Andrew Mitchell, however, who was more of a courtier than Macleod, viewed matters in a different light. In a letter to the president, 26th December, 1746, he remarks, "Your lordship will have heard an account of Lord Lovat's behaviour; and, therefore, I shall not trouble you with the particulars; only, I must observe, there was neither dignity nor gravity in it: he appeared quite unconcerned; and what he said was ludicrous and buffoonish; but his petition for the restoration of his effects, &c. was bold and well worded; which, however, would have been passed over without notice, had not Lord Granville bounced, and Lord Bath vapoured, and procured an order to be entered in the Journals, and have by that acquired to themselves a sort of popularity, which you know they very much wanted. No Scots nobleman spoke on this occasion; they are prudent and cautious. God bless them!"—*Culloden Papers*.



in arms within the kingdom,—that he had also written and sent other treasonable letters and papers to other persons, then openly in arms against the king,—that he had assisted the rebels in their traitorous designs, and had sent his eldest son, and many of his name, family, and dependents, to the assistance of the Pretender's eldest son and other rebels, and had given them advice, directions, and instructions, in the prosecution of the rebellion,—and finally, that he had unlawfully and traitorously, both in person and by letters, held correspondence with the eldest son of the Pretender, and with divers persons employed by him, and particularly with Murray of Broughton, the two Lochiels, John Roy Stewart, Dr Cameron, and others. To all these charges Lord Lovat gave a pointed denial.

They were, however, fully established by the strongest proofs. The written evidence consisted of papers found in his lordship's strong box, besides some letters which he had written to Prince Charles, the last of which having come into the hands of Murray of Broughton, in his capacity of secretary to the prince, were basely delivered up by him to save his own worthless life. Lovat exerted all his ingenuity to evade the force of the evidence; but the proofs of his criminality were too clear to admit of any doubt. His lordship objected to the admissibility of Murray as a witness, on the ground that he was attainted by act of parliament made in the previous session, and that he had not surrendered himself in terms of the act. Having stated that he had several objections against the witness, one or two of which he considered essential; a discussion ensued as to whether all these objections should not at once be stated. As giving a fair sample of the manner in which the trial was conducted, the argument on both sides, on the point alluded to, is here given:—

“MR ATTORNEY-GENERAL.—My lords, I observe that the noble lord at the bar said that he had several objections to the examining this witness, and that one or two of them were essential; but the noble lord has not mentioned more than one. I presume, my lords, it would be proper that he should name all his objections at once, that the managers may have an opportunity of answering them all, and receiving your lordships' judgment upon the whole; therefore, if he has any other objections to offer, it would be proper he should mention them now to your lordships. LORD LOVAT.—My lords, I submit it to your lordships that that is a very odd proposition. I give your lordships an essential one now, and when that is answered I have another. I am not to be directed by those who are my *persecutors*. LORD-HIGH-STEWARD.—My Lord Lovat, you are not to be directed by your accusers, but by the lords who are your judges; and the course of proceeding in this and all other courts is, that a person, who objects to any witness, should name all his objections at the same time; and it is the more material in this court, as it tends to prevent the trouble of making several unnecessary adjournments. LORD L.—My lords, as this objection is very es-

sential, I pray that it may be answered before I make another. LORD TALBOT.—If this is a material objection to the witness, then there will be no occasion for any other; but if it is an immaterial one, then your lordships may go into any other; but the way proposed by the managers may be very detrimental to the unhappy person at the bar. LORD H. S.—Your lordships hear what is proposed; and the question is, whether the noble lord at the bar shall name all his objections now, or take them up one by one. SIR WILLIAM YONGE, (one of the managers from the commons.)—My lords, I should hope that, in any course of proceeding, where objections of this kind are made, they should be made all together; for if they are made separate, we must consequently make distinct answers to them all, which may oblige your lordships to adjourn often to the chamber of parliament, which will create a great and unnecessary delay of time: and, my lords, there can be no objection to his naming the whole at once, since they will all be distinctly considered by your lordships, and undoubtedly receive distinct answers. I therefore humbly insist, that he may be obliged to name all his objections at once. MR NOEL, (another manager.)—My lords, what we are now upon is no point of law at all: it is singly, whether the noble lord at the bar as is usual should not name all his objections at once? When he does name them, then to such as are clear points of law he must be heard by his counsel; but at present, my lords, we are upon a question concerning the course of proceeding, whether he shall name them all at once, that they may be taken into consideration at the same time? My lords, one thing struck me in a very extraordinary manner:—It was said by the noble lord at the bar, that he was not to be directed by his *persecutors*. My lords, we are no persecutors; we persecute no man; we are intrusted by the commons, who carry on this prosecution against the noble lord at the bar for treason, and we prosecute for the preservation of the king's government and the laws of the land. LORD L.—My lords, I said I was not to be directed by those who accused me. Your lordships cannot expect I can say what I have to offer in an eloquent manner. My lords, should the saving of a little time be a reason for taking away a person's life? I hope these will not act like the parricides who took off the head of both kingdoms in a day by their prosecution. I am a peer of this land, and I think no excuse of saving time should be allowed as a reason to destroy me. LORD H. S.—My Lord Lovat, the lords will use all the deliberation, and give you all the time that is requisite for your defence; but I must beg your lordship will have so much consideration as to keep your temper, and not suffer yourself to be hurried into passion, for that may greatly prejudice you in making your defence. Your lordship will find the advantage in your defence by keeping your temper. LORD L.—I give your lordship my humble thanks: and since your lordships will not allow me counsel, I have spoke the little nonsense I had to say; but now your lordships shall hear me say nothing out of temper. LORD H. S.—My Lord Lovat,

the question now is, whether you shall name all your objections at once? I must acquaint your lordship that that is the rule in the courts below, that if several objections are made to a witness, they are all named at once, in order to prevent unnecessary delays. LORD L.—My lords, to show how much I desire to save time, though, according to the course of nature, my time can be but short, I am so far from desiring to give your lordships trouble, or to prolong time, that I do insist upon this objection to the witness, and rely upon it as the only material objection.” \*

The managers having offered to prove, by the record of the court of King's bench, that Mr Murray had surrendered himself within the time prescribed, the question whether the record should be received in evidence, was argued at great length by the counsel for Lord Lovat, and the managers on the part of the prosecution. Having decided that the record might be read and given in evidence, Lord Lovat offered to falsify the record, by proving, in opposition to the averment therein contained, that Mr Murray had not surrendered himself as required by the act of parliament. The court, however, decided that the record of the court of King's bench, which was, nevertheless, literally untrue, could not be falsified by oral evidence.

Being called upon to make his defence on the sixth day of the trial, Lovat gave in a long paper, in which he commented with great severity upon the witnesses, whose testimony he maintained was not to be credited. He designated Secretary Murray as “the most abandoned of mankind, who, forgetting his allegiance to his king and country, had, according to his own confession, endeavoured to destroy both, like another Catiline, to patch up a broken fortune upon the ruin and distress of his native country. To-day stealing into France to enter into engagements upon the most sacred oath of fidelity; soon after, like a sanguinary monster, putting his hand and seal to a bloody proclamation, full of rewards for the apprehending the sacred person of his majesty, and lest the cup of his iniquity had not been filled, to sum up all in one, impudently appearing at their lordships' bar to betray those very secrets which he confessed he had drawn from the person he called his lord, his prince and master, under the strongest confidence.” “Thus far,” he concluded, “I thought it my duty, in vindication of myself, to trouble your lordships, and without further trespassing upon your patience, freely submit my life, my fortune, my honour, and what is dearer of all, my posterity, to your lordships.”

After the managers for the prosecution had addressed the court, Lord Lovat was withdrawn from the bar, and the lord-high-steward, standing up uncovered, put the same question *mutatis mutandis* to each peer present, beginning with the youngest baron, as he had done at the trials of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino. The whole peers present—one

\* Trial published by order of the House of Peers. London, 1747.

hundred and seventeen in number—unanimously found his lordship guilty. Lord Lovat was then called back to the bar, and informed by the lord-high-steward of the judgment of the court. Being brought up next day to receive his sentence, he addressed the court in a long speech, in which he gave a rambling recital of his services to the house of Hanover; and after receiving sentence, he implored their lordships and the managers of the commons to recommend him to the mercy of his majesty. Before leaving the bar, he said “God bless you all, and I bid you an everlasting farewell. We shall not meet all in the same place again. I am sure of that.”

On the second of April the sheriffs of London and Middlesex received a warrant for his execution, which was appointed to take place on the ninth. His lordship, it is said, petitioned the king that he might be despatched by the maiden, the Scottish instrument of decapitation; but his application was not attended to. His approaching fate did not in the least discompose him, and though in the eightieth year of his age, his spirits never flagged, nor was his natural vivacity in any degree diminished. He said, the day before his execution, that he was never at any time in better spirits; and he told Dr Clark, his physician, that the Tower was a better recipe for upholding them than the emetics he used to give him.\* Though regardless of death, and even occasionally facetious on the circumstances of his coming exit, he was not indifferent to the consolations of religion, and cheerfully availed himself of the spiritual assistance of a Catholic priest. Early on the morning of the execution, twelve hundred troops drew up on Tower-hill, and all the preparations were gone through as in the former instances. About an hour before the execution, a serious accident occurred, in consequence of the fall of a large scaffolding with four hundred persons, by which eighteen were killed on the spot, and many bruised and crippled. When he arrived at the scaffold, Lovat was obliged, from infirmity, to obtain the assistance of two persons in mounting. He displayed, to the very last, his characteristic fortitude, and, with great coolness, felt the edge of the axe, with the sharpness of which he declared himself satisfied. He gave the executioner ten guineas; advised him to perform his duty firmly, and take a good aim; and told him that if he mangled his shoulders, he would be displeased with him. In conversation he used frequently to cite passages from the classics; and, on the present occasion, he repeated the celebrated saying of Horace,—“*Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*,” as peculiarly applicable to the cause for which he was about to suffer. After spending some time in devotion, this remarkable man laid his head down upon the block with the utmost composure, and the executioner struck off his head at a single blow. His lordship had given directions that his body should be carried to Scotland, and his friends had removed it to an undertaker’s in

\* Culloden Papers, p. 362.



the Strand preparatory to its being sent down; but, by order of government, it was interred at St Peter's in the Tower, in the same grave with Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino.\*

Whilst these executions could not fail to impress the disaffected with a strong idea of the power and inclination of government to uphold and maintain the authority of the law, they were calculated by their number and severity rather to excite a thirst for vengeance, than to inspire that salutary fear which it is the object of punishment to promote. During these executions, a scheme was concocted to arrest the arm of the law by seizing and carrying off the person of the duke of Cumberland, and retaining him as an hostage for the lives of the prisoners. The originators of this bold design went from London to Paris, and laid their plan before Charles shortly after his arrival from Scotland, and offered to make the attempt; but Charles refused to sanction it, and the scheme was dropped.†

By way of conciliating the offended feelings of the nation, the government got an act of indemnity passed in June, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, granting a pardon, with certain exceptions, to all persons who had been engaged in the rebellion; but these exceptions were so numerous as to divest the act of all pretensions to the character of grace or favour. Besides all persons attainted of high treason by act of parliament or judgment, or conviction of high treason by verdict, confession, or otherwise, upwards of eighty persons were specially excepted by name.‡

\* The character of Lord Lovat has been sketched in a very favourable light by his friend, Mr Drummond of Bochaldy, in a letter to Mr Edgar, secretary to the Chevalier de St George, for which see a copy in the Appendix taken from the original, among the Stuart Papers.

† Vide Letter in the Appendix from the Rev. Myles Macdonell to the Chevalier de St George, dated St Amiens, 4th May, 1747, copied from the original among the Stuart Papers, in the possession of his majesty.

‡ Among these were the earls of Traquair and Kellie, Robert Maccarty, styling himself Lord Clancarty, Sir James Stewart of Good Trees; Sirs John Douglas, James Harrington, James Campbell, William Dunbar, and Alexander Bannerman; Archibald Stewart, late provost of Edinburgh, Chisholm of Comar, Cameron of Dunggallon, Drummond of Bochaldy, Fraser of Foyers, Farquharson of Bulmarrell, Fraser of Avochnacloy, Dow Fraser of Little Garth, Fraser of Browich, Fraser of Gortuleg, Gordon of Abochie, Grant of Glenmoriston, Hunter of Burnside, Hay younger of Rannus, Irvine of Drum, Macdonald of Barisdale, M'Gregor of Glengyle, Macleod of Raasay, Gilbert Menzies, younger of Pitfodels, Moir of Stonywood, Æneas Macdonald, James Macdonald, brother to Kinlochmoidart, Macdonell of Glengary, Macdonald of Glenco, Robertson of Strowan, Robertson of Faskelly, Robertson of Blairfetty, Stuart of Kynnachin, Turner, younger of Turner-hall, &c. &c.

Among those formerly attainted and excepted in the above-mentioned act, were the following, viz. Lords Pitsligo, Elcho, Nairne, and Ogilvy, Lord George Murray, Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord John Drummond, — Drummond, eldest son of Lord Strathallan, the Master of Lovat, Graham of Duntroon, Sir William Gordon of Park, Gordon of Glenbucket, young Lochiel, Dr Cameron, Cameron of Tor Castle, young Clanranald, Lochgary, young Barisdale, Macdonald of Glenco, Macpherson of Cluny, MacLachlan of Castle Lachlan, Mackinnon of Mackinnon, Stewart of Ardsheel, Lockhart, younger of Carnwath, Oliphant of Gask and his eldest son, Graham of Airth, Roy Stewart, Farquharson of Monalterye, Hay of Restalrig, &c.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Arrival of Prince Charles at Paris—Meeting with his brother—Reception at Fontainebleau—He returns to Paris—Admonished by his father as to his conduct in France—Charles retires to Avignon—His journey to Spain—Return to Paris—Preliminaries of Aix-la-Chapelle—Suspension of arms—Charles and his father protest against the treaty—Charles ordered to quit the French territories—His refusal—Ordered by his father to comply—His arrest—Conducted out of the French dominions—Arrival at Avignon.

As soon as the French court received intelligence of the return of Charles to France, they gave orders to fit up the castle of St Antoine for his reception. After resting a day or two at Morlaix, he set off for Paris, where he arrived on the morning of the fifteenth of October, (N. S.)\* He was met near Paris by his brother, and a considerable number of the nobility, who conducted him to his appointed residence. The meeting between the two brothers, who had not seen each other for nearly three years, was of a most affecting description, and the persons who were present declared that they had never before witnessed such a moving scene. Charles at first sight did not know Henry, but the latter at once knew the prince, who is described by his brother as not in the least altered in his appearance since he last saw him, only that he had "grown somewhat broader and fatter."†

Louis with his court was at this time residing at Fontainebleau, and as Charles was impatient to see him, he sent Colonel Warren thither with instructions to Colonel O'Bryen, the accredited minister of the Chevalier de St George at the court of France, to request an audience. Some difficulties were started at first by the French ministers on the subject of this demand, but the king at last consented to see Charles and his brother, but stipulated that they should preserve a sort of in-

\* It is to be attended to, that in alluding to Charles's proceedings on the continent the New Style is followed, and it is hardly necessary to remark that the dates of all the documents in the Appendix, written on the continent, are those of the same style. Consequently the letters of Charles and Colonel Warren, written from Morlaix, bear the date of 10th October, 1746, and not of 29th September.

† Vide Letter in the Appendix from Henry to his Father, dated from Clichy, 17th October, 1746, taken from the original among the Stuart Papers.

cognito.\* Louis in fact had become tired of the war, and that he might not widen the breach between him and the court of London by appearing to recognise the pretensions of the exiled family, he had resolved not to receive the sons of the Chevalier at his court as princes of England. James, who was fully aware of this policy of the French court, thus argues the matter with Charles, who naturally felt indignant at the mode of his reception; "I am far from saying but that the king of France might have done a great deal more for you; but after all, we must consider the vast expenses he is at during the war, and the system he has certainly laid down to himself of not treating you and your brother as princes of England, which system I own shocked me at first, and seems preposterous in the present situation of affairs; but when one considers the uncertainty of the events of war, and that if we are not restored before a peace, the king of France cannot but continue to acknowledge the elector of Hanover as king of England, and by consequence treat us no more as princes of England; we cannot but own that it is wise in him, and in a certain sense even kind to us, not to expose himself and us to a possibility and necessity of ceasing to treat us according to our birth, after having once done it."†

If Louis had been actuated by the motive thus charitably imputed to him, the reasoning of James would have been plausible enough; but Charles, who had both before and during his expedition experienced the hollowness of the French policy, could not fail to perceive that his father had formed an erroneous idea of Louis's intentions. As by the treaty of Fontainebleau he had been recognised by that monarch as prince regent of Scotland, Charles had good reason to complain of the mode in which he was to be received by his most Christian majesty; but he repressed his feelings of disappointment on the occasion, and yielded to a necessity which it was not in his power to control. He resolved, however, to neutralize the effect which his appearance at court as a private person might have upon the people by getting up a splendid equipage, and proceeding to Fontainebleau in great state.

Accordingly, on the day fixed for his reception at court, Charles left the castle of St Antoine, accompanied by a number of his friends in coaches and on horseback. Lords Ogilvy, and Elcho, and Kelly the prince's secretary, were in the first carriage:‡ Charles himself, along with Lord Lewis Gordon, and old Lochiel, were in the second; two pages richly dressed sat on the outside, and ten footmen in livery walked on each side of the coach. The third coach contained four gentle-

\* Letter from O'Bryen to the Chevalier, 17th October, 1746, in the Appendix.

† Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 6th January, 1747.—*Stuart Papers*.

‡ The author of the "Authentic Account of the Conduct of the Young Chevalier while in France," printed in London, 1749, says that old Glenbucket was in the first coach. This, however, is a mistake, as Glenbucket did not make his escape from Scotland till 25th November, upwards of a month after Charles's first visit to the French court, and did not reach France till spring, 1747. See his letter to Secretary Edgar in the Appendix.

men of the prince's bed-chamber; and young Lochiel and several other gentlemen followed on horseback. The *cortege* was on the whole very grand; but Charles himself attracted particular attention by the superabundance of his dress. His coat was of rose-coloured velvet embroidered with silver, and lined with silver tissue. His waistcoat was of rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe set out in scollops. The cockade in his hat, and the buckles of his shoes, were studded with diamonds. The George at his bosom, and the order of St Andrew, which he wore at one of the button-holes of his waistcoat, were illustrated with large diamonds. "In fine," observes an enthusiastic eye-witness, "he glittered all over like the star which they tell you appeared at his nativity." Louis received Charles with great kindness, and, embracing him, said, "Mon tres chere Prince, je rend grace au Ciel qui me donne le plaisir extreme, de vous arrivé en bonne santé, apres tout de fatigues et de dangers. Vous avez fait voir que toutes les grands qualités des Heros, et des Philosophes se trouvent unies en vous; et j'espere qu'un de ces jours vous recevrez la recompence d'un merite si extraordinaire."\* After remaining about a quarter of an hour with the king, the prince passed to the apartment of the queen, who welcomed him with every demonstration of good-will and affection. He had never been at the court of France before, and every person was extremely desirous of seeing a prince of whom they had heard so much. In retiring from the palace, the whole court crowded about Charles, and complimented him so highly upon the fame of his exploits, that they could scarcely have testified greater joy or expressed themselves in warmer terms had the dauphin himself been engaged in the same dangerous expedition, and returned from it in safety.† Charles, it is said, afterwards returned to the palace, and supped with the king, queen, and royal family; and all his attendants were magnificently entertained at several tables which had been appointed for them, according to their rank.

Though the conduct of the French court towards Charles had been deceptive, yet it is understood that Louis was not so bad as his ministers in this respect; and besides, he appears to have entertained a warm regard for Charles personally. It is believed that Louis would have given proofs of his esteem by embarking with spirit in the cause of the exiled

\* "My dearest prince, I thank Heaven for the very great pleasure it gives me to see you returned in good health after so many fatigues and dangers. You have proved that all the great qualities of the heroes and philosophers are united in you, and I hope that you will one day receive the reward of such extraordinary merit."

† Authentic Account, p. 6. The writer of this account, who states that he obtained his information from an eye-witness, says that when Charles arrived at Paris, he could not be prevailed upon to take any refreshment, but instantly proceeded to Versailles to see the king, and that though Louis was at that time engaged in council on some affairs of importance, he immediately quitted it to receive him. He then relates the interview as above stated, and then says that Charles was afterwards publicly received at Fontainebleau in the character of the Prince regent of England, Scotland, and Ireland. It is certain, however, that the first time that Charles met Louis after his return to France was at Fontainebleau, and it is equally certain that he was never recognised at court as a British prince.



family; but he was controlled by his ministers, who certainly never were serious in their professions. Of the sincerity of the queen, however, there cannot be the least doubt. She and Charles's mother had passed many of their juvenile years together, and had contracted a warm attachment to each other, which had remained unaltered during the life of the latter. In Charles she now beheld the favourite son of her late friend, whom he strongly resembled, and she looked upon him with a maternal tenderness, which was enhanced by the reputation of his exploits, and the knowledge of the sufferings he had endured. Whenever he came to court she is said to have conversed with him for whole hours together, during which she would make him relate his adventures to her and the ladies around her, all of whom were frequently bathed in tears at the affecting recital.

Within a day or two after his arrival at Fontainebleau Charles wrote a letter to Louis requesting the honour of a private audience on the subject of his affairs, which appears to have been granted, as three days thereafter, namely, on the twenty-fifth of October, the prince requested another interview for the purpose of delivering into the king's own hands a short memoir in relation to his affairs.\* Unable to obtain a satisfactory answer, Charles left Fontainebleau, and took up his residence with his brother at Clichy, in the neighbourhood of Paris. His company was much sought after by the fashionable circles of that gay metropolis, but he kept himself comparatively retired. He appeared at the opera for the first time on the thirtieth of October, and was received by the audience with clapping of hands, which continued till the commencement of the opera, and was renewed at the conclusion.†

From Clichy Charles despatched a letter of condolence to the king of Spain on the death of the late king, his father. He stated that no person had greater reason than he had to regret such an event, as that monarch had always given him important tokens of his friendship, and particularly during his stay in Scotland. He flattered himself that this friendship would be hereditary on the part of his Catholic majesty, that the latter would continue the same good intentions towards him which the late king had entertained, and that he would give him such aid as he might judge proper for recovering the just rights of his family, and establishing a firm alliance between the two crowns.‡

Though surrounded by men of integrity, who had suffered proscription for his sake, Charles does not appear to have consulted any of them in his difficulties, nor to have honoured them with the least share of his confidence. Shortly after his return to France he wrote to his tutor,

\* Both these letters will be found in the Appendix.

† Letter from O'Bryen to the Chevalier de St George, 31st October, 1746, among the Stuart Papers, Appendix.

‡ See this letter in the Appendix, taken from the original draught in Charles's own hand among the Stuart Papers.

Sir Thomas Sheridan, who, after escaping to France, had repaired to Rome, requesting him to join him at Paris, and in the meantime he availed himself of the equivocal services of George Kelly. Sir Thomas, however, saw Charles no more, having died soon after the receipt of his pupil's letter. Charles then adopted Kelly as his confident, but he appears to have been in every way unworthy of such a mark of distinction.\*

Some time after Charles's return to Paris, Louis removed his court

\* Of the unlimited confidence which these two favourites enjoyed with Charles the Stuart Papers afford abundant proofs. Sheridan in fact directed every thing when Charles was in Scotland, and it was solely owing to his aversion to a hill campaign,—the fatigue of which he said he could not endure,—that Lord George Murray could not prevail upon Charles to desist from engaging the duke of Cumberland at Culloden; yet so great was the ascendancy which Sir Thomas had acquired over the mind of Charles, that the ruinous result which ensued did not in the least weaken it. Writing to Secretary Edgar, from Clichy on 6th November, 1746, Charles observes, "I say nothing to Sir Thomas, because I am in hopes he is already set out for to join me. My waiting on him gives me a great deal of trouble, for though I have a very good opinion of Kelly, and must do him the justice of saying I am very well pleased with him; yet neither he, or any body else much less, I would absolutely trust in my secrets as I would Sir Thomas, which occasions in me a great deal of toil and labour." Three days before this, Sheridan had written a letter to Charles from Albano, congratulating him on his arrival, in which he says, "I shall not trouble your Royal Highness with representing to you the cruel anxieties under which I have laboured ever since the unfortunate day that tore me from your presence." Edgar announced Sheridan's death to Charles in a letter dated 2d December, 1746, and sent along with it all the papers found in Sir Thomas's repositories having relation to the Prince or his affairs, among which was a sketch of a dying speech which Sir Thomas had prepared in case he had been taken and executed. Alluding to the difficulties in which he was placed by the demise of Sheridan, Charles thus wrote to Edgar from Paris on 16th January, 1747, "Now that my old friend Sir Thomas is dead, I am at a vast deal of trouble, being obliged to write every thing of consequence with my own hand, and Hicks (the assumed name for Kelly in Edgar's key,) not entering in business with me, because, as I suppose, he takes it amiss that I do not tell him every thing that any body may tell me, it being my rule to be exact in keeping every body's secret; and if I did not do so I would not be trusted by several people. I found Hicks so much out of humour that my tenderness for him obliged me to tell him something, but under the greatest tie of secrecy, which I do not doubt he will keep." Dr King insinuates, from the ignorance of Charles, that Sheridan was in the pay of the English government; but it would be doing injustice to the memory of the favourite to believe him guilty of such baseness without direct proofs of his criminality. The Doctor's words are: "His (Charles's) governor was a protestant, and I am apt to believe purposely neglected his education, of which, it is surmised, he made a merit to the English ministry; for he was always supposed to be their pensioner. The Chevalier Ramsay, the author of *Cyrus*, was Prince Charles's preceptor for about a year; but a court faction removed him." The illiterateness of Charles is very perceptible in his ignorance of the orthography of French and English. Both in style and orthography they contrast most unfavourably with those of his father, whose epistolary correspondence cannot fail to give the reader a favourable idea of his literary acquirements. Though James appears to have had a good opinion of Sir Thomas, yet after his death he complained bitterly to Charles, in a long and very interesting letter, (that of 3d February, 1747, in the Appendix,) of the conduct of the favourite, and in general of the other persons who obtained the Prince's confidence. It was James's deliberate conviction that their object was to corrupt Charles, by withdrawing him from his "duty to God in the first place, and to him in the second!" The sequel of Charles's unfortunate history seems to confirm this opinion. A most unfavourable sketch of the character of Kelly, the new favourite, is given by Father Myles Macdonell, his own relative, for which see the Father's letter to the Chevalier de St George, 4th May, 1747, in the Appendix.

from Fontainebleau to Versailles, where the prince and his brother met with a cordial reception from the royal family and the persons about the court, but Charles could not obtain any distinct pledge of support. This result was anticipated by his father, who had a just perception of the policy of France in his regard. "I am afraid," says James to the prince, "that you will have little reason to be satisfied with the court of France, and that you will not have less need of courage and fortitude in bearing and suffering in that country than you had in acting in Britain." Apprehensive of the impetuosity of Charles's temper, he most earnestly recommended him to conduct himself with patience and prudence, and warned him of the consequences which might ensue by adopting a different course.\* This admonition, however, was thrown away upon Charles.

Resolved to put the sincerity of the French court to the test, Charles presented a memorial to Louis on the state of his affairs. In this paper he drew the attention of the French king to Scotland, which he represented as on the eve of destruction; and he stated, that as the government appeared resolved to confound the innocent with the guilty, it was reasonable to conclude that the discontent of the nation would be general, and that if he was enabled to enter upon another enterprise the number of his adherents would be tripled. He also stated that he would be deceiving his most Christian majesty were he to say that he could again subdue Scotland after his friends had been destroyed, and that if the opportunity was then lost the king of France might for ever renounce any expected aid to his arms by a revolution in that country,—that he had always had numerous partisans in Scotland, though he had never had a sufficient supply either of money, provisions, or regular troops, and that if he had been well provided with only one of these three helps, he would still have been master of Scotland, and probably also of England,—that if he had had three thousand regular troops he would have penetrated into England immediately after the battle of Preston, and as George II. was then absent from the kingdom, and the English troops in Flanders, he could have marched to London without opposition,—that had he been supplied with provisions he could have pursued General Hawley after the battle of Falkirk, and destroyed all his army, which was the flower of the British troops. Finally, that if he had received two months earlier only the half of the money which his majesty had sent him, he would have fought the duke of Cumberland on equal terms, and he would certainly have beaten him, since with four thousand men only he had kept victory in suspense, though opposed by an army of twelve thousand. Having thus stated the causes to which the failure of his expedition was owing, Charles proposed that Louis should furnish an army of eighteen or twenty thousand men, which he stated he would employ usefully for their mutual interests, which he considered inseparable.†

\* Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, of 3d November, 1746, in the Appendix.

† There are two copies of this memoir among the Stuart Papers. One of them writ.

Charles appears to have conducted himself, hitherto, with great moderation ; but as no notice was taken of his demand for troops, he grew violent and imperious. The French ministry had, by order of Louis, granted a sum of sixty-two thousand nine hundred livres for the relief of such of Charles's adherents as had arrived in France,\* and Louis himself now offered him a pension suitable to his rank ; but he refused to accept of it. James, who was fully informed of the circumstances of Charles's behaviour, thus expostulates with him :—" By the way, what you say in relation to Cardinal Tencin, I am afraid you may have mistaken his meaning, and that you may have taken for his entering into your sentiments, a certain respectful silence in not contradicting them ; and the truth is, I dread your feeling severely one day the consequence of your present conduct towards the court of France ; for although, on account of the obligations they owe you, they may, out of a certain prudence and policy dissemble for a time, yet by gaining the ill-will of those ministers, and by carrying things too high, you will sooner or later certainly feel the bad effects of it ; whereas, had you received what the king of France lately offered you, it was still putting yourself in the possession of feeling the effects of his generosity, and you would have probably got much more in time in some shape or another."† Count D'Argenson also was very complaisant to Charles ; but James cautioned him not to infer therefrom, that his conduct was approved of by that minister. " For my part," says he, " I am persuaded he is a very good friend to us ; but you must not flatter yourself, nor infer from general expressions or civilities from any of those ministers, that your present conduct towards them can either be agreeable to them or their master, for it cannot but be displeasing to them ; and though they may bear with it for a time even out of a certain policy and decency after all that is past, yet it is impossible but that sooner or later you must feel the bad, and very bad effects of it, and you give by it but too natural and too reasonable a handle to those who don't wish our cause well, to oppose the king of France making any new attempt in our favour by representing to him your present conduct as a mark of your sentiments towards France and the French, who might have little to expect from you at home, since you behave towards them with so much *hauteur* and indifference when you are amongst them and depend on them, whereas, had you accepted, or should you accept the pension which was offered you, and carry yourself towards all those ministers with a certain civility and attention which may show your confidence in them, we may reasonably hope the best from them as long as the war lasts. For my part, I see nothing mean or unbecoming you in this conduct,

ten in the first person, and holograph of the prince, is titled, " Memoir to ye F. K. from me of 10th Nov. 1746." The other is titled, 'Ancien Project de Memoire,' and is written in the third person. Both are in the Appendix.

\* Statements showing the division of this money, will be found in the Appendix.

† Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 6th January, 1747.—*Stuart Papers*.



and if you expect any good from them, you must, out of necessity, out of prudence and policy, submit to it, for we cannot hope to get any good from them by haughtiness and dryness. In our situation we must not expect that the French, or any other prince upon his throne, should be the first to seek us. You see, by woeful experience, that, without foreign assistance, it is in vain to hope we can ever go home; and, therefore, I think it behoves you much to make the proper advances for that purpose to the court of Spain as well as that of France, and that you should neglect nothing to cultivate the friendship, and obtain the assistance of these two courts." \*

Waiting upwards of two months, and receiving no answer to his memorial, Charles addressed a letter to Louis on the twelfth of January, in which, after alluding to the favours his majesty had granted to his companions in misfortune, which he regarded as a new proof of his majesty's generosity towards his family; he stated that his object in coming to the court of France was to propose a plan of an expedition, which would be much more advantageous for both parties than the former;—that this object alone occupied all his thoughts, and that every other step which had been proposed to the king of France to promote his personal interests, had been done without his sanction. He then informed his majesty, that having given him a general idea of the nature of the expedition he wished, without receiving any answer to his application, he would feel himself obliged, in his own justification, to intimate the result to his friends, in order to show that he had done every thing in his power for them;—that he had it not in his power at that time to present to his majesty a suitable acknowledgment for the favours he had received from him; but he hoped that he would be one day in a condition to give proofs thereof;—that, notwithstanding his misfortunes, he believed he would fail in the duty he owed to the faithful subjects of his father, if, by occupying himself at Paris with his own personal concerns, he should flatter them with the vain and distant hope of seeing him again at their head;—that the only hope he now had was in their fidelity; and since he had had the happiness of proving their zeal and affection, he would endeavour to preserve both by supporting them in any attempt they might make to shake off the yoke;—and that he could not avoid informing his majesty, that, notwithstanding the bad success of his enterprise, he had just received offerings of condolence full of affection, and the most disinterested advice on the part of his friends in England, through a person of distinction who had lately arrived in France, charged with instructions to that effect. He concluded by saying, that as he could not appear in the way in which he was persuaded his majesty wished in his own heart to see him, he would retire to some place where his present condition would be of less consequence, and where he would be always ready to concur with the king of France in such steps as might contribute to

\* Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 20th January, 1747.—*Stuart Papers*.

his glory, and the restoration of his family to their just rights, and he trusted his majesty would approve of his resolution. He added, that if, during his absence, the king of France should find it convenient to think seriously of another expedition, he would immediately return to the court on being informed of his majesty's wish, and that, in the meantime, he would appoint a person at Paris who had his entire confidence to negotiate in his behalf with the king of France and his ministers.\*

As neither Louis nor his ministers had any intention of entering into Charles's views, they must have been well pleased with his determination to retire from Paris, where his presence had become exceedingly annoying; but some of his adherents regarded such a step with different feelings, as they thought it would be highly injurious to his interests. Among those who took an active part in opposing this resolution, was young Lochiel. No man was more firmly bent upon another attempt than this high-minded chief, and instead of thinking with Charles, that no expedition should be undertaken without a large force, he was for accepting any succours that could be obtained. Some time after his arrival at Paris, he had opened a correspondence with the Chevalier de St George, in which he represented to him that the misfortunes which had befallen his cause, though great, were not irretrievable, provided timely measures were adopted for checking the depopulating system which the English government seemed to have adopted. He stated that the ruin of the Scottish adherents of the exiled family would dispirit their friends in England so much, that a restoration would become extremely difficult, if not impracticable, and that, at best, it could only be effected by an army superior to all the forces of the government; whereas, if ten regiments only were landed in Scotland before the Highlands were depopulated, not the Highlanders merely, but all other Scotchmen of spirit would unite in their support, and give so much employment to the troops of the government, that the English Jacobites might, with little assistance, be in a condition to shake off the yoke. He, therefore, advised the Chevalier to accept of whatever succours might be offered. Acting upon principles of the purest disinterestedness, Lochiel was opposed to every proposal which might seem to imply an abandonment of the cause which he had espoused, and when informed by Charles that an application had been made to the French court for a regiment to Lord Ogilvy, he told him that he disapproved of it, as such an application might make the court of France regard the affairs of the exiled family to be more desperate than they really were, and might prevent them from granting a body of troops for a new expedition. Charles seemed to concur in this view; but Lord Ogilvy having obtained a regiment, Charles proposed to ask one for Lochiel also. He

\* Letter from Charles to Louis, 12th January, 1747, in the Appendix, from the Stuart Papers. Sir James Stewart appears to have been the person Charles intended to appoint, as there is a draught of a commission in his hand-writing among these papers, bearing the date of 29th December, 1746, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.

objected, however, to the application being made, and told his royal highness that Lord Ogilvy, or others, might incline to make a figure in France, but that his ambition was to serve his country, or perish with it. Charles remarked that he was doing every thing in his power to forward his cause; and persisting in his resolution to procure a regiment for his faithful friend, Lochiel consented to accept of it if obtained, from respect to the prince, though he declared his determination to share the fate of the people he had undone, and if they were to be sacrificed to the vengeance of the government, to fall along with them.\* Lochiel now endeavoured to persuade Charles to remain at Paris, and represented to him the bad consequences that might ensue to his affairs by retiring; but his resolution was fixed.

Charles had in fact resolved to pay a visit to the king of Spain, and his retirement to Avignon, whither he announced his intention to proceed, was a mere blind to conceal his design from the court of France. The Chevalier, desirous in the present posture of his affairs of paying his court to his Catholic majesty, had been, for some time, applying for permission to send his youngest son to Spain. He announced his intention to Charles, and stated that he considered it would be for his interest, that while one of his sons was in France, the other should be in Spain.† He also thus notified his design to Henry: "You must not be angry with me for being about a project which will necessarily part you from your brother for some time; and it is to get leave for you to go into Spain, for I think it would be for the interest of our family and your personal advantage, that you should go thither in the present juncture, and I own I am so fond of, and intent upon this idea, that I am impatient to see it put in execution, and, therefore, I have taken measures, that if permission be granted, Mr O'Bryen should be immediately informed of it directly from Spain, so that when he may receive such an answer from them, I would have you part immediately for that country without waiting for any further instructions or directions from me."‡

When James felt so uneasy in reference to Charles's deportment towards the French ministry, as to write him repeated remonstrances on the subject, it may be supposed that he would have been gratified at his resolution to retire to Avignon, more particularly as the Chevalier's agents at Paris, who had been discarded by Charles, would have probably regained the little influence they had with the French court; but James was equally disappointed with the prince's friends at Paris at Charles's determination. In a letter which he wrote to the prince in answer to one from the latter, dated the twenty-first of January, stating his intention to retire to Avignon, James stated the great concern which he felt,

\* Letter from Lochiel to the Chevalier de St George, of 16th January, 1747, in the Appendix, from the original among the Stuart Papers.

† Letter from the Chevalier to Prince Charles, 13th January, 1747, in the Appendix.

‡ Letter to Prince Henry, 23d January, 1747, among the Stuart Papers.

at a step of which he could not comprehend the meaning, and that nothing, in his opinion, could justify it but a resolution on the part of the king of France not to allow him to remain in that kingdom.\*

Charles left Paris for Avignon about the end of January, seventeen hundred and forty-seven. During his stay at Paris, he had evinced a laudable anxiety to mitigate the sufferings of his companions in misfortune by acts of kindness; but there was one among them who met with neither sympathy nor gratitude at his hands. This was Lord George Murray, who had sacrificed more for him than any other individual then living. Aware of this feeling of Charles towards him, Lord George did not visit Paris on his arrival in Holland in December; but, after some stay, proceeded to Rome to pay his respects to the Chevalier de St George. Charles, however, appears to have expected him at Paris; and in the event of his arrival there during his absence, he left written instructions with his brother Henry, to do every thing in his power to get him arrested and committed to prison.†

Shortly after Charles's departure, his brother, Henry, received a notification from his father, of his intention to send him to Spain. He immediately sent a copy of the Chevalier's letter to Charles, and stated his regret at the prospect of being removed to such a distance from his brother; but instead of thanking him for this kind expression of his feelings, Charles returned him a very petulant answer. He informed him that, while in Scotland, he had formed a design of going to the court

\* Letter from the Chevalier to Charles, 17th February, 1747, in the Appendix.

† This circumstance, so disgraceful to the memory of Charles, is mentioned in a letter from Prince Henry to his father, dated, Paris, 30th January, 1747, under the signature of John Paterson, a name sometimes assumed by Henry, when corresponding in cipher. The original letter is among the Stuart Papers in the possession of his Majesty.

Lord George's arrival at Rome was announced to Charles by the Chevalier, in a letter dated, 21st March, 1747. The following extract (taken from the original draught in the same collection,) places James's character in a very favourable point of view: "I must tell you that I was much surprised to other day at the arrival of Lord George Murray in this place. After having absconded many months in Scotland, he found means to come to Holland, and from thence by Venice here. By what Bramston, (the corresponding name of O'Sullivan,) says, I am sorry to find that you have not been pleased with him, but tho' I questioned Bramston much about him, yet I own I don't see any motive to suspect his fidelity and loyalty. People may have an odd, and even a wrong way of thinking, and may even fail in something towards ourselves, but may be men of honour and honesty with all that; so that considering his birth, and the figure he made in your service, and that you had never writ to me about him yourself, I thought it would be very wrong in me not to receive him with all kindness, and even distinction. I don't know how long he will stay here, or how he proposes to dispose of himself, but I understand he has a mind to bring over his lady, and to live privately with her in some retired place. He is publicly here, for he has no measures to keep; and I must do him the justice to say that he never speaks of you but with great respect, and even elege. He told me he had left Lord Marischal at Venice as well as Lord Elcho: he says the last was endeavouring to make his peace with the English government, but that he does not believe he will succeed, and that he thinks of staying in Italy till he sees the success of his endeavours. I remarked he brought me no message from him." See also the letters in the Appendix from the Chevalier to Charles of 25th April, and 2d and 9th May, 1747, copied also from the original copies in the same collection. All of them, as far as they relate to Lord George, will be read with pleasure, but particularly the first.



of Spain himself, and that he had left Paris with that intention,—that having resolved to make the journey, he had not asked leave from his father for fear of being refused,—and that he intended to go and return with all imaginable privacy. He then stated that he would despatch O'Sullivan to inform his father of his design, and to inform him of every step he had taken since he had come to France. He therefore entreated Henry, by all the ties of brotherly affection, and by the regard which he had for the success of the cause, not to start from Paris though he should get leave, until the result of Charles's journey was known. In conclusion, he requested him to confide the secret of his journey to the king of France upon receipt of his next letter, and to represent to Louis that he had suddenly taken the resolution of making a journey to Spain after his arrival at Avignon. Henry, whose character was extremely mild and conciliating, stated, in reply, that he had communicated “the king's letter” to him as soon as he had received it, and that his province in that, as in every thing else, was blind obedience; but he observed, that his father could not foresee Charles's resolution, and that if his going to Spain would change the system Charles seemed to have proposed to himself, he would not make use of any leave he might obtain without receiving farther orders, which, he was convinced, would be to remain at Paris, whenever his father knew of Charles's determination to proceed to Spain.\*

Accompanied by Kelly, Dr Cameron, and two or three domestics, Charles left Avignon about the middle of February, and reached Barcelona on the twenty-second of that month, whence he despatched a letter to Caravajal the Spanish minister, announcing his arrival in the territories of his Catholic majesty, and inclosing a letter to the king, requesting permission to come to Madrid to pay his respects.† His request being granted, Charles repaired to Madrid; but his reception appears to have been cold and formal, and he did not even see the queen-dowager, whom he was particularly anxious to meet.‡ Alluding to this visit, the Chevalier observes to Charles, “I am much more concerned than surprised you had not a better reception in Spain; but I am in hopes your going thither will be of no ill consequence, provided you manage your matters in a proper manner on your return to Paris.”§

In a memoir which Charles presented to Caravajal on the sixth of

\* See Henry's letter of 3d February, 1717, Charles's answer of the 9th, and Henry's reply of the 15th, in the Appendix, copied from the originals in the possession of his Majesty. Charles despatched O'Sullivan to Rome as he proposed, and, as his father had often complained that Charles kept him in the dark on the subject of his affairs, he authorized O'Sullivan by way of *placebo* to communicate all he knew on the subject. The following is a copy of the commission granted by Charles to O'Sullivan, as copied from a draught in Secretary Kelly's hand-writing among the Stuart Papers:

“I do hereby authorize Mr O'Sullivan to declare openly and without the least reserve to the king every thing that has come to his knowledge, either in France or Scotland, in relation to my affairs.

“AVIGNON, February 14th, 1747.”

† Vide the letter to Caravajal, in the Appendix. *Stuart Papers*.

‡ Vide the letter from Charles to the Queen-dowager, in the Appendix. *ibid*.

§ Letter to Charles, 17th April, 1747, in the Appendix. *Ibid*.

March, to sound the intentions of the Spanish court, he requested, 1mo, to be informed in the event of the king of France agreeing to fit out an expedition in his favour what aid his Catholic majesty would contribute in its support. 2do, He required that thirty thousand fusils, and ten thousand sabres should be set apart for his use in a convenient place, in order that when occasion required he might obtain them at once in a quiet manner. 3tio, That two or three small ships should be got ready as soon as possible, and loaded with grain, to be sent to Scotland under the charge of a gentleman he would send along with them. 4to, That the king of Spain should give him commissions for three Scotch regiments, which, when completed, should be formed into a brigade.\* In answer to these demands, Caravajal stated, that his master could spare no ships of war to assist in the expedition, as he had only seventeen in Europe, that some of these were disabled, and that the rest were employed in the Italian war; that as to arms, orders would be given to manufacture the required number; and that arrangements would be made for carrying his demand for a supply of grain into effect. Finally, that as to the proposal about the regiments, he believed his majesty would give his consent to it.†

After remaining four or five days at Madrid, Charles retired to Guadalaxara till he should obtain a definitive answer on the subject of raising the regiments. His Catholic majesty at last consented, but stipulated that none but Scotchmen should be admitted into these regiments, a condition which, under existing circumstances, rendered their formation impracticable.‡ Finding his journey thus in a manner unavailing, Charles set off from Guadalaxara about the middle of February for Paris, where he arrived on the twenty-fourth of March, after an absence of about two months. On the following day he wrote a letter to Caravajal announcing his arrival, which he also intimated next day to the Duke d'Huescar, the Spanish minister at the court of Versailles.§

It is probable that Charles's return to Paris was hastened by a remonstrance sent to him by Lochiel on the subject of his retirement to

\* Vide Memoir in the Appendix.

† Stuart Papers.

‡ Caravajal to Charles, 10th March, 1747; Charles's answer to Caravajal's of 11th March, in the Appendix. *Stuart Papers*.

§ The author of the 'Authentic Account,' printed at London in 1749, who has been implicitly followed by subsequent writers who give an account of Charles's conduct in France, quite mistakes the circumstances connected with Charles's journey to Spain. Neither Louis nor his ministers were in any shape aware of Charles's intentions to proceed to Spain, and the story of his having visited other courts during his absence from Paris is a fabrication. Scarcely five weeks elapsed from the time of his departure from Avignon till his return to Paris. Of a piece with the information about the Spanish journey, is the story told by the same writer about the promises of support made to Charles by the French court. It is but justice to say that deceptive as the promises of that court certainly were, both before and during Charles's enterprise, it appears from a recent examination of the Stuart Papers, made expressly for the present work, that no pledges of support were given to Charles after his return to France, unless, indeed, mere expressions of civility are to be held as such.

Avignon. This zealous chief represented to the prince that peace was the topic of general conversation, and as there existed an universal desire for it in France, there was reason to believe that George II. and his allies would obtain any terms they might ask in relation to his royal highness. He observed, that though assured there was nothing practicable, dangerous, or even desperate, that the prince would not attempt to prevent the ruinous consequences of such a peace, yet he was far from wishing to propose any measure of such a character, as he was persuaded that his royal highness had it still in his power to prevent a peace by wise and honourable means. After a cursory view of the prince's affairs, Lochiel earnestly entreated him to reflect that his reputation would suffer in the opinion of all mankind if he should give occasion to suppose that he had slighted or neglected every possible means of retrieving his affairs. He then proposed, that if Charles could not obtain from France such an embarkation of troops as would enable him to land in England and overturn the government at one blow; he should endeavour to get an embarkation for Scotland, where the disposition of the people was still so favourable, that if he could return to the Highlands with artillery, arms, and ammunition, and only four or five battalions of foot, he believed he would not only relieve his distressed friends, and save the remainder of the country from ruin, but deliver all Scotland from the slavery to which he supposed it would soon be reduced.\*

Charles accordingly renewed his application to Louis and his ministers, but he did not succeed in bringing "these people to reason,"† as he himself expresses it, or in other words, prevailing on them to accede to his demand. Baffled again in his attempt to induce the French government to engage actively in his cause, Charles contemplated a matrimonial alliance with the czarina, with the view of engaging her in his interest; but his father, to whom he communicated his design, considered it impracticable, and Charles appears to have immediately dropt it. Writing in answer to a letter from Charles, of twenty-fifth April, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, James says: "The chief article in it much surprised me; for what hopes can you have that a simple and a blunt proposal of marriage to the czarina, and of her undertaking an expedition in your favour can succeed at a time she is linked with the Elector of Hanover that she would not so much as allow Lord Marischal to stay in her country, and all you could expect by making such an overture at present would be to make that court in the first place, and others who might know it in the second, have but an indifferent opinion of the prudence and management of those who might direct your councils. Such a match, if it could really effect your restoration, would no doubt be desirable, though it is not without its objections even in respect to

\* Letter from Lochiel to Charles, 23d February, 1747, in the Appendix, copied from the original among the Stuart Papers.

† Letters from Charles to Sir James Harrington and "Lord Clancarty," 26th March, 1747, in the Appendix, from the Stuart Papers.

you, as well as to her, were she otherwise well-disposed towards us.”\* The Chevalier again recurs to the subject in a subsequent letter, in answer to one from Charles of the tenth April; “I look upon your hopes of the czarina’s being favourable to us to be without any foundation; and would say the same in relation to the king of Sweden (to whom Charles had an idea of applying for aid,) personally, but as the government there is not of the same sentiments as their king, and in good correspondence with France, it might not perhaps be impossible to obtain some assistance from that country in case of a new expedition from France, and I think that is a point it would be very proper to speak of, and consult Count D’Argenson about.†

Notwithstanding the untoward appearance of his affairs, Charles was by no means discouraged; but the promotion of his brother to the cardinalate, which took place about three months after his return from Spain, damped his spirits. Henry had every reason to be dissatisfied with Charles’s conduct towards himself personally; but he made no complaints, and it was only owing to the peevish way in which Charles alluded to him in his letters to his father that James became apprized of his dislike to his brother.‡ Being of a pious disposition, Henry became desirous of embracing the ecclesiastical state, and resolved to repair to Italy to consult his father upon the subject. As he knew that Charles would object to his departure from Paris, and might possibly take measures to prevent it, he went off without informing him, leaving a letter behind him addressed to Charles, in which he assigned the great desire he had to see his father as the reason for his departure.§ Charles complained to his father of Henry’s leaving Paris without acquainting him; but whilst James admitted that it was certainly not according to rule that Henry should have gone away without taking leave of Charles in person, he said he could not blame him for it under existing circumstances.||

The first notice which Charles received of the intended promotion of his brother was by a letter from his father, dated from Albano on the thirteenth of June, seventeen hundred and forty-seven.\*\* Charles was both grieved and enraged when he received this intelligence, and shut himself up for several hours to give vent to his sorrow. Hitherto

\* Letter from James to Charles, 25th April, 1747, in Appendix, from the Stuart Papers. It is singular that neither the letter to which this is an answer, nor any of the other really important letters of Charles, appear to be among the Stuart Papers, at least they did not fall within observation in the examination made for the present work, embracing a period of sixteen years, viz. from the beginning of 1740 to the close of the year 1755.

† Letter from James to Charles, 2d May, 1747, in the Appendix.

‡ See the Chevalier’s repeated remonstrances on this subject in his letters to Charles.

§ Letter from Henry to Charles, 29th April, 1747, in the Appendix, copied from the original among the Stuart Papers.

|| James’s letter of 24th May, 1747, in the Appendix.

\*\* This interesting letter, copied from the original in his Majesty’s possession, will be found in the Appendix.



Charles had drank the health of his father and brother every day at dinner, but he now discontinued that of Henry, and forbade every person about him ever to mention his name in his presence.\* The friends of the family regretted exceedingly this step on the part of Henry, which was certainly a very imprudent one, as far as the expected restoration of the Stuarts was concerned, as it narrowed their prospects of success; but neither Henry nor James had any ambition for a crown, and the latter intended, if the succession opened, never to assume the diadem.† Both the pope and James notified to the king of France the design of presenting Henry with a cardinal's hat, and Louis in return signified his approbation of the step.‡ The new cardinal was complimented on his elevation by the English, Scotch, and Irish Catholic seminaries in France, and other continental states; though it may be supposed that some of the directors of those institutions were, like others of their countrymen, displeased with it.§

Among other subjects of uneasiness which pressed heavily upon Charles at this time, was the state of his pecuniary concerns. He still resolutely refused to receive any pension from the French court, and it was perhaps owing to this refusal that the French ministry showed no disposition to pay the allowances which had been granted to his adherents. To relieve the prince's immediate necessities, his father had sent him an order on Waters, his banker at Paris, for fifteen thousand livres, significantly observing, however, that as Charles had refused the pension which Louis had offered, the Chevalier presumed that he had some other resource to supply his wants. James, however, had taken care that the obstinacy of his son should not stand in the way of Louis's bounty; and he accordingly directed O'Bryen his agent to draw the pension which Charles had refused; to apply the third part thereof for the use of his son, Henry, whilst in France, and to lay out the other two-thirds in the way he should be afterwards directed.|| Mr John Græme,\*\* in a letter to the Chevalier de St George, represents the prince as having no visible fund of subsistence, and that he could compare his "situation to nothing better than an immense labyrinth, out of which he had not

\* See Father Macdonell's letter to the Chevalier of 15th July, 1747, in the Appendix.

† Letter from James to Charles, 13th January, 1747. See also two extremely interesting letters of 3d April, 1747, and 28th January, 1748, which also throw considerable light on the domestic differences which existed between Charles and his father.

‡ James's letter to Louis, and the answer of the latter to the Pope, will be found in the Appendix.

§ Some idea of the feeling of the Scotch Jacobites may be formed from the letter of Principal Innes, of the Scots' college at Paris, to Secretary Edgar, in the Appendix.

|| Letter from James to Charles, 17th February, 1747.

\*\* This gentleman had been long in the service of the Chevalier de St George. His father acted as solicitor in Scotland to James II. He was knighted by the Chevalier, and acted for a considerable time as his secretary of state. He was with Prince Henry at Paris, and on his departure for Rome entered Charles's household. He afterwards became a Roman Catholic. A letter from him to the Chevalier de St George, on his conversion, will be found in the Appendix. He went to Rome in 1759, at the desire of the Chevalier, to act as his Secretary.

a bit of thread to conduct him."\* Charles was too proud to ask his father for aid; but the latter, on hearing of his difficulties, ordered O'Brien to pay forty thousand livres into O'Sullivan's hands on his account, out of the sum he had drawn on account of Charles's pension. The prince, however, consistently declined the money, knowing the source whence it came.†

In the circumstances in which he was thus placed by his own obstinacy, Charles, who never displayed much generosity towards those who had offended him, was not in the best possible mood to exercise the virtue of forgiveness. His father had repeatedly written him in relation to his threatened seizure of Lord George Murray, and had strongly inculcated the propriety of forgiving a man who had suffered so much in his cause; but Charles disregarded these paternal admonitions. Lord George was very desirous to effect a reconciliation, by making every reasonable submission that could be required of him, and for this purpose left Rome for Paris, where he arrived on the tenth of July at night. Charles was then living at St Ouen, in the neighbourhood of Paris; and Lord George having, the day after his arrival, ascertained the place of his residence, intended to proceed thither early on the twelfth, to pay his respects to the prince. His lordship was, however, prevented from carrying his intention into effect, by a message from Charles, who, hearing of his arrival in Paris, sent Mr Stafford, one of his household, to Lord George, to inform him that it was the prince's wish that he should not appear at St Ouen, as he had resolved not to see Lord George; and Stafford farther intimated to his lordship, that he would do well to leave Paris as soon as he could. Lord George then requested Stafford to acquaint his royal highness that he had come to France with no other design but to pay his respects to him, and that he would punctually obey his orders by leaving France. Not to trust too much to his memory for what had passed, Lord George, immediately after the departure of the messenger, wrote a note of the particulars, which he sent inclosed in a letter to the Chevalier de St George.‡

Notwithstanding frequent disputes with the French ministers, Charles always endeavoured to keep on good terms with their master; and when he defeated the confederates at Laffeldt, he wrote a letter expressive of the great joy he felt on the occasion.§ As every victory gained over the allies appeared favourable to his cause, he cannot be well blamed for entertaining such a feeling; but the existence of this document subverts the idea generally entertained, that Charles never expressed any satisfaction at the conquests of the French in Flanders. He was no doubt solicitous that Great Britain should maintain her honour in the

\* Letter from Græme to the Chevalier, 22d May, 1747, in the Appendix.

† Letters from James to Charles, 13th June, and 8th August, 1747, in the Appendix.

‡ The letter and memorandum, copied from the originals in the possession of his Majesty, will be found in the Appendix.

§ A copy of this letter, taken from the original draught in Charles's own hand-writing among the Stuart Papers, will be found in the Appendix.

field and on the ocean; but his patriotism was not so disinterested as to make him prefer that honour to the crown for which he was contending. It was not until he saw that he could no longer depend upon France for aid that his patriotism was roused.

Much as Charles trusted to his personal powers for negotiation, he soon found that it was no easy matter to bring the ministers of Louis "to reason;" and that, to be successful, it was necessary to obtain the aid of some experienced politician. He accordingly looked about him for one in whom he could repose his confidence, and fixed upon Lord Marischal as the person most likely to answer his wishes. To this nobleman, who was then living at Treviso, Charles despatched a letter in the month of August, in which he stated that his father had left him entire master, to employ such persons as were most agreeable to him, and that he might easily believe his first choice would light upon him. He informed his lordship that his situation was very critical, and required more than ever the assistance of his friends. As he placed an entire confidence in his lordship, and knew nobody that could be of more service to him, he informed him that his desire was that his lordship should join him with all convenient speed, and that he had too good an opinion of his loyalty and regard for his bleeding country to make him have the least doubt of his compliance, especially since all the causes of discontent which his lordship might, heretofore, have had were now quite removed. Highly complimentary as this letter was, Lord Marischal declined the honour intended him. He stated that he had not retired from public life till he saw how useless his services were, and must have been had they been continued; and that the broken state of his health required that he should pass the rest of his days in quiet.\*

Disappointed in his advances to Lord Marischal, Charles gave himself up entirely to the direction of George Kelly, his secretary, who, it is alleged, was personally obnoxious to the French court. To counteract the rising power of this new favourite, the pernicious influence of whose counsels some of the adherents of the exiled family were already beginning to feel; Sempil, one of the Chevalier's agents at Paris, by desire of Lochiel and Drummond of Bochaldu, drew up and forwarded a representation to James in the month of June, seventeen hundred and forty-seven. The Chevalier, who was a very good judge of mankind, foreseeing the bad consequences that would result if Kelly was allowed to guide the councils of the prince, had cautioned Charles against his interference shortly after his return from Scotland; but the prince attributed his father's dislike to Kelly to the misrepresentations of his enemies, and James, in his usual easy way, seems to have adopted the idea. "As for Kelly," says he to Charles, "if you suppose ill offices may have been done him with me, you cannot take it amiss if I should suppose other people may have had ill offices done them with

\* Vide Charles's letter, and the answer, in the Appendix.

you ; but whatever may be in such matters, I shall be always loath to constrain you, or to make use of my authority, and when I have told you what I think, I shall leave you to determine what you may think proper for you to do. If you remark well what I wrote about Kelly, you will find that what I said attacked more his discretion than his honesty ; and, therefore, all I will require of you as to him, is never to show him any of my letters, or to employ him in writing here about business.”\* In a subsequent letter, alluding to some complaints made by Charles against his brother, James observes, “ what you now write to me is manifestly the product of Kelly’s malice, for were he once no more about you, your eyes would, I am persuaded, be soon opened, and we should be all good friends and easy together ; but as long as you are directed or influenced by him, depend upon it nothing will go well with you, and you will never have a moment’s quiet yourself ; for under the name and shadow of our friends in England he will think he can make you believe and do what he pleases, while they perhaps in reality know nothing of the matter. It will not be the first time such tricks have been played ; but in our present situation they may have more fatal consequences than in past times.”†

These admonitions, which were repeated after Drummond’s communication, were however thrown away upon Charles, who clung to his secretary with as great pertinacity as ever. This predilection for Kelly, if the statement of Sempil is to be credited, ruined the prince’s negotiations with the French ministry, who, according to him, would have entertained a proposal made by the Marquis de Puyzieux, of embarking a force for Scotland on the dissolution of the British parliament ; but the design was given up, because the persons in whom Charles seemed to repose his confidence were obnoxious to the French court, and were considered unworthy of trust.‡

Whilst the French government evaded Charles’s demand for a supply of troops, it acceded in other respects to his wishes. A regiment was given to Lochiel,§ the arrears of the gratuities granted to the Scotch exiles were paid up, and a fixed allowance of thirty-six thousand livres per annum was granted to them, the appropriation of which was left entirely to the prince.|| Having thus provided for his friends, the French minis-

\* Letter from James to Charles, 13th January, 1747.

† Letter of 10th February, 1747.

‡ Vide the two papers presented by Sempil to the Chevalier de St George in February 1748, in the Appendix, copied from the originals in the Stuart Archives.

§ Charles wished his father on Lochiel’s appointment to present the chief with a patent of peerage, which, with other patents, had been made out but kept latent. This James declined, as he thought that by declaring Lochiel’s patent, he would disgust many deserving people, and particularly the other Highland chiefs. He very properly observed that Lochiel’s interest and reputation in his own country, and his being at the head of a regiment in France, would give him more consideration there than any empty title he could bestow.—*Letter from James to Charles, 7th November, 1747, in the Appendix.*

|| The first payment of this annual allowance was paid into the hands of Waters, junior, the banker in Paris, on Charles’s account. See the account, marked No. 2, in the Appendix.



try thought that Charles's repugnance to a pension might be overcome, and accordingly M. de Lally, who was directed to communicate to him the largess granted to his adherents, was also appointed to sound him on the subject of an allowance to himself. M. de Lally having acquitted himself of his commission; Charles addressed himself to the Marquis de Puyzieux, and requested him immediately to make his acknowledgments to his most Christian majesty for the favours he had accorded to the unfortunate exiles. He observed, that as to that part of M. de Lally's communication which regarded himself personally, he was ready to accept with respect and gratitude any favour the king of France might do him; but that it was necessary that he should, in confidence, explain certain circumstances to him which he could not even do to his own father, without running the risk of endangering the interests of the latter. He remarked that his father had repeatedly given him unrestricted written powers, which had been renewed since his return from Scotland, authorizing him to take such steps as he might judge necessary for his interests, without rendering to him any account of his proceedings; and that the inconsiderate step which his brother had taken had confirmed the necessity to which he was reduced of acting by himself, and of endeavouring to do away the dangerous prejudices which that step had created in the minds of his father's enemies,—that he had always considered the interests of the king of France and those of the house of Stuart as inseparable,—and that the wars and revolutions which for a century had taken place, occasioned by a desire to cement these interests, superseded the necessity of adding new proofs in support of that assertion; yet, notwithstanding the intimate connexion which had existed between France and his family, he was now not recognised in France. He next observed, that he had certain engagements to keep with his friends in England, and that as he was answerable to them for every step he took, it was of importance that they should not know that he was a pensioner of the king of France,—that he would accept with pleasure even the smallest favour his majesty was disposed to grant; but he begged that nothing should be given him in name of a pension, and that he should be permitted to deny to his English friends, even face to face, that he was in the receipt of it.\* It thus appears, that Charles's objection to a pension did not proceed from any disinclination to receive the money, but from an apprehension that the circumstance of his becoming a pensioner of France would injure him with his English friends. It is not known whether the French government acted upon Charles's suggestion.

It was the policy of the French court, whilst the war lasted, to keep up appearances with the exiled family, so as to encourage the belief that it really intended to aid in its restoration. This notion was strengthened by the appointments of Lord Ogilvy and Lochiel to the command of regiments; and the fears of an invasion after Charles's

\* Letter to M. de Puyzieux, in the Appendix, from the Stuart Papers.

return to France are said to have delayed for a time the embarkation of the British troops for Flanders. This system of intimidation would in all probability have been persevered in had not France become tired of a war which had exhausted her treasury, destroyed her commerce, and almost annihilated her navy. Her armies, it is true, had been eminently successful in the Netherlands, but the advantages she obtained in the field were greatly overbalanced by the stagnation of her trade and her losses at sea. The confederates were equally weary of a war in which they had reaped neither honour nor advantage, and they therefore gladly availed themselves of an offer of pacification made by his most Christian majesty. The belligerent powers accordingly agreed to hold a congress, which was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle in March, seventeen hundred and forty-eight.

Charles now saw that all hopes of an immediate restoration were at an end, and he must have perceived, from the strong desire which existed in France for peace, and the low state to which that kingdom was reduced by the war, that his interests would form no bar in the way of a general pacification. A wise and prudent prince would have waited with patience the issue of events, submitted to a necessity which he could not control, and preserved, at least, an appearance of equanimity amid the fresh misfortunes which threatened him; but Charles had neither wisdom nor prudence sufficient for such a crisis. It would perhaps have been better for the family, if his father, who, from a love of ease, had invested the prince with full powers, had recalled them at this time, and notified the act to the French court; but James, though feelingly alive to Charles's faults, confined himself to reproof, and instead of hinting, as he should have done, that he would annul the power of regency which he had granted, if the prince continued to misconduct himself, he uniformly gave him to understand that he was, and would continue to be, "sole master."

The first public step which Charles took to mark his displeasure with the conduct of the French government, in suing for a peace, was of a very decided character. When the congress of Aix-la-Chapelle was about to assemble, he gave instructions to the *Sieur Roettier* to strike a medal with his head, and the inscription, "*Carolus Walliæ Princeps*,"\* and on the reverse the figure *Britannia*, and a fleet of war-vessels, with the significant motto, "*Amor et Spes Britanniae*."† The engraver having informed Charles that he could not strike the medal without an order from the court, the latter applied to one of the ministers for permission, the necessity of which, he informed him, he was not aware of, when he gave the directions about the medal, and of which he could not foresee the political consequence. He stated that the medal had been engraved by desire of his friends in England, and to prevent any offence that might be taken at the circumstance of a medal with such a device hav-

\* Charles, Prince of Wales.

† The Love and Hope of Britain.

ing been allowed to be struck in the capital of France, he suggested that the word *Paris*, as well as the name of the engraver, should be omitted. Charles, however, was very desirous to retain the date, to which, he thought, no exception could be taken when the place and the name of the engraver were left out.\* As France had been reduced to the necessity of suing for peace, in consequence of the disasters she had suffered at sea, the French ministers considered the device and motto as an insult to the French nation, and, it is believed, advised their master to withhold the required permission; but Louis refused, and coolly observed, that the prince, no doubt, had his reasons, and that it would be better not to thwart him on the present occasion.†

When the medal appeared it created a great sensation in France, and many of the French nobility were deeply offended at the device and motto, which they regarded as an insult offered to the nation. The prince of Conti, in particular, who was accounted one of the proudest men in all France, showed his chagrin on the occasion. Meeting Charles one day in the Luxembourg Gardens, Conti observed to Charles, with an air of pleasantry, under which a sneer was observed to lurk, that the device of his medal was not just so applicable as some persons might at first suppose, as the British navy had not shown any particular friendship for him. Charles, who at once perceived the censure, immediately replied, "*Cela est vrai, Prince! mais je suis nonobstant l'ami de la flotte contre tous ses ennemis; comme je regarderai toujours la gloire d'Angleterre comme la mienne, et sa gloire est dans la flotte.*"‡ The prince of Conti instantly left Charles without making any answer to this retort. About the time the medal was struck, Charles sat for his portrait to Tocqué, the eminent painter, which was immediately engraved by Wille, the celebrated engraver, with the title "*Carolus Walliæ Princeps.*" He afterwards sat to De la Tour, another portrait painter of note.§

As the belligerent powers were all extremely desirous of concluding the war, the plenipotentiaries assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle soon came to an understanding; and accordingly, on the thirtieth of April, (N.S.,) the preliminaries of a general peace were signed by the ministers of Great Britain, France, and the United Provinces, the basis of which was a general restitution of the conquests which had been made during the

\* See the letter of Charles of 27th March, 1748, in the Appendix, copied from a draught among the Stuart Papers. It was probably addressed to M. de Lally. On 1st April Charles gave an order on his banker for 1000 livres, in favour of M. de Lally, being likely a gratuity for obtaining the required permission. Vide account, No. 2, in which also will be found several entries of payments to Roettier, the engraver, for the medal.

† As the French ministers were fully in the knowledge of the whole affair of the medal before it was struck, it must be a mistake to say, as has been done, that they complained to Louis after it was issued.

‡ "That is true, Prince! but I am, nevertheless, the friend of the navy against all its enemies; as I shall always look upon the glory of England as my own, and her glory is in her navy."

§ For this portrait Charles paid 1200 livres. See Waters's Account, No. 2.

war. A suspension of arms almost immediately followed the signing of the preliminaries, which was proclaimed at London and in all the capitals of the contracting parties. Charles was not aware that the preliminaries had been signed till some time after the suspension of arms, and he consoled himself with the vain hope that peace was not so near at hand as was generally supposed.\*

During the negotiations Charles still went to court, though not so frequently as before, and always endeavoured to avoid any personal interviews with the king; but, when informed of the signing of the preliminaries, he gave up his visits entirely. His father, and the adherents of his family, expected that he would no longer remain in a kingdom which was now again to sacrifice the interests of his house; but, instead of evincing any disposition to depart, he gave a decided indication of fixing himself in Paris, by hiring a splendid hotel upon the *Quai de Theatin*, for himself and his principal friends, in order, as he said, to be near the opera, play-house, and the other places of public diversion in Paris. To show how little he regarded the proceedings at Aix-la-Chapelle, he appeared much gayer than usual, and when any person alluded, in his presence, to the congress, he seemed not to regard the matter, and waived the subject by singing or introducing some different topic of conversation. He even heard with apparent indifference the acclamations of the Parisian populace, who, though they were enthusiastically attached to him, were so happy at the prospect of peace, that they could not contain their joy even before the door of his hotel and within his own hearing.

To show, however, that he was not indifferent to his rights, Charles drew up a protest against any stipulation which might be entered into by the contracting parties, contrary to these rights, of which he sent a copy to the king of France, inclosed in a letter from himself. In this letter he stated the pain and embarrassment which he felt at such a conjuncture, and that, as preliminaries had been signed with the confederated powers, against his just rights, he found himself indispensably obliged to enter a protest in the strongest terms. He observed, that, after the treaty which had been concluded between him and his most Christian majesty, during his expedition to Scotland, and the kindness which had been shown by his majesty to the unfortunate gentlemen who had suffered on that occasion, he had hoped always to have enjoyed the friendship and protection of so great a king; but he begged most humbly to assure his majesty, that, happen what would, nothing should diminish the respect which he entertained for his sacred person.† This protest was after-

\* Letter,—Charles to his father, 13th May, 1748, in the Appendix.

† Letter,—Charles to Louis, 10th July, 1748, in the Appendix.—*Stuart Papers*. Charles sent a copy of his protest to the celebrated Montesquieu, desiring him to make the “little work” as public as possible. The author of *The Spirit of Laws* wrote a complimentary letter to the prince, and informed him that his protest was written with simplicity, with dignity, and even with eloquence. Charles’s letter and the answer will be found in the Appendix.—*Stuart Papers*.



wards published. The Chevalier de St George, in ignorance of Charles's protest, also published one in his own name, agreeably to a practice which he, and his father, king James II., had followed, whenever any treaty with Great Britain was entered into.

After the preliminaries were signed, Louis had taken an early opportunity of intimating to Charles that he had renewed the engagements which he and his grandfather had formerly come under to the British government, in relation to the House of Stuart; but Charles, in his protest, entirely overlooked the stipulation which regarded his intended expulsion from the French territories. Louis probably expected that this hint would have been sufficient to induce Charles to quit France, but, as he indicated no intention to remove, the Marquis de Puyzieux, by desire of the king, sent a requisition in writing, to which he demanded an answer. The marquis stated that his master could not refuse to accede to the wishes of all Europe, by entering into stipulations which were considered absolutely necessary for conciliating the belligerent powers, and for establishing the public tranquillity upon a firm basis, and that the king, desirous of fulfilling the preliminaries, had ordered the marquis to notify to the prince the indispensable necessity there was that he should immediately conform to the arrangements entered into, in his regard, by retiring from the French territories. Charles returned an evasive answer to M. de Puyzieux's note the same day. He said he believed the marquis was aware of the declaration he had made, that he would oppose himself absolutely to every thing that might be said, acted, and stipulated at Aix-la-Chapelle, or elsewhere,—that he hoped his most Christian majesty would reflect well upon the resolutions he might take in his regard,—that he looked upon the present juncture as being more critical for the interests of his most Christian majesty than his own,—and that he had nothing so much at heart than of becoming useful one day to his majesty, and of proving that his true interests were dearer to him than they were even to his own ministers.\*

After this answer, matters appear to have remained *in statu quo* till October, on the seventh day of which month the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was finally concluded and signed. By this treaty the contracting parties agreed, without any limitation, to a literal insertion of the fifth article of the quadruple alliance, by which it was stipulated, that neither the "Pretender," nor any of his descendants, should be allowed to reside within the territories belonging to any of the parties to the treaty. Meanwhile Louis was looking out for a suitable asylum for Charles Edward. Knowing that the prince had declared that he would never return to Italy, he directed M. de Courteille, his envoy to the Cantons of Switzerland, to ask a residence for Charles in the city of Fribourg. The regency complied with the request, but Mr Barnaby, the British minister to the Helvetic body, violently opposed the plan,

\* Vide the marquis's letter and Charles's answer in the Appendix,—*Stuart Papers*.

and presented a remonstrance to the magistracy of Fribourg, couched in such terms as to draw upon him the censure of the regency.

The next person selected by Louis to act as negotiator with Charles was the Cardinal de Tencin, who was supposed to have some influence with him. The cardinal delivered the message with which he had been intrusted in the most delicate manner, and endeavoured to convince Charles, by a variety of arguments, of the regret the king felt at having been obliged to accede to the objectionable articles of the treaty. To reconcile Charles to the measure, the cardinal, it is said, hinted that the treaty might possibly be of short endurance, and that the prince might afterwards return to France with brighter prospects; but Charles returned very short and evasive answers, and the cardinal left Charles without having obtained any satisfaction. Desirous of avoiding extremities, the king waited about two weeks in expectation that Charles would depart; but being informed that he made no preparations for his departure, he sent the Duke de Gesvres, the governor of Paris, with a message similar to that delivered by the cardinal. Charles evaded a direct answer at this time by saying that he had been taken by surprise, and that he had not had sufficient time to consider the matter. The duke returned a second time after the lapse of a fortnight, and strongly urged upon Charles the necessity of compliance; but the prince refused, and told the duke that there was a treaty prior to that of Aix-la-Chapelle, between him and his most Christian majesty, from which he could not depart with honour. The duke, who was probably not aware of the treaty of Fontainebleau, begged the prince to be more explicit; but Charles refused to give any explanation, and desired him to carry his answer to his master, who would understand its meaning.

By one of the articles of the definitive treaty, it was stipulated that Great Britain should, immediately after its ratification, send two persons of rank and distinction to reside in France as hostages, until restitution should be made to France of Cape Breton, and of all the other conquests which the British arms had achieved in the East or West Indies, before or after the preliminaries were signed. In terms of this article, the earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart were sent as hostages to Paris about this time. Charles, it is said, could not repress his indignation at the arrival of these noblemen, and was often heard to say publicly, that the tables were sadly turned upon poor old England, when her honour could not be relied upon without such pledges as were scarce ever granted but by a conquered nation, whilst the bare promise of France was held sufficient for the performance of her part of the treaty.\* “Shameful concession, unworthy of a ministry not abandoned to all sense of honour and virtue; but if ever I mount the throne of my ancestors, Europe shall see me use my utmost endeavours to force France in her turn to send hostages into England.” Such were the sentiments which Charles is said to have uttered on this occasion.†

\* True Journal, p. 67.

† Authentic Account, p. 56.

The British ministry had, for some time, been urging the French court to fulfil that part of the treaty which related to the expulsion of the prince from the French territories; and the hostages seeing him appear at all public places of amusement, complained of this circumstance as an insult to their sovereign, and an infringement of the treaty. Louis, therefore, sent the duke de Gesvres a third time to Charles, on the sixth of November, to expostulate with him. The duke informed him that his master had received a most obliging letter from the States of Frimbourg, in answer to his application for an asylum, and that they were ready to receive the prince into their territories, and pay him every mark of respect due to his birth; but Charles again evaded a direct answer to the duke's demand to quit France. After the duke's departure, however, Charles sent him an explicit answer in writing, in which he stated, that it was with much regret he found himself compelled in defence of his own interests, to oppose the intentions of the king on this occasion, and that he had already apprised his majesty of his design by a letter which he had written to M. de Puyzieux, as far back as the twentieth of August. He requested the duke, in conclusion, to assure his most Christian majesty in the strongest terms, that he would retain towards him, during his life, all the sentiments of respect and attachment which he had formerly expressed.\*

Louis was much annoyed at Charles's obstinacy, as he felt great repugnance to push matters to extremities with a prince, who could plead in his own justification a violation of a solemn contract which the king of France had entered into with Charles three years before. As he had, however, contracted with Charles merely in his character of prince regent, it appears to have occurred to Louis that he would save his honour if he obtained an order from the Chevalier de St George, requiring Charles to leave his dominions before having recourse to physical force. He, therefore, despatched a courier to Rome with a letter to the Chevalier, giving an account of the prince's conduct, and requesting James to interpose his parental authority, to induce Charles to leave his dominions. That James might be fully assured of the prince's determination to remain in France contrary to his wishes, Louis also sent him Charles's letter to the duke de Gesvres.

The messenger returned to Paris early in December with a letter from James to the king of France, inclosing another to Charles under a flying seal, which, after perusing, he was requested to despatch to the prince. In the letter addressed to Charles, his father informed him that although he had taken care to conceal from him every thing which had passed between the court of France and him since the signing of the preliminaries, he had nevertheless been made acquainted with every thing. He stated that he had not been able to read his letter to the duke de Gesvres without real surprise and sorrow, as neither he nor any other

\* Letter, Charles to the Duke de Gesvres, in the Appendix.—*Stuart Papers*.

person could have imagined that he would remain in France in spite of the king,—that his resistance, therefore, to the intentions of the king by staying in France, whilst he spoke of his regret at being compelled by his interests to act as he had done, showed clearly that he did not act upon his own opinion and wishes, but that he was following those of others,—that he did not know who these persons were, but they could not be really his true friends in giving him such advice, for it was evident that in resisting the designs of his most Christian majesty on this occasion, that resistance could have no other effect than in destroying that kindly feeling which existed between him and the king of France, and of justly drawing down the anger and indignation of his majesty, and that certainly no wise and reasonable person would advise him, in the state in which he now was, to break with a power which had made itself respected by all Europe. After complaining of Charles's conduct towards himself, James told him, in continuation, that he saw him on the brink of a precipice, and that he would act the part of an unnatural parent, if he did not do every thing that depended upon him to save him from falling, and that he, therefore, found himself obliged to order him as his father and king, to conform himself, without delay, to the wishes of his most Christian majesty, by leaving his dominions with a good grace.\*

This letter was sent by Louis to the duke de Gesvres, who, after taking a copy of it, sent the original to Charles, and thereafter waited upon him to know his determination. The duke carried a letter from Louis, which is said to have contained a blank order to be filled up by the prince himself for a yearly allowance. Charles read the letter twice over, and, after a short pause, told the duke that he wanted no pecuniary favours from his majesty, and that it was not consistent with honour to comply with his demand to leave the French territories. The duke urging him to reconsider his resolution, Charles grew impatient, and told the duke, that though he should treat with respect the representative of the king, yet he would in future decline receiving any communications from any person but the king himself. The duke replied, that as his royal highness had given over going to court, the thing was impossible, unless indeed he expected, what he could scarcely suppose he did, that his majesty was to come to the *Quai de Theatin* in person. “Enfin donc, Monsieur le Duc,” said Charles, “Je ne plus rien a dire que ce que j'ai deja dit—pardonnez moi, j'ai quelque affair.”† With these words, Charles left the room, leaving the duke in amazement.

From the publicity given by both parties to these extraordinary proceedings, they became the topic of general conversation at the different European courts, and from their continuance, the attention of the

\* See this letter in the Appendix, taken from a certified copy made by the Duke de Gesvres, among the Stuart Papers.

† “In short, then, Sir, I have nothing farther to say, than what I have said already,—pardon me, I have some business.”



Parisians was wholly absorbed by them. Long before the French public were aware of the intentions of their government in relation to the prince, the fame of his exploits, in connexion with the fact of his being a descendant of *Henri Quatre*,—a circumstance, till lately, of unspeakable value in the eyes of every Frenchman,—had endeared him to the French nation; but when they found that he was to be sacrificed by their sovereign to state necessity, their admiration for his person was heightened into enthusiasm, and they looked upon the approaching struggle between Louis and his kinsman with feelings of the deepest interest. Every person was desirous to see a prince who had the courage to brave the grand monarch in his own capital, and whenever Charles appeared upon the public walks, he was followed by the assembled multitudes. When he entered the theatre, all eyes were directed towards him, and the performance was allowed to pass off unheeded by the audience. Charles alone seemed to make light of his misfortunes, and evinced the gaiety of his spirits by talking in an easy, cheerful, and affable manner to the young noblemen, by whom on these occasions, he was always surrounded.\*

After trying every possible means to induce Charles to quit the French territory without effect, the ministry pressed the king to arrest him, and send him by force out of the kingdom. Louis was naturally averse to such a strong proceeding; but as he saw he could not fulfil the stipulation of the treaty, regarding the exiled family, in any other way, he reluctantly signed an order for his arrest. When putting his name to the warrant, he felt the extreme delicacy of the act, and pathetically exclaimed, "*Pauvre Prince ! qu'il est difficile pour un roi d'être un véritable ami !*"† This order, which was signed at three o'clock in the afternoon, was blazed all over Paris before evening. One of the prince's retinue, who heard the intelligence, brought it to him; but Charles would not believe it. About this time, four of the gentlemen of his household left him, either instigated by the ministry, or to avoid the imputation in his father's letter, that in resisting the wishes of the king of France, he was acting under bad counsellors.‡ Though no official notice was sent to Charles of the order, yet it is understood that means were taken to apprize him of his situation; and on the morning of the tenth of December, while walking in the Tuilleries, he was informed by a person of distinction, that he would certainly be seized that very day if he did not prevent it by an immediate departure; but, instead of taking the hint thus kindly given him, he seemed to treat the intelligence as chimerical, and turning to one of his followers, gave di-

\* Authentic Account, p. 51.

† "Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a king to be a true friend!"

‡ Anonymous letter to Dr Meighan at Florence, of 23d December, 1718, giving an account of the Prince's arrest, in the Appendix, from the Stuart Papers. In resisting Louis's order to leave France, Charles appears to have acted entirely on his own opinion. A letter to Kelly from a Mr Bulkeley and the Prince's answer, both of which will be found in the Appendix, favour this view.

rections that a box should be hired for him that night at the opera-house.

To carry the warrant into effect, no less than twelve hundred of the guards were in the course of the day drawn out, and posted in the court of the Palais-royal: a great number of sergeants and grenadiers in cuirasses and helmets, filled the passages of the opera-house; and the guet (police) were placed in all the streets leading to it, to stop any carriages that might attempt to pass. Six sergeants of the grenadiers who were considered the most intrepid, were ordered to seize the prince. Two companies of grenadiers took post in the court-yard of the kitchens, where the Duke de Biron, colonel of the French guards, disguised, waited in a coach to see the issue of the enterprise. The Mousquetaires, a body of French horse-guards, had orders to be ready to mount on horseback: troops were posted upon the road from the Palais-royal to Vincennes; hatchets and scaling ladders were prepared, and locksmiths directed to attend, in order to take the prince by escalade, in case he should throw himself into some house, and there attempt to stand out a siege. A physician named Vernage, and three surgeons, were also ordered to be in readiness to dress such of the troops as might be wounded. These extensive preparations can only be accounted for on the supposition that the government was apprehensive that an attempt would be made by the Parisians to rescue the prince.

Charles received several notes during the day, from certain friends, giving him notice of the measures taken for securing him; but, disregarding their advice, he resolved to brave the danger. He accordingly left his hotel, in his carriage, accompanied by three gentlemen of his household, at a quarter after five o'clock, for the opera-house, and, in passing through the street St Honoré, was warned by a friendly voice not to proceed, as the opera-house was beset. He proceeded onwards, however, and on entering the *cul-de-sac*, leading to the opera-house, the barriers were drawn, and the doors of the opera-house shut. On alighting from his coach he was instantly surrounded by the six sergeants, disguised as tradesmen, who seized his person, and, lifting him off the ground, carried him through the *porte cochere*, at the end of the passage which led into the court-yard of the Palais-royal. M. de Vaudreuil, major of the blue guards, who, with some officers, had remained behind the gate, then approached his Royal Highness, and said, "Monseigneur, I arrest you in the name of the king, my master." Charles, without betraying any emotion, answered that the manner was a little too violent. The sergeants, thereupon, carried him into a room on the ground floor of the palace, possessed by a surgeon of the duke of Orleans's household. The major demanding his arms, Charles presented his sword, but suspecting that he had other weapons about him, the sergeants, by De Vaudreuil's order, searched his person, and found a pair of pocket-pistols, and a penknife, of which they took possession. Charles remarked that he had carried a pair of pistols about with him

ever since he returned from Scotland. The major had provided himself with thirty-six ells of black silk ribbon with which to tie the prince, and on hearing him give directions to that effect, Charles offered his parole that he would hurt neither himself nor any other person, and added, that he thought so many persons were quite sufficient to guard one unarmed man without resorting to such a step. The major then went to the Duke de Biron to report, and on returning repeated his orders to bind the prince. Charles was accordingly tied in five different places. His arms were pinioned close to his body, and his hands tied behind his back. The ribbon was then drawn round his waist, and round his arms and legs, so as to prevent him even from walking. In this situation he was put into a hired coach, attended by the major and two captains of the blue guards, and was driven, under a strong guard, to the castle of Vincennes, into which he was received by M. de Chatelet, the governor. He was then, in terms of orders which the governor had received, thrust into an upper apartment in the Tower, fifty-four steps high, and about seven feet wide and eight feet long. The only person who was allowed to relieve the solitariness of his confinement was Neil Mac Eachan, who had attended him in his perilous journey from Uist to Skye. Charles had borne the indignity offered him with great composure, the disgrace attending which, he told M. de Vaudreuil, could only affect his master; but, after Charles found himself shut up in the dungeon of the castle, his feelings were overcome, and he is said to have clasped his hands together and to have burst into tears. "Ah! my faithful mountaineers," he pathetically exclaimed, "from *you* I never would have received such treatment. Would to God I were still among you!" Meanwhile the three gentlemen who had attended Charles to the opera were also seized, and five others, who were by chance at his house, and all his servants were sent to the Bastile. His hotel was taken possession of by the lieutenant of police, who remained in it from six o'clock at night till three next morning, during which he put the broad seal on his effects.\* Next day all the prince's French servants were released.

The arrest of the prince created an extraordinary sensation in Paris, and next morning all the public places of the city were covered with pasquinades, which had been put up during the night, reflecting, in very severe terms, upon the conduct of the king and his ministers, for their treatment of the prince. One of these was in the form of an order from King George, directed to Louis of Bourbon, as his viceroy, commanding and requiring him to seize, and, if necessary, to tie the person of Charles Edward Stuart, and to conduct him out of the kingdom of France; and that, if Louis should continue to please his master as he had hitherto done, he should be continued, by the king of England, in the viceroyalty of his kingdom of France. These placards were exceed-

\* Genuine Account, p. 63. Anonymous letter to Dr Meighan, in the Appendix.

ingly annoying to the French court, and were torn down by the police with as great expedition as possible.\*

Charles was kept in close confinement till the fourteenth, on which day, in consequence of a correspondence which had passed between him and the king on that and the previous day, he was allowed to walk a few hours in the gardens. Having tendered his parole to leave the French territories without guards, Charles was released at seven o'clock, in the morning of Sunday the fifteenth of December, and departed for Fontainebleau, in a coach, under the charge of a commandant of musketeers; and Messrs Stafford and Sheridan, two gentlemen of his household, who had been set at liberty, followed him in two post-chaises. The remainder of Charles's domestics were released a few days afterwards. On reaching Fontainebleau, Charles despatched a facetious note to a M. de Boile at Paris, requesting him to inform his friends that he carried himself well,—that his head had never been off his shoulders, and that it was still upon them.† From Fontainebleau Charles proceeded, by easy stages, to Avignon, where he arrived on the morning of the twenty-seventh of December, disguised in the uniform of a French officer of musketeers. He had received a letter from his father on the road, and four days after his arrival he despatched an answer acquainting him thereof, and that he was “in perfect good health, notwithstanding the unheard-of barbarous and inhuman treatment” he had met with.‡

\* The following is a literal copy of the placard alluded to:—“George par la grace de Dieu, Roi de la Grande Bretagne, de France et D'Irlande, mandons et commandons à Louis de Bourbon, nôtre viceroi en notre dit Royaume de France, qu'il ait à faire saisir et lier si besoin est le nommé Charles Edouard Stuart; et le faire conduire hors de confins de nôtre dit Royaume. Par quoi, continuant de nous complaire, comme il nous a complu jusqu'ici, il méritera nôtre bienveillance; et d'être, par nous, maintenu, en la viceroiauté de nôtre dit Royaume.

“George Roi.”

† See the letter in the Appendix.

‡ This letter, which is dated 1st January, 1749, and another of 31st December, 1748, from Mr James Murray, who was created Earl of Dunbar by the Chevalier de St George, will be found in the Appendix, copied from the originals among the Stuart papers.



## CHAPTER XV.

Departure of Prince Charles from Avignon incognito—Visits London—Interview with Dr King—Proposed marriage with a Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt—The Chevalier urges Charles to marry—Charles's reported change of religion—Embezzlement of money by Dr Cameron—Execution of the Doctor—Negotiations between Charles and his Jacobite friends in England—Result—Negotiations resumed and finally broken off—Death of the Chevalier de St George—Marriage of Charles—His death—Character—Death of Cardinal York—Enactments against the Scottish Episcopalians—Disarming act—Attempts to evade the laws against the Highland garb—The dress restored—Abolition of the heritable jurisdictions.

THE city of Avignon, in Provence, which Charles selected for his place of abode, did not at this time form a part of the French dominions, but belonged to the pope. On the death of George I. the Chevalier de St George had taken up his residence in this city, that he might the better be enabled to correspond with his friends in England; but he was soon obliged to retire across the Alps, in consequence, it is understood, of an application from the British government to the court of Rome. To expel the Stuarts from the French territories, whilst, by a sort of geographical subtlety, they were allowed to reside almost in the heart of France, was certainly an absurdity, and had Charles remained for any length of time at Avignon, it is probable, that, as in the case of his father, he would have been soon forced to look out for another asylum; but, to the astonishment of all Europe, he left Avignon incognito, after a residence of about two months, and went whither nobody could tell.

Attended only by Colonel Goring, Charles left Avignon in a travelling chaise, followed by his valet and two servants, out of livery, on horseback, and proceeded on the road to Lyons. The prince and Goring passed for French officers, who, on the conclusion of the peace, had obtained leave to visit their friends; and, to guard still farther against being recognised, they ordered the postillion to stop for refreshments only at the most obscure houses. Charles took the name of the Count D'Espoir.\* What his motives were for taking this step have not been

\* "Letter from H—G—g, Esquire, one of the gentlemen of the bed chamber to the young Chevalier, and the only person of his own retinue that attended him from Avignon, in his late journey through Germany and elsewhere, &c., to a particular friend, London, 1750."

ascertained; but it is probable that one of his objects was an interview with the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, with whose daughter, the Princess Charlotte Louisa, he contemplated a matrimonial alliance.\*

At a small village about two leagues from Lyons, Charles was recognised by the Marquis de Valere; but having informed him that he was travelling incognito, the marquis addressed him by his assumed name. After passing through Lyons, Charles dismissed his valet and the other servants with the chaise, and hired another in which he and his companion proceeded to Strasbourg. From Strasbourg it is supposed that Charles went to Paris, as it is quite certain that he visited that capital in the month of May, from which he addressed an anonymous letter to some official personage in Germany, who appears to have taken an interest in his adherents, wishing to know if the emperor or the queen of Hungary would afford an exiled prince, who had been unworthily abandoned by his friends, an asylum in their states. The person to whom this letter was sent was directed to address his answer to Mr John Douglas, care of Mr Waters, junior, banker in Paris.† To conceal his movements from his own friends, Charles either omitted in his letters the name of the place where they were written, or dated them from a place where he was not at the time. While at Paris, he wrote a letter to a gentleman of the name of Bulkeley, which he dated from Venice, and eight days thereafter he sent him another letter referring him to the former. In this last letter he stated that a report had been spread that he intended to take up his residence in Bologna; but he says that this "was but a blind," and that no part of the pope's dominions should ever see his face.‡

Of Charles's wanderings, during the several years that he continued to roam on the continent, no satisfactory account has yet appeared; but recent researches have thrown some light on this obscure part of his history. Secretary Edgar, who corresponded frequently with "the dear wild man," as he jocularly styled Charles, considered the prince's incognito as one of the most extraordinary circumstances that had ever occurred, so great was the secrecy with which it was, for several years, preserved.

After his departure from Paris, the first trace that can be discovered of him is in September seventeen hundred and fifty, when he visited

\* Charles wrote a letter from Avignon on 24th February, 1749, to the Landgrave, asking his daughter in marriage, and on same day granted a commission to a Mr Douglas to proceed to the court of the Landgrave, and enter into a treaty of marriage between him and the Princess of Hesse-Darmstadt. Copies of these documents, taken from the original draughts among the Stuart papers, will be found in the Appendix. Had this marriage taken place, it appears to have been Charles's intention to have asked an asylum from the king of Poland, as there is a draught of an intended letter to the king in Charles's hand-writing among the same papers, of which a copy will be also found in the Appendix.

† See this letter, and a note to Waters inclosing it, in the Appendix.

This singular production will be found in the Appendix.

London.\* His object in coming over appears to have been to establish a regular correspondence with his friends in England; to ascertain the probability of a rising in his favour; and to fix with them upon a proper place for landing arms, &c. Before his departure he applied to his father for a renewal of his powers as regent, which James reluctantly granted.† If he found matters in a favourable train, he intended to have issued a declaration in which he was to offer to refer the funds to a free parliament, and to encourage the army to join him, he was to show the nullity of the oaths they had taken to the "Elector."‡ Charles arrived in London in the month of September, and went immediately to the house of Lady Primrose. Her ladyship sent a note to Dr King, a zealous jacobite, desiring to see him immediately. On the doctor's entering the house, Lady Primrose led him into her dressing-room, and presented him to the prince. Dr King was surprised at seeing him, and still more astonished when informed of the motives which had induced him to hazard a journey to England at such a juncture. According to Dr King, whose statement is fully supported by documents among the Stuart papers,§ the impatience of the prince's friends who were in exile had formed a scheme which was impracticable; but although it had been as feasible as they had represented it to him, yet no preparation had been made to carry it into execution. Charles was soon convinced that he had been deceived, and, after a stay in London of five days only, returned to the continent.||

As Charles studiously concealed from his father all his designs and movements, the latter was entirely ignorant of his contemplated marriage with the daughter of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt. The Chevalier had suggested, in seventeen hundred and forty-seven, a marriage with one of the duke of Modena's daughters, from which family his mother had sprung; but Charles appears not to have relished the proposed match.\*\* He now urged upon him the necessity of marrying, so as

\* Charles alludes to this visit in a note dated 1st July, 1751, in his own hand-writing, among the Stuart Papers, a copy of which will be found in the Appendix.

† Excerpt of letter from James to Charles, 4th August, 1750, in the Appendix.

‡ See a curious memorandum dated 3d May, 1750, in the Appendix, copied from the original among the Stuart Papers. From this document it is evident that Charles thought that the French ministry were bribed by the British government to withhold assistance from him.

§ See the following papers in the Appendix, viz. Letter young Glengary to O'Bryen, "Lord Lismore," 20th September, 1749; the same to Secretary Edgar, 16th January, 1750; Extract of a letter from the Chevalier de St George to Lord George Murray, 20th April, 1750; Lord George's answer, 19th May, 1750; and Letters, the Chevalier to the Prince, 5th May and 5th October, 1750.

|| King's Political and Literary Anecdotes, p. 197:—"He came," says Dr King, "one evening to my lodgings and drank tea with me: my servant, after he was gone, said to me, 'that he thought my new visitor very like Prince Charles.' 'Why,' said I, 'have you ever seen Prince Charles?' 'No, sir,' replied the fellow, 'but this gentleman, whoever he may be, exactly resembles the busts which are sold in Red-lion-street, and are said to be the busts of Prince Charles.' The truth is, these busts were taken in plaster of Paris from his face."

\*\* Letter to Charles, 17th April, 1747.

to secure the succession of the family. James observed that he could not think the prince so selfish as to consider himself only in all he did and suffered,—that the happiness of his country must undoubtedly be his motive, and, consequently, that he could never mean to restrict that happiness to his own life only, but endeavour to perpetuate it by a succession of lawful kings, who would have no other interest but that of their country,—that his giving lawful heirs to the crown would not only be a constant security to his own person, but that it would make him more considered and respected abroad, and would undoubtedly give new life and vigour to the cause, as his friends could never feel the same zeal as long as their hopes were centered in him alone,—that, had he adopted the views which had been formerly given him, he would have been probably ere now the father of a family, with a wife whom it would not have been beneath him to have married had he been even in England,—that it was, however, useless to look backwards; but he (the Chevalier) saw, with the greatest concern, that Charles had put himself in a situation and way of living, which, as long as it lasted, rendered his marrying anybody absolutely impracticable. After informing Charles that he could have no other view in advising him as he did but his real good and advantage, James told him, that he could almost say that he would rather see him married to a private gentlewoman than that he should not be married at all; and, therefore, he earnestly recommended to him to think seriously on the matter, and as he could not hope to make a marriage suitable to himself, to endeavour to make one that might be at least as little unequal as possible; for he could only exhort him in general, since he could not think of any particular person to propose, who might be suitable and at the same time willing to marry him.\*

Though he could not but feel disappointed at the result of his journey to England, Charles did not despond, and he now resolved to sound the dispositions of the courts of Berlin and Stockholm. As Lord Marischal had resided about three years in Berlin, and was, through the interest of Field-marshal Keith, his brother, on the best footing with his Prussian majesty,† it occurred to Charles, that, by availing himself of the services of that nobleman, whom he looked upon as “an honest man,” Frederick might be induced to espouse his cause. Accordingly he despatched Colonel Goring to Berlin, in June seventeen hundred and fifty-one, with a letter to Lord Marischal. After consulting with his lordship, Goring was directed to proceed to Sweden.‡ Of this mission

\* See this very interesting letter, in the Appendix, taken from the original in the possession of his majesty. It is dated 30th December, 1750. See also another letter, from the Chevalier to Charles, of 19th April, 1751, in answer to one from Charles, of 24th February.

† Letter, Lord Marischal to Secretary Edgar, 9th March, 1748, in the Appendix.

‡ See the letter to Earl Marischal and the instructions to Goring, both dated 21st June, 1751, in the Appendix, copied from the original draughts, in Charles's hand-writing among the Stuart Papers.



nothing farther is known. An interview which took place between Lord Marischal and Goring, and another probably with the prince himself, at Paris, in September following, are involved in the same obscurity.\* About this time Charles received notice that one Grosert, collector of the customs at Alloa, had left Scotland with an intention to assassinate him. This information was brought to France by Robertson of Blairfetty, who had been in Scotland. Grosert is said to have been married to a German woman, the daughter of the milliner of George the First.†

No trace can be discovered of Charles's wanderings, after his return from London, till the fifth of April, seventeen hundred and fifty-two, when he was seen by a gentleman of the name of Mackintosh, at Campvere, in the island of Middleburg, where he remained four days.‡ He is said to have revisited London in the course of the following year, and to have formally renounced the Catholic religion, in a chapel in Gray's Inn Lane, under his own name of Charles Edward Stuart; but this statement does not rest on sufficient authority. Dr King, who corresponded with Charles for several years, makes no allusion to this visit, nor is there the least trace of it to be found among the Stuart archives. The story of a third visit, on occasion of the coronation of George III., at which Charles is said to have attended, rests on no better foundation. As to his reported change of religion, a rumour was generally prevalent, in seventeen hundred and fifty-two, a year before the date of his alleged recantation at London, that Charles had become a Protestant; but its accuracy was doubted of by some of his friends.§ It is certain, however, that Charles was not disposed to imitate the self-denial of his father and grandfather, who preferred their faith to a crown.||

\* See the different papers in relation to this affair in the Appendix.

† Extract of a letter from Sir James Harrington, dated 6th August, 1751, in the Appendix.

‡ Letter, Mr Donald Mackintosh to Secretary Edgar, dated from Civita Vecchia, 6th February, 1754.—*Stuart Papers*.

§ See the extract in the Appendix of the letter from Secretary Edgar to Mr William Hay, 26th September, 1752, and that from Mr Hay's letter to Edgar, Oct. 1752. Charles seems to have been desirous after this to have none but Protestants about him. He sent an order to Avignon, in November, 1753, to dismiss all his "Papists servants." He kept at this time a French mistress, and having quarrelled with her, he discarded her because she was "a Papist too." See his letter to Goring, of 12th November, 1753, in the Appendix, taken from the original draught, in Charles's own hand, among the Stuart Papers. The following note also, in the prince's hand, appears on the back of a letter of Waters the banker, of 26th June, 1754:—"My being a Protestant I can prove to be an advantage to the Papist, and my terrible situation not to be incapable to attempt any plan either against my honour or interest, seeing them that are so far from my country." At this time (June, 1754) Charles was living in Paris *incognito*.

|| See his answer to the deputation that waited on him in the year 1755:—

"As to his religion," says Dr King, "he is certainly free from all bigotry and superstition, and would readily conform to the religion of the country. With the Catholics he is a Catholic, with the Protestants he is a Protestant; and, to convince the latter of his sincerity, he often carried an English Common Prayer-book in his pocket; and sent to Gordon, (whom I have mentioned before,) a non-juring clergyman, to christen the first child he had by Mrs W.\*"

\* Miss Walkinshaw.

In consequence of the state of comparative security which the British government enjoyed after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, it became less vigilant than before in watching the motions of the exiled adherents of the house of Stuart. Some of them accordingly ventured, from time to time, to revisit their native country and friends. Amongst others, Dr Cameron came over in seventeen hundred and forty-nine; but his visit was attended with a circumstance highly injurious to his character, which has hitherto been deemed unimpeachable. The Doctor had been privy to the concealment of a large sum of money which had been left by Charles in charge of Macpherson of Cluny when he left Scotland, and the object of Cameron's journey appears to have been to secure and appropriate for his own use a part of this money. He accordingly visited Cluny in his retreat, who, finding it impossible to resist his demand, allowed him to carry off six thousand louis-d'ors, for which he, however, took his receipt.\* He made a second journey to Britain in seventeen hundred and fifty-three, probably with the same object, but fell a victim to his rapacity. Having been apprehended, he was carried to London, confined to the Tower, and his identity being proved in the court of king's bench by several witnesses, he received sentence of death, and was executed at Tyburn. He conducted himself with manly fortitude and decorum, and his fate was generally pitied. Some of the best wishers to the government thought the sacrifice of this unfortunate gentleman as a most unnecessary and wanton act at such a juncture, and at such a distance of time from the period of his attainder.†

Down to seventeen hundred and fifty-four, Charles kept up a regular communication with his friends in England, several of whom visited him personally, and though they saw many reprehensible things in his conduct, yet they were willing to make every allowance for the peculiarities of his situation. There was one circumstance, however, which they could not overlook. When in Scotland, Charles had a mistress named Clementina Walkinshaw. Some years after he was sent out of France, he sent for this woman; and such was the ascendancy she obtained over

\* See the letter of young Glengary to Secretary Edgar, of 16th January, 1750, and that of Lochgarry to the prince, of 22d June, 1750. Also the letter of Ludovick Cameron, the Doctor's uncle, to the prince, of 21st November, 1753, in the Appendix, copied from the originals in the possession of his majesty.

† The French government settled a pension of 1200 livres per annum upon his widow, and granted an annual allowance of 400 livres to each of his two sons who were in its service, in addition to their pay. Mrs Cameron communicated this information in a letter to Secretary Edgar, of 25th January, 1754, and informed him, at the same time, that young Glengary had offered his services to the British government in 1748 or 1749. An extract of the letter, relating to this extraordinary charge, will be found in the Appendix.

The Chevalier de St George writing to Lord George Murray, on 9th February, 1753, in answer to a letter from him, of 20th May, thus alludes to Dr Cameron's fate:—"I am stranger to the motives which carried poor Archibald Cameron into Scotland; but whatever they may have been, his hard fate gives me the more concern, that I own I could not bring myself to believe that the English government would have carried their rigour so far."

him, that she became acquainted with all his plans, and was trusted with his most secret correspondence. As Miss Walkinshaw had a sister who acted as housekeeper at Leicester house, all the persons of distinction in England, attached to Charles, grew alarmed, being apprehensive that this paramour had been placed in his family by the English ministers. They, therefore, despatched a gentleman, named M'Namara, to Paris, where Charles then was, with instructions to insist upon Miss Walkinshaw's removal for a certain time from his presence. Mr M'Namara, who was a man of excellent understanding, urged the most powerful reasons, and used all the arts of persuasion to induce him to comply, but to no purpose. M'Namara then informed him that an immediate interruption of all correspondence with his most powerful friends in England, and the ruin of his interest, which was now daily increasing, would be the certain consequence of his refusal; but Charles was inflexible. M'Namara staid some days in Paris beyond the time prescribed, in hopes of ultimately prevailing; but all his entreaties and remonstrances were ineffectual. At parting, M'Namara could not help exclaiming, with great indignation, "What has your family done, Sir, thus to draw down the vengeance of Heaven on every branch of it, through so many ages?" During his conferences with M'Namara, the prince declared that he had no violent passion, or indeed any particular regard for Miss Walkinshaw, and that he could see her removed from him without any concern; but that he would not receive directions for the regulation of his private conduct from any man alive. When M'Namara returned to London and reported Charles's answer to the gentlemen who had sent him to Paris, many of whom were persons of the first rank, and all of them men of fortune and distinction, they were amazed and confounded, and they resolved at once to break with him.\*

Lord Marischal was then residing at Paris as ambassador from the king of Prussia to the court of Versailles, and was apprized by M'Namara of every thing that passed between him and the prince. Had M'Namara's mission been successful, his lordship, whose services Charles was anxious to obtain, meant, on the expiration of his embassy, to have entered Charles's household; but disgusted with the conduct of the prince, who even had the ingratitude to threaten to publish the names of his English friends, he declined to take any farther interest in his affairs, and embracing the mediation of the king of Prussia, reconciled himself to the British government.†

Charles's friends, however, did not altogether abandon him; and when, in the following year, a war with France seemed inevitable, they resolved to make another generous effort to reclaim him. For this purpose, they sent two gentlemen to hold a conference with him. At meet-

\* King's Political and Literary Anecdotes, p. 204, *et seq.*

† Several Letters between Charles and Lord Marischal will be found in the Appendix. The most interesting are one from his lordship, without signature, 15th April, 1751. another also, without signature, 18th May, 1751, and Charles's answer of the latter date.

ing, they assured him, in the first place, that his friends had his interest, honour, and wellbeing, fully as much at heart as his own, and that they would go every reasonable length to make his life comfortable, till a better order of things should occur; but they hoped, at same time, that he would listen to their counsel, both in relation to his own life and safety, and theirs. They next stated that they were enjoined to assure him in the most positive terms, that he had been for some time eyed,—that his movements in a family way had been, and would continue to be, infallible marks to trace him, to avoid which they most earnestly entreated him to remove directly from his present residence and in so private a manner, that only a few faithful friends could know it, as that was the only way to escape the notice of many who were employed expressly to observe his motions and conduct,—that if he granted this request, they would consider his so doing as a happy omen to their future hopes; but if, on the contrary, he continued to oppose his own single opinion against the deliberate observations and reflections of his best friends, that it would occasion many very melancholy reflections, and would but too much confirm the impudent and villanous aspersions of Mr D——, which had already gained such ground with many persons, that nothing but his own future conduct could possibly remove them, for without convincing proofs of that kind, all that he himself, or his best friends could say in his favour, would be of very small weight,—that in the event of his listening to such a reasonable proposal, his friends would do every thing in their power for his comfort and satisfaction, and that they would send over some person to attend him, whose sufficiency, honour, and integrity, might be depended upon,—that a gentleman, whom they named, had long offered to attend him, and for that purpose was to have sold a large landed estate, and brought the price with him; but that reports of the manner in which the prince had for some time lived had cooled that gentleman's zeal, and made him hesitate,—that it was no wonder the zeal of his friends should abate, when it was represented to them that the prince had abandoned himself to an irregular and debauched life, and to an excess which brought his health and even his life daily in danger,—that in these excesses he was represented as having no guard either on his conduct or his expressions, and was in some degree void of reason,—that he was also too precipitate in his resolutions, and was then obstinate and deaf to the most solid advice,—that he put no value upon, and was ungrateful for, the very best services, and was unforgiving and revengeful for the smallest offence,—that he acted and spoke, upon all occasions, with an obstinacy that could bear no control, and, in all appearance, without any just thought or reflection,—that, in a word, he had in his single person all the vices and faults that had ever been in his family, without one of their virtues, and was of course entirely unqualified to act the part that had been hoped for at his hands,—that the person who gave this information appealed at the same time to the judgment of the worthy gentlemen to whom he told it,



what was to be expected from such a person, had he power in his hands, when he could so act when he had none, and whether the benevolent character was to be hoped for from a man who seemed to act the tyrant even in private life,—that their informant begged they would lay their hands on their hearts, and consider coolly if the lasting happiness of their families, and the prosperity of their country, was not greatly to be preferred to their affection and attachment to any particular person or family,—that if these great blessings were obtained, it was no matter to them or to the nation by whose hand they came,—that, therefore, if a change must be in order to obtain them, some better qualified behaved to be found out, and all thoughts of him laid for ever aside.

The deputation then said that their informant had affirmed positively that he had Mr Goring's authority for every thing he had said,—that the prince's friends were certain that this mortifying heavy charge was without much foundation; but that they were likewise as certain that Mr Goring having been long an eye-witness to his conduct, and one in whom he had placed confidence, very fatal and deep impressions would be made upon the minds of many, which nothing but his own prudent, steady, firm conduct, and circumspect behaviour for the future, could possibly remove,—that if not too late, they were certain the prince was blessed with great natural parts, with a quickness and penetration above most men, were they properly balanced,—that these qualities were very valuable in any man, but still more so in youth if properly used; but that it was against the nature of things for youth to have the prudence and experience of age,—that it was no sign of wisdom to act entirely without counsel; but that true wisdom was only to be discovered by a right choice of counsellors, and then acting steadily by their advice,—that even persons of the greatest experience and sagacity often needed advice, and that none could be reckoned truly wise, even in private affairs, who did not sometimes consult with, and put confidence in some solid friends. But how much more ought it to be done in matters which concerned kingdoms and nations, even all Europe, and perhaps the whole world. They observed that the times appeared critical,—that although war was evidently neither the interest nor inclination of England and France, yet sooner or later, and perhaps ere long, it would ensue,—that trade was the question,—that the command of the seas and the command of trade were inseparable, and that both nations viewed the question in that light,—that pride, interest, and the desire of power, combined to prompt each nation to wish earnestly for the uppermost, in so much that it was the opinion of the most reflecting part of the world, that the game of Rome and Carthage would have to be played, and that the one or other must have dominion,—that were, therefore, Britain headed by one who had no separate interest from the nation, the question to which side dominion would fall might be easily determined, and that most people of the best understanding in England were of that opinion; so that the chief point was to convince them that there was a valuable personage

on whom their interest and happiness depended, whose only interest and true happiness was unalterably connected with theirs, and who was willing and ready to sacrifice some part of his own happiness and satisfaction, in order to contribute to theirs.

A severer commentary on the conduct of Charles could scarcely have been delivered. It is not known what reception the deputation met with, or how this message was received by him; but, at his desire, the gentlemen committed it to writing, and sent the manuscript to him.\* Charles returned a written answer to this message, worded in a style which showed how keenly he felt the reproaches which had been cast upon him. He informed his "friends" that he had received a very surprising message, delivered in a still more surprising manner,—that reason might, and he hoped should, always prevail with him; but his own heart deceived him, if threats or promises ever would,—that he had almost determined to wait events in silence or patience, and believed that the advances which they knew he had already made on his part, were as great as could reasonably be expected; yet that the influence of well wishers, of whose sincerity, he was satisfied, had made him put pen to paper in vindication of his character, which he understood from them some unworthy people had had the insolence to attack, very possibly to serve some mean purposes of their own,—that he despised their malice, and considered it below his dignity to treat them in the terms they deserved,—that he was willing to bring truth to light,—that he had long desired a churchman from his friends to attend him; but that his expectations had been hitherto disappointed.† From the tenor of this communication, Charles's friends perceived that it was in vain to contend any longer with him, and they, therefore, finally abandoned him to his unfortunate fate.

Though Charles at first affected not to feel the indignity offered to him by the French government, yet it is certain that it left an indelible impression on his mind, soured his disposition, and quite unhinged his deliberative faculties. During his long incognito, he scarcely ever corresponded with his afflicted father,—a silence which he said was not owing either to neglect or want of duty, but because his situation was such, that he could do nothing but vent "imprecations against the fatality of being born in such a detestable age."‡ Led away by his passions, he would suffer no control; and so infatuated did he become, that in resisting the admonitions of his friends, he thought he was pursuing a course honourable to himself, and dutiful towards "the honest man,"—his father;§ but James was not to be misled by such false notions, and

\* A copy of this extraordinary paper taken from the original among the Stuart Papers, will be found in the Appendix. It bears the date of 15th August, 1755.

† This letter will be found in the Appendix. The copy from which it was taken was folded within the original "Memoir," presented to Charles by the deputation.

‡ Letter to Edgar, 24th March, 1754.

§ Letter,—Charles to Edgar, 12th March, 1755, Appendix.

hinted, that though he was happy to find Charles in such sentiments, yet that it was possible that what he might think for the best, might be otherwise. "Do you," he asks the prince, "rightly understand the extensive sense of honour and duty, from which you say you will never go astray? If you can, (he continues,) keep up to that rule, you will then be really an honest man, which is the new name you give me, and with which I am much pleased, since it is a title I value more than all those which vanity can desire, or flattery invent. It is a title we are all obliged to pretend to, and which we may all, without vanity, think we deserve, and unless we deserve it, we, in reality, can neither be happy in the next world, nor even in this, because peace and tranquillity of mind is only the share of honest men. The best wish I can therefore make you, is that you may yourself long deserve and enjoy that title: it would be the most effectual means of drawing down God's blessing upon you."\*

After the estrangement of his friends, Charles gave up all thoughts of a restoration, and resided chiefly at Avignon till the death of his father, in December, seventeen hundred and sixty-six, when he returned to Italy. The Chevalier had, for several years, been in a declining state of health, and, for two years before his death, had been confined to his bed-chamber. His remains were carried to the church of the parish where he had resided, and were decorated with all the insignia of royalty. The body was attired in royal robes, a crown put upon his head, a sceptre in his hand, and upon his breast the arms of Great Britain, &c. in gold and jewels. Above the bed of state on which the body lay, was a throne suspended from the ceiling, on the top of which were the figures of four angels holding the crown and sceptre, and at each corner the figure of death. Over the bed was this inscription:—"Jacobus Magnæ Britanniae Rex, Anno MDCLXVI," with medallions in front, representing the different orders of chivalry in Great Britain; the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to which were attached the royal insignia, viz. the purple robe lined with ermine,—the velvet tunic ornamented with gold,—the globe, the crown, the sceptre, the crosses of St George, St Andrew, &c. Four large pieces of drapery of purple silk were suspended from the canopy; and on the drapery, at the distance of every six inches, was a row of gold lace lined with white fringe. The drapery was parted and hung to the capitals of four columns on each side of the church, and these columns were covered with black cloth enriched with ornaments of gold. In the church was a number of chandeliers with skeletons holding wax tapers. The body lay in state three days; during which, none but the Italian princes and British subjects were admitted into the church. The corpse was then removed in procession to St Peter's church to be interred. The children of the charity schools led the procession, and were followed by certain companies sent by the chief

\* Letter to Charles, 14th April, 1755, Appendix.

churches, amounting to six hundred men, divided into twelve sections, all attired in antique and different dresses with tapers, and about one thousand friars of different orders with torches; the singing boys of St Peter's dressed in purple silk gowns, and about fifty canons all singing hymns. Round the bed of state on which the body was carried, were the professors and students of the English college, with four cardinals upon mules, covered with purple-velvet trappings. The Chevalier's servants, in twelve coaches, lined with black velvet, formed the rear of the procession.

By his will, the Chevalier left his real estate, which yielded about forty thousand crowns per annum, exclusive of pensions, to Prince Charles. He also left him a box of jewels belonging to the crown of Poland, formerly pledged to the Sobieski family, if not redeemed.\* The jewels belonging to his own family he directed to be divided between Charles and Henry.

From the state of comparative seclusion in which the Chevalier passed the most part of his life, his personal history is less known than either that of his father, or his son, Charles Edward. His character, to judge from his correspondence, and the many acts of individual kindness he showed towards his exiled adherents, was benevolent and estimable. He seems to have been better acquainted with the principles of the English constitution than any of his race, and would, had he been called to empire, have probably eschewed the dangerous rock of the prerogative, on which his grandfather and father split. His boast was not merely that he was an Englishman, but that, to use an Italian phrase, there was not "a greater Englishman than himself." †

After his father's death, Prince Charles retired to Albano, where he lived in great seclusion till the year seventeen hundred and seventy-two, when the court of Versailles, desirous for its own selfish purposes to prevent the male line of the house of Stuart from becoming extinct, negotiated a marriage between him and the young princess Louisa Maximiliana Carolina of Stolberg-Guederan, and the three branches of the house of Bourbon all concurring in the match, a suitable allowance was settled by them for the support of the prince and his wife. Charles, who, in consequence of the refusal of the court of Rome to recognise the titles which his father had assumed, had taken that of the Count of Albany, took up his residence, upon his marriage, in the neighbourhood of Florence, whither he was invited by the grand duke of Tuscany. The marriage was unfortunate. Charles had lived too long single to enjoy connubial happiness; and his temper, soured by misfortune, unfitted him for the discharge of the domestic virtues. The consequence was, that a separation speedily ensued, and whilst Charles remained near Florence, the princess returned to Rome, where she remained till the

\* See a letter from Lord George Murray to the Chevalier, dated 4th September, 1748, relative to these jewels, in the Appendix.

† Letter to Charles of 3d February, 1747.



death of her husband, when she went to Paris, and was maintained by the court of France in a manner suitable to her rank.

Charles was seriously indisposed in seventeen hundred and eighty-four, but recovered.\* In January, seventeen hundred and eighty-eight, he had a stroke of apoplexy, followed by palsy, under which he fell, after an illness of three weeks, on the thirty-first of that month, aged sixty-seven years and one month.† The body was placed in a coffin of cypress wood along with the sceptre, crown and sword, and all the other insignia of the royal house of Stuart. This coffin was inclosed in another of lead, bearing suitable inscriptions and devices. In this state the remains were carried from Rome to Frescati for interment, and were placed in the cathedral church of Frescati, of which see Cardinal York was bishop.

\* Cardinal York, on the supposition that Charles was on his death-bed, presented the following paper to the pope, the foreign ministers at Rome, cardinals, and others:—  
“Copia simplex Instrumenti apertionis folii Declarationis Rogat. per acta Cataldi, Curie Capitoline notarii, die trigesima, prima Januarii, 1788.

“We, Henry, Mary Benoit Clement, cardinal, duke of York, younger son of James III. king of England: whereas, by advice received from Florence, of date the 23d January current, we are on the point of losing the most serene Charles Edward, our very dear brother-german, lawful successor of James III. to the kingdoms of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, &c. We declare and protest, in the most legal form, with all the solemnities possible, and in every other way that may be of utility and advantage, as in duty bound to our royal person and to our country, to reclaim to ourselves the right of succession belonging to us to the kingdoms of England, &c. in case our most serene brother, (which, God forbid,) should be no more, against which cannot be opposed, either before God or before men, the sacred episcopal character with which we are clothed.

“And whereas, in consideration of the critical circumstances of our royal family, we wish to obviate every difficulty that might give us trouble, we mean still to retain the title, (which in that event no longer belongs to us,) of duke of York, with all the rights thereto annexed, as we have hitherto been in use to do, and that as a title of *incognito*. For this purpose we renew every necessary protestation and declaration in the manner foresaid, and with all possible solemnities. That in retaining, (as we do of our own will, and by way of *incognito*,) the title of cardinal, duke of York, in similar deeds either public or private which we have passed, or shall pass, after having obtained the foresaid right of succession, we do not prejudice, much less ever renounce our right, and that which we have, and mean to have and retain always to the foresaid kingdoms,—more especially which belong to us, as the true, last, and lawful heir of our royal family, notwithstanding the foresaid title which we are pleased to retain as a simple *incognito*. Lastly, We expressly declare by the present protest, our will is, that, as soon as Providence shall have disposed of our person, the rights of succession to the crown of England, &c. should remain in their full force and strength with the Prince, to whom the right shall belong by proximity of blood.

“Such being our will, &c.

“From the palace of our residence, Jan. 27, 1784.

“HENRY, CARDINAL,” &c.

† Charles's widow, who was 32 years younger, outlived him nearly 36 years, having died on 29th January, 1824. At the time of the French Revolution she was obliged to return to Italy in company with Alfieri, to whom she was warmly attached, and to whose memory she erected a mausoleum, the work of Canova. When Tuscany fell under the dominion of Buonaparte, he ordered the princess, who had incurred his displeasure, to repair to Paris. She was afterwards allowed to return to Florence, where, it is said, she made a left-handed marriage with a French historical painter, named Francis Xavier Fabre, the friend of Alfieri, whom, upon her death, she appointed her universal executor.—*Biographie Universelle*, art. Charles Edouard Stuart, vol. 44. Paris, 1826.

In the morning of the third of February, the funeral obsequies were celebrated in the cathedral. The church was hung with black cloth, drawn up between the pillars in the form of festoons intermixed with gold and silver tissue. The seams of the cloth were covered with gold lace. During the whole of the ceremony, a great number of wax tapers were kept burning in every part of the church. By order of the cardinal, texts from Ecclesiasticus xlvii. 17; Job xxix. 5; Tobit ii. 18; Proverbs v. 27; 2 Macab. vi. 31; with reference to the situation and fortunes of the deceased were written on the festoons in large characters over the great door and the four principal side altars. A large catafalque was erected on a platform raised three steps from the floor, in the nave of the church. The coffin containing the body was placed on the catafalque, and was covered with a magnificent pall, on which were embroidered, in several places, the arms of England. On each side stood three gentlemen, belonging to the household of the deceased, in mourning cloaks, each holding a royal banner. Round the catafalque were a considerable number of large wax tapers in the form of a square, guarded by the militia of Frescati. The scene altogether was of a most solemn description.

The cardinal, carried in a sedan chair, covered with black cloth, and attended by a number of his officers and servants in deep mourning, was brought into the church about ten o'clock, A.M. when he seated himself on his throne on the gospel or right hand side of the great altar, and began to sing the office for the dead according to the Roman ritual. In this office he was assisted by the choir of the cathedral, which was numerous, and by some of the best voices from Rome. The cardinal had scarcely finished the first verse, when his voice faltered, and the tears trickled down his cheeks. For a short time he appeared as if unable to proceed; but he soon rallied, and went through the service. The magistrates of Frescati, and a large assemblage of the inhabitants of the diocese to whom the bishop was justly endeared, attended on the occasion.

The princess of Stolberg-Guederan had no children to Charles, but he left a natural daughter by Miss Walkinshaw. He created her duchess of Albany, and legitimated her by a deed which was recorded in the register of the parliament of Paris on the sixth of September, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven. With the exception of two thousand ounces of silver which he bequeathed to his brother, the cardinal; and a legacy of one hundred ducats to the Chevalier Stewart, his confidential secretary, Charles left the whole of his property to his daughter, burdened with annuities to his servants during their lives to the amount of their wages.

Although faction of all kinds has distorted the real lineaments of Charles's character, yet sufficient traces still remain to give the impartial observer some general idea of the true portrait. Whilst his partisans have painted him in the most glowing colours of admiration, as the paragon of all that is noble and high-minded, his enemies have repre-

sented him as a man devoid of any good and generous feeling,—as despotic, revengeful, ungrateful, and avaricious,—having, in short, all the vices without one of the redeeming virtues of his race. Paradoxical as the assertion may be, there is some truth in both delineations; but considerable abatements must be made from the exaggerated eulogies of the one party, as well as from the sweeping condemnation of the other. There were, in fact, as has been well observed, two Charles Edwards.\* The hero of seventeen hundred and forty-five was a generous and high-minded youth, who, notwithstanding some constitutional defects, merited a better destiny; but the Charles Edward of a subsequent period was a degraded man, who, dispirited by misfortune, and soured by disappointment, lost all command over himself, and became the sport of the passions. He retained, however, to the close of his existence, a vivid recollection of his early exploits, and he could not hear any allusion to Scotland and the Highlanders, without betraying the greatest emotion.

After Charles's death, the cardinal, having no regard for worldly honours, wisely renounced all claim to the titles which his father had assumed; and George III., to mark his personal esteem for his eminence, granted him a pension of four thousand pounds per annum, which was regularly paid up to the period of the cardinal's death, which happened in eighteen hundred and seven. He died in his eighty-second year. The male line of the house of Stuart, which was virtually at an end, by the death of Prince Charles, now became entirely extinct. George IV., with a feeling which did him credit, honoured the cardinal and his two immediate predecessors with a monument.

That the continuity of the personal history of Charles Edward, from the period of his return to France till his death, might not be interrupted, the measures of the legislature for preventing a recurrence of any fresh attempt to restore the house of Stuart, have not hitherto been alluded to. These fall now to be noticed.

From a feeling of gratitude, and still more from a principle of duty, the Scottish Episcopalians were steady adherents of the Stuarts, and, ever since the period of the revolution, had done every thing in their power to contribute to the restoration of the exiled family. King William attempted to gain over their bishops to his interests; but, unlike most of their brethren in England, who, like them, had warmly advocated the doctrines of non-resistance and passive obedience, they absolutely refused to take the oath of allegiance to him, on the ground that they had already sworn fealty to another sovereign. The result of this refusal was, that Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbytery again made the religion of the state. The Presbyterians now triumphed in their turn, and retaliated their past wrongs upon their prostrate adversaries. Nor did the government show any indisposition to act a more lenient part. The persecutions to which the adherents of the proscribed system

were subjected, instead of weakening, tended to rivet their attachment still more strongly to the exiled family, and when Prince Charles descended into the Lowlands of Scotland, he was joined by a considerable number of the episcopal sect.

As this party, though not numerous, was not less formidable, from its rank and wealth, as from the *esprit du corps* with which it was animated, the first attention of the legislature was directed towards this body, and a strong measure was resorted to, which nothing could justify but necessity. This was an act by which it was ordained that any episcopal clergymen officiating after the first day of September, seventeen hundred and forty-six, without having previously taken the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and assurance, or without praying once, during the performance of worship, for the king, his heirs, and successors, and for all the royal family, should, for the first offence, suffer six months imprisonment; and, for the second, be transported to the American plantations for life; and, in case of returning from banishment, be subjected to perpetual imprisonment. It was also enacted that no proprietor of a closed episcopal meeting-house should regain possession of it till he gave security for one hundred pounds, that he would not again permit it to be occupied by a non-juring clergyman, namely, by one who had not taken the required oaths. To prevent an evasion of the act by assemblages in private houses, it was enacted, that every house in which five persons should meet, for the purpose of divine service, should be held a meeting-house within the meaning of the act. In order to strike at the very root of the Scottish episcopal church, it was also enacted, that no letters of orders should be registered after said first of September, except such as had been given by the church of England or Ireland. In regard of the laity, the act declared, that if after the first of September, seventeen hundred and forty-six, any person should resort to an episcopal meeting-house, not held according to law, and not give notice of such illegal meeting to a magistrate within five days thereafter, he should be subjected to fine and imprisonment. By another enactment it was declared, that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the representative peers, or of voting at such election; and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of parliament for any shire or burgh, who should, within the compass of any future year, be twice present at divine service in an illegal episcopal meeting-house in Scotland. This act was followed by another, passed in seventeen hundred and forty-eight, annulling, in effect, the orders of the Scottish episcopal church, by declaring that no letters of orders, not granted by a bishop of the church of England or of Ireland, should be sufficient to qualify any Scottish episcopalian minister, whether the same had been registered before or since, the first day of September, seventeen hundred and forty-six; and that every such register, whether made before or since, should be null and void.

These acts were not allowed to remain a dead letter, but were acted



upon in several instances. The devoted episcopalians bore their privations with becoming fortitude, by yielding to a necessity which they could not control; but they submitted only because they were unable to resist. The wisdom of these laws, abstracting from their injustice and severity, soon became apparent, by the decay of Jacobitism which ensued soon after their enactment.

In viewing the state of the Highlands, with reference to the previous insurrection, and the spirit which still actuated the Jacobite clans, the legislature perceived that nothing short of a complete revolution in the habits and feelings of the people, and a dissolution of those ties of clanship which bound the Highlanders to their chiefs, could, in future, insure the public tranquillity, or prevent other attempts from being made, from time to time, in favour of the house of Stuart. The danger, notwithstanding the suppression of the insurrection, was still too imminent to attempt effecting such a change by the slow process of the social system; and therefore it became necessary to devise some more summary mode for its accomplishment. The disarming act, passed in the preceding reign, had not been attended with any beneficial effect, as the Highlanders had evaded it; but, as its necessity was evident, it was determined to revive it, with some additional clauses for securing its enforcement; and, as the first blow at clanship, it was resolved to prohibit the use of the Highland dress.

Accordingly, an act (20 Geo. II., c. 39.) was passed, "for the more effectually disarming the Highlands in Scotland, and for the more effectually securing the peace of the Highlands, and for restraining the use of the Highland dress," &c.; by which it was enacted, that if any person, residing within the limits therein mentioned, should, from and after the first day of August, seventeen hundred and forty-six, fail to deliver up any arms in his possession, after being called upon to do so, he should pay, upon conviction, fifteen pounds; and, in case of non-payment, be committed to prison,—that if payment was not made within one month, the prisoner was to be sent to serve as a soldier in his majesty's forces in America, if able to serve, and if unable, to be imprisoned for six months, and then only to be liberated on finding security for his good behaviour for the next ten years. If the delinquent was a woman, she was to be fined and imprisoned, and failing payment, to be detained six months in prison. Transportation for seven years was the punishment for a second offence.

With reference to the Highland garb it was enacted, that from and after the first day of August, seventeen hundred and forty-seven, any person, whether man or boy, within Scotland, (excepting officers and soldiers in his majesty's service,) who should, on any pretence whatsoever, wear or put on the clothes commonly called the Highland clothes, namely, the plaid, philibeg, trews, shoulder belts, or any part of the Highland garb, or should use, for great coats, or for upper coats, tartans or party-coloured plaid, or stuff, should be imprisoned, without bail, for six

months; and, on being convicted for a second offence, should be liable to be transported to any of his majesty's plantations abroad for seven years. The term for discontinuing the dress was extended, by a subsequent act, to the first of August, in the following year.\*

To the natural feelings of a high-minded and martial people like the Highlanders, no greater insult could have been offered than this call upon them to deliver up their arms; but the proscription of their dress was even more galling. "Even the loyal clans," says Dr Johnson, "murmured with an appearance of justice, that after having defended the king, they were forbidden to defend themselves, and that the swords should be forfeited which had been legally employed. It affords a generous and manly pleasure, to conceive a little nation gathering its fruits and tending its herds, with fearless confidence, though it is open on every side to invasion; where, in contempt of walls and trenches, every man sleeps securely with his sword beside him, and where all, on the first approach of hostility, come together at the call to battle, as the summons to a festival show, committing their cattle to the care of those whom age or nature had disabled, to engage the enemy; with that competition for hazard and glory which operate in men that fight under the eye of those whose dislike or kindness they have always considered as the greatest evil, or the greatest good. This was in the beginning of the present century: in the state of the Highlanders every man was a soldier, who partook of the national confidence, and interested himself in national honour. To lose this spirit, is to lose what no small advantage will compensate, when their pride has been crushed by the heavy hand of a vindictive conqueror, whose severities have been followed by laws, which, though they cannot be called cruel, have produced much discontent, because they operate on the surface of life, and make every eye bear witness to subjection. If the policy of the disarming act appears somewhat problematical, what must we think of the subsequent measure of 1747, to compel the Highlanders to lay aside their national dress. It is impossible to read this latter act without considering it rather as an ignorant wantonness of power, than the proceeding of a wise and a beneficent legislature. To be compelled to wear a new dress has always been found painful." General Stewart remarks, that had the whole Highland race been decimated, more violent grief, indignation, and shame, could not have been excited among them, than by being deprived of this long inherited costume.†

\* "Considering the severity of the law against this garb, nothing but the strong partiality of the people could have prevented its going entirely into disuse. The prohibitory laws were so long in force, that more than two-thirds of the generation who saw it enacted had passed away before the repeal. The youth of the latter period knew it only as an illegal garb, to be worn by stealth, under the fear of imprisonment and transportation. Breeches, by force of habit, had become so common, that it is remarkable how the plaid and philibeg were resumed at all."—*Stewart's Sketches*.

† The statement that the kilt, or philibeg, is of comparative modern invention, is thus noticed by the same author:—"The mode of sewing the kilt into plaits, or folds, in

It was not to be expected that an act, containing provisions so opposed to the feelings of the Highlanders, could be carried into effect without considerable difficulty. They could not offer, it is true, any direct resistance; but they might easily conceal their arms, and might occasionally evade the law relating to the garb, if allowed to retain it in their possession. To provide against such attempts, the persons to whom the execution of the act was committed, devised an oath by which all persons called before them were required to swear, that they neither had, nor should have, any arms in their possession, and should never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb.\* Grievous as it must have been to the feelings of a Highlander to be forced to dispense with his favourite tartan, his mind would have sooner been reconciled to the adoption of other stuffs, had he been allowed to retain the ancient form of his garb. The attempt, therefore, to evade the law, proceeded no less from the attachment of the Highlanders to their proscribed garb, than from the uncouthness to them, at least, of the dress forced upon them. "Habituated," says General Stewart, "to the free use of their limbs, the Highlanders could ill brook the confinement and restraint of the Lowland dress, and many were the little devices which they adopted to retain their ancient garb, without incurring the penalties of the act—devices which were calculated rather to excite a smile than to rouse the vengeance of persecution. Instead of the prohibited

the same manner as the plaid, is said to have been introduced by an Englishman of the name of Parkinson early in the last century, which has given rise to an opinion entertained by many, that the kilt is modern, and was never known till that period. This opinion is founded on a memorandum left by a gentleman whose name is not mentioned, and published in the *SCOTS MAGAZINE*. To a statement totally unsupported, little credit can of course be attached; and it may surely, with as much reason, be supposed, that breeches were never worn till the present cut and manner of wearing them came into fashion. As the Highlanders had sufficient ingenuity to think of plaiting the plaid, it is likely they would be equally ingenious in forming the kilt; and as it is improbable that an active light-footed people would go about on all occasions, whether in the house or in the field, encumbered with twelve yards of plaid, (to say nothing of the expense of such a quantity,) I am less willing to coincide in the modern opinion, founded on such a slight unauthenticated notice, than in the universal belief of the people, that the philibeg has been part of the garb as far back as tradition reaches.

"Since the publication of the former editions, (of the Sketches,) several friends have represented to me, that a more decided contradiction ought to be given to the story of Parkinson and his supposed invention of the kilt, which, they say, is totally unfounded. The truth is, the thing is not worth contradicting. If the story were true, which it is not, the whole would amount to this,—that, in the reign of George II., the Highlanders began to wear four yards of tartan instead of twelve, as was their practice in former reigns. This is one of the arguments brought forward by some modern authors, to prove that the Highland garb is of recent introduction."

\* The following is the form of the oath:—"I, A. B., do swear, and as I shall answer to God at the great day of judgment, I have not, nor shall have, in my possession any gun, sword, pistol, or arm whatsoever, and never use tartan, plaid, or any part of the Highland garb; and if I do so, may I be cursed in my undertakings, family, and property,—may I never see my wife and children, father, mother, or relations,—may I be killed in battle as a coward, and lie without Christian burial, in a strange land, far from the graves of my forefathers and kindred; may all this come across me if I break my oath!"

tartan kilt, some wore pieces of a blue, green, or red thin cloth, or coarse camblet, wrapped round the waist, and hanging down to the knees, like the *fealdag*.\* The tight breeches were particularly obnoxious. Some, who were fearful of offending, or wished to render obedience to the law, which had not specified on what part of the body the breeches were to be worn, satisfied themselves with having in their possession this article of legal and loyal dress, which, either as the signal of their submission, or more probably to suit their own convenience when on journeys, they often suspended over their shoulders upon their sticks; others, who were either more wary, or less submissive, sewed up the centre of the kilt with a few stitches between the thighs, which gave it something of the form of the trousers worn by Dutch skippers. At first these evasions of the act were visited with considerable severity; but at length the officers of the law seem to have acquiesced in the interpretation put by the Highlanders upon the prohibition of the act. This appears from the trial of a man of the name of M'Alpin, or Drummond Macgregor from Breadalbane, who was acquitted, on his proving that the kilt had been stitched up in the middle."†

The law of seventeen hundred and forty-six, for disarming the Highlanders and restraining the use of the Highland garb, was followed up

\* The only difference between the *fealdag* and the *philibeg* is, that the former is not plaited.

† This trial took place in 1757. After this relaxation of the law less attention was paid to its observance. This obnoxious act, unworthy of a free government, was repealed in 1782, in as far as it related to the Highland garb.

President Forbes was quite opposed to any enactment interfering with the Highland garb. Writing to the Lord Lyon from Edinburgh, on 8th July, 1746, he observes:—"With respect to the bill for altering the Highland dress, which, if I understand any thing, is no more than a chip in porridge, which, without disarming, signifies not one halfpenny; and an effectual disarming supposed, is of no sort of inconvenience to the neighbouring country or to the government. I do not wonder that you, and a great many wise men where you are, who know nothing at all of the matter, should incline to it. The garb is certainly very loose, and fits men inured to it to go through great fatigues, to make very quick marches, to bear out against the inclemency of the weather, to wade through rivers, and shelter in huts, woods, and rocks upon occasion; which men dressed in the low country garb could not possibly endure. But then it is to be considered, that, as the Highlands are circumstanced at present, it is, at least it seems to me to be, an utter impossibility, without the advantage of this dress, for the inhabitants to tend their cattle, and to go through the other parts of their business, without which they could not subsist; not to speak of paying rents to their landlords. Now, because too many of the Highlanders have offended, to punish all the rest who have not, and who, I will venture to say, are the greatest number, in so severe a manner, seems to be unreasonable; especially as, in my poor apprehension, it is unnecessary, on the supposal the disarming project be properly secured; and I must confess, that the salvo which you speak of, of not suffering the regulation to extend to the well-affected Clans, is not to my taste; because, though it would save them from hardships, yet the making so remarkable a distinction would be, as I take it, to list all those on whom the bill should operate for the Pretender, which ought to be avoided if possible. It is for these reasons, which my occupations make it impossible for me to explain at length, that I wish this clause might be dropped,—the rather that if any reasons of state, which I cannot judge of, because I have not been acquainted with them, make it necessary, a bill to that purpose might be contrived, with much less harm to innocent persons than probably the framers of this project have thoughts of."—*Culloden Papers*, p. 289.



the following year by one of a more radical and permanent description. This was the act for abolishing the heritable jurisdictions, which, though necessary in a rude state of society, were wholly incompatible with an advanced stage of civilization. By depriving the Highland chiefs of their judicial powers, it was thought that the sway which for centuries they had held over their people, would be gradually impaired, and that, by investing certain judges, who were amenable to the legislature for the proper discharge of their duties, with the civil and criminal jurisdiction enjoyed by the proprietors of the soil, the cause of good government would be promoted, and the facilities for repressing any attempts to disturb the public tranquillity increased.

By this act, (20 Geo. II. c. 43.) which was made to extend to the whole of Scotland, all heritable jurisdictions of justiciary, all regalities and heritable baileries, and constabularies, (excepting the office of high constable,) and all stewartries, and sheriffships of smaller districts, which were only parts of counties, were dissolved, and the powers formerly vested in them were ordained to be exercised by such of the king's courts as these powers would have belonged to, if the jurisdictions had never been granted. All sheriffships and stewartries not dissolved by the statute, namely those which comprehended whole counties, where they had been granted, either heritably or for life, were resumed and annexed to the crown. With the exception of the hereditary justiciaryship of Scotland, which was transferred from the family of Argyle to the high court of justiciary, the other jurisdictions were ordained to be vested in sheriffs-depute or stewards-depute, to be appointed by the king, in every shire or stewartry not dissolved by the act. As by the twentieth article of the treaty of union, all heritable offices and jurisdictions were reserved to the grantees as rights of property; compensation was ordained to be made to the holders, the amount of which was afterwards fixed by parliament, in terms of an act of sederunt of the court of session, at one hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds.

These laws, however, would, probably, have had little effect upon the national character of the Highlanders, had not other causes, apart from legislation, concurred in effecting an entire change in their habits and feelings.

APPENDIX  
TO  
THE THIRD VOLUME.



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## A P P E N D I X.

(STUART PAPERS.\*)

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### \* No. I.

*Letter,—Prince Charles Edward Stuart to Colonel O'Bryen.*

NAVARRÉ, ye 16th June, 1745.

I HAVE received yours of the 13th current, and in it the news of your battle : it is not esy to forsee if it will prove good or bad for our affairs. I finde the situation and country here so agreeable, and also the people's here procuring me all diversions possible, that has made me prolong this first gant of mine here. I expect a distincter account of this battle, which if you geat, you will send it to me under cover to Mr Kelly, as I mentioned to you in my last.

CHARLES P.

My Compl<sup>s</sup> to your Lady.

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### \* No. II.

*Letter,—The Same to the Same.*

NAVARRÉ, ye 20th June, 1745.

I HAVE received yours of the 18th current, and design to go to-day to a party of pleasure that I have, which is to see a little of the country hereabouts, as La Trappe, near by Rowan. Of this last I have said nothing here ; for as I am so well now I would be pleazed with company, and sober party, insted of a diversion, would become a constraint. After making this tour, I will not return here, but go strait to Paris, where I shall immediately see you, and hope by that time you will no entierly what will becom of ye *Moins* Lawsuit, whom I am affred wont succeed. Having nothing in ye world particular to say, I shall remain, making my compliments to your Lady,

CHARLES P.

\* The numbers marked with an asterisk are copied from the originals.

## No. III.

*Extracts from the Letters of Correspondence between the Chevalier de St George and Mr Sempil, his agent at Paris, from July, 1745, to 23d May, 1746.*

[NOTE—The extracts from Sempil's letters are from the originals among the Stuart Papers; those from the Chevalier, are taken from the original copies, or draughts, in the same collection.]

*From Sempil.*

5th July, 1745.

WHEN I wrote last week to Edgar, I began to fear that *the Prince's counsellors\** had something extraordinary in view. I was astonished that *the P.* had not come to Town, as he had written to me he would, nor sent *me orders to meet him*, before I should set out *for the army*, tho' I had informed *H. R. H.* that I was ready, and only waited for that *great honour and satisfaction*, which I also took to be proper for *your Majesty's and his affairs*. This made me doubt there was some mystery in the case; but when to understand that he had ordered all his letters, even *your Majesty's, to be kept in Waters' hands*, when I found this, and several other circumstances, I plainly saw that *Sir Thomas Sheridan and Kelly* had taken advantage of *the Prince's ardent and lively temper*, and *led him into a measure* that might prove fatal to *the Royal Family and your three kingdoms*, if things were not so happily disposed that any *attempt* can hardly fail *to succeed in the end*. Your Majesty's letters from *the P.* will certainly explain the whole scheme, which to me seems to be formed with no more than *five or six young men*, some of whom are much liked but have very little influence in their country. I have reason to believe that *George Waters* is in the secret. I have interrogated him in a peremptory manner; but all I can draw from him is, that I shall certainly hear from *the P.* in very few days. I shall not trouble your Majesty with reflections on this matter. The ferment I have been and am still in, renders it improper for me to enter on such a subject.

*From the Chevalier de St George.*

13th July, 1745.

WHAT takes me up wholly at present is the resolution the *P.* has taken and executed without my knowledge. I know not particularly the grounds he goes upon, but I am afraid there is little room to hope he will succeed, except he be vigorously supported by the Court of France, and therefore we must all of us, in our different spheres, leave nothing undone for that effect. I now write myself to the King and all the ministers, and we must be all of us more than ever solely and wholly intent on the great object. The question now is to look forward, and not to blame what is past. It is true I never should have ordered the *P.* to have taken such a step, but since it is taken it must be supported, and whatever be the event, it will certainly turn much to the *P.'s* personal honour;

\* The words in italics in this and all the subsequent numbers in the Appendix, unless otherwise indicated, are interlineations written above the ciphers in the originals.

may, even something may be said to justify what he has done. The usage he met with in France, and the dread of a peace, were, no doubt, strong motives to push him on a rash undertaking rather than to sit still, and who knows but what he has done may, in some measure, force the Court of France, out of shame, to support him, while otherwise perhaps they had continued to neglect him, and then have abandoned him at last. . . . The P.'s example will, I hope, animate our friends in England: he has ventured generously for them, and if they abandon him, they themselves, and indeed our country, will be ruined.

*From the Same.*

30th August, 1745.

IF the French send arms and money into Scotland, I should hope they might be vastly induced to send thither also at least some officers, by which means the P. will probably be in a condition to maintain himself for some time in Scotland. But if they don't before it be long send some troops into England, I shall have little hopes of his succeeding in his present enterprize. All our efforts must be made for that effect. It is a great advantage, in the present juncture, that the step the P. has taken should have met with so much applause, even in the public in France, who all seem to be zealous for our cause. That is a circumstance which should naturally make some impression on the French ministry, and they being already all well-disposed, I really think we have reason to hope the best. In this situation of matters, you will easily believe that the Duke could not think of remaining here—he followed his own inclination—he had run any risk to go and joyn his Brother; but that I could not on any account allow of; for the real and solid good of my family, and the cause, as well as the Prince's personal security, and interest in his present undertaking, require that he should not cross the seas as yet. But should ever the French send troops into England, it would be highly proper on all accounts, and of great advantage, that he should be at the head of them; and therefore, that he might be more at hand, I thought it convenient that he should go as far as Avignon, from whence he will himself write to the King of France, and then expect, in a kind of incognito, his orders. He parted from hence last night in the most private manner; and tho' his journey, as far as Genoa, will be both fatiguing and dangerous, yet, by the precautions taken, I am in great hopes his leaving Rome will not be known at Florence before he has past Tuscany. . . . If Sir John Græme be not already parted for Scotland, I now write to him to go and attend the Duke. He would have had Capt<sup>n</sup> Hay follow him to Avignon; but we have so few people here at present that I could not let him go thither, at least as yet; so that, in arriving at Avignon, he will only have one gentleman with him, who has been about him ever since he was a child; and the truth is, I am not in a condition to give him a numerous family, and shall have much ado to maintain him with any decency at Avignon, should he stay there any time. He has pawned here his jewels for his brother's service, and what little I have is, or will be, out of hand applied to the same use.

*From the Same.*

20th September, 1745.

I AM, I thank God, now pretty easy as to the certainty of the Prince's being landed in Scotland. I am glad to see you have such hopes of his being effec-



tually supported by the French. . . . It is well your correspondence with Balhaldy is still open ; but it would be of importance to know what his English friends think of the Prince's enterprize, what they would advise, and what they can and will do to forward it : if there be really no more than 6000 men in Britain, (tho' I can scarcely believe there should be so few,) it ought to be a great encouragement to the French to send troops to the Prince's assistance ; and I am very sensible that without that, his enterprize, humanly speaking, cannot succeed ; for as from Spain, I don't see how he can get any, tho' I have no doubt of that Court's desire and readiness to assist him.

*From Sempil.*

13th September, 1745.

THO' we were long ago assured of the Prince's safe arrival in Scotland, yet it is no small comfort to have the great news from himself. Your Majesty has no doubt more ample and distinct accounts than even Mr Walsh, who is unacquainted with the Highlands, is able to give us here : the great point is, that he left the Prince in perfect health, Aug<sup>r</sup> 19th, and at the head of 5000 men, which, all circumstances considered, affords fair prospect of success. . . .

On the 10th instant, I had the great honor and satisfaction to receive, *by the Dutch post*, a letter from Sir Thomas Sheridan, written by the Prince's command, to let me know that His Royal Highness was arrived in Scotland, where he found many brave men ready to take arms for him : he adds, that His Royal Highness is persuaded I will use my best endeavours to procure him speedy assistance, or to get a diversion made in his favor. I carried this letter immediately to the *French ministers*. *The Marquis D'Argenson told me* that he had himself received a letter, and Cardinal Tencin another : he shewed me his letter, and said he expected more full accounts from Mr Walsh, who accordingly arrived yesterday, and told that the Prince reached the western isles of Scotland, Aug. 3d ; that he stopt at several of them to concert with the inhabitants, but did not go to land, so as to remain till the 17th, when the islanders were all got to the Continent to attend His Royal Highness, or in motion to repair thither. . . . Walsh adds, that the chiefs of the Clans enquired very pointedly by what authority the Prince acted, and that it was upon producing his Patent of Regent, that they condescended to join His Royal Highness.

*Balhaldy* writes, that, upon the first news of His Royal Highness' arrival, the alarm was great, and that the stocks fell considerably ; but when they understood he had but one ship with him, and very few arms, the Government pretended to condemn the attempt, and while his Royal Highness was necessarily detained in the isles, the stocks rose again, but not altogether to their former value. *Balhaldy, Mr Erskine, Lord Traquair, The City of London, Sir John Hynd Cotton, Lord Barrymore, the Duke of Beaufort, and all the English Family*, cry loudly and vehemently for a *body of the troops to be landed near London*, as the most effectual means to support the Prince, and the only method by which a dangerous and ruinous civil war can be avoided. I have not failed to represent to the French Court how essentially it is their own interest to take this method of accomplishing the work of your Majesty's restoration ; they had got a notion that the Prince might possibly be better received without than with foreign assistance : at this juncture, they imagined His Royal Highness had some private assurances of this kind, and thereafter,

till he should arrive and let them *know what he should want, they could do nothing but make the preparations I mentioned* to your Majesty. *They are now deliberating on the measures that it is proper to take. I have insisted that the arms, ammunition, and money, prepared in Holland and Hamburg, be forthwith sent off for Scotland. The two brothers, M. de Maurepas and Mr Orry, seemed to approve of that step, and promised to advise it. The Duke de Noailles was not yesterday arrived from a circuit he is making along the coast of Flanders.*

Mr Carte, while he was in this country, contracted a friendship with one *Bachelier, an antient valet de chambre of the King's, to whom he explained the present state of things in England. This person, who remembers your Majesty, and is zealous for your cause, talked of it to the late Cardinal Fleury, but without making any impression : he attempted it with Mr Amelot, to as little purpose, and again with the present minister of foreign affairs : at last he had recourse to the Duc de Richelieu, who promised to forward the matter with all his influence, and even to propose it to the King of France—*which he accordingly did; and finding *the King* strongly inclined to do the work, he said, that if any person of consideration would come over, he would cause that person speak with *the King* upon this subject: this being transmitted to *Mr Carte*, he talked of the affair as determined, and went about asking who should be the person that would have the honor to transact it with *ye King of France*: his discourse, and the letters of his friend, made an impression upon *Lord Clancarty, who* undertook to come over, provided *the Lady Mezieres* should know nothing of *ye matter*. *Mr Carte* promised what he pleased, and accordingly *that Lord*, who is a very brave and worthy man, *went about the King's friends*, that he might be authorised to speak *in their behalf*: he is personally acquainted with *them all*; and tho' the *wise men amongst them* would neither trust his nor *Mr Carte's* discretion in any *scheme of business*, yet they could not refuse their approbation of the step proposed, which our friends of the *concert* were particularly glad of, because *Lord Clancarty is a very able seaman*. When he was expected on this side, *the Duke* mentioned thought fit to talk to *the Marquis D'Argenson* of him. *The Marquis and his brother both asked me his character*, to which I did ample justice: he arrived at the army while *Lord Marischal* was there, with whom he conversed; I saw in *Flanders* an intimate confidant of *Lord Clancarty*, who told me the whole transaction with *Mr Carte*, and all that passed in *England*: the rest I had from *Bachelier, who was with the King in the army*, and desired to be acquainted with me. *Lord Clancarty asked 14,000 men for England, and Lord Marischal demands 6000 for Scotland*; whereas, all this summer *the King's friends have only asked 6000 landed near London, to undertake and secure the restoration*. I return to-morrow night to *Versailles*, where I hope to find an *immediate supply ordered for the Prince*, which I trust shall soon be followed with greater, and even with *troops either for England or Scotland*.

*From the Chevalier de St George.*

27th September, 1745.

THE having so imperfect accounts of the Prince is a subject of no small anxiety to me, tho' I really think as for his landing there can be no dispute of it. But that is but the first step—the point now is, how he was received, and what progress he is making, of which surely we must receive soon some account.

In the meantime the dispositions of the French Court and ministry are so far of satisfaction to me, altho' I shall never think myself sure of anything till I see something actually executed; I mean troops actually sent to the Prince's assistance. If, as I hope, a considerable body is sent into England, a few will be sufficient for Scotland; but my great fear is the French delaying too long to send these last, for the Prince will certainly want speedy succour; and should that delay, the project may have failed before it comes; so that all our efforts must be now directed towards dispatch.

*From the Same.*

4th October, 1745.

THE certainty of the Prince's safe arrival in Scotland, and my having received a letter from himself, is, no doubt, a subject of comfort to me; but my anxiety cannot cease till I know that some troops are actually landed in ye island: arms and money may enable him to wait sometime for them; but without those are sent and soon, I own I shall fear the worst. It was perfectly right in you to do justice with the French ministers to Lord Clancarty's character. I remark what you say in relation to him and to that branch of business. What Clancarty says cannot but make impression on the French Court, and, all things considered, I am really persuaded they will do what they can to assist us. The chief point now is to solicit dispatch, and with that, I hope in God, all will go well. I see Lord Clancarty asks a more considerable body of men than what was demanded before, yet I own I should be contented if the French gave a smaller number than he proposes, tho', for their own sakes, they will, to be sure, endeavour to make as sure a game of it as they can.

*From Sempil.*

20th September, 1745.

THE present Government having laid an embargo on all the Ports of Scotland soon after they were apprized of the Prince's arrival in that kingdom, and every traveller from thence being strictly examined, our friends at London had no direct accounts from His Royal Highness on the 7th current, and knew nothing certain of his progress, but what the Usurper's ministers were pleased to own, which was, that a considerable body had joined His Royal Highness, and that the most part of the Highlanders were in motion, with a design, as was apprehended, to favor him. The Prince had summoned Fort William, in which there was but 200 men, and threatened to attack it; a party of Highlanders had seized on a Captain and some men, near Fort Augustus, in Lord Lovat's country; another party of Loyalists had intercepted an entire company of foot, who were marching from their quarters to join the rest of their battalions. . . . *The King of France* is so strongly inclined to promote *the King's cause*, and *the French ministers* are so thoroughly convinced that it is his interest to do so in the present state of Europe, that, I believe, we shall attain the assistance we want: they say they are not sure enough of the persons they deal with in *Holland and Hamburg* to trust them with money, but they propose to supply the Prince as plentifully and as quickly as they can. The money is ready at *Lille in Flanders*, and there are arms and ammunition prepared in several places, which they resolve to send over by degrees, because

*they have not a fleet to transport much at a time—they will not hinder officers to pass at the same time, and would even consent to give us 2 or 3 battalions for Scotland, if that would satisfy Lord Marischal; but he insists on great matters, and must have all at once, because he can trust nobody, and is persuaded that the French Court will sacrifice our country, if his firmness does not prevent it; but he should consider that the Prince and our country are both already engaged, and that some assistance is better than none. I am sorry to see my old friend so very unfit for great affairs. The French ministry are very willing to send troops into England, but they find it impracticable without the utmost secret, and that it is not possible while there are so many persons authorised to enter in your Majesty's affairs as pretend here to be so at present; besides, 6000 can be transported where 14,000 cannot. When we have so much at stake, I am for accepting what can be got, and in the manner it can be got; nor does it appear reasonable that we should refuse what may suffice, because we can't obtain more than enough.*

*From the Chevalier de St George.*

11th October, 1745.

IN the different accounts we get in relation to the Prince, I remark there is nothing but what is good, which is so far well, but still without he be powerfully assisted, it is plain to see that he can never succeed in his present attempt. I make no doubt but that the French will do what they can to supply him with what is necessary; money and arms is what to be sure he wants very much; but I wonder they do not think of sending him a certain number of Irish officers also, for they would be of great use to model and discipline the Highlanders, and if a small number of troops were joyned to them, it would enable the Prince to stand his ground in Scotland till an expedition might be made into England, provided the last be not delayed too long, and whenever it is made, the French will, to be sure for their own sakes, send over a competent number of troops for that expedition. But, in the meantime, I shall be very anxious till I know some succour of troops is actually sent to the Prince; were the number ever so small, it would still be a help; say would they send but 2 or 3 battalions to him, they should, I think, be accepted of with pleasure and thanks, rather than none should be sent at all. I do, indeed, remark that there are too many people in the present juncture who pretend to act, and solicit the court of France, as sort of ministers from us which I am sensible does no good; but I see not how that can be remedied by me, for I know of no new persons authorized by myself, or even by the Prince, except Lord Marischal.

*From Sempil.*

19th October, 1745.

I HOPE, nevertheless, that the Court of France will soon behave otherwise. He is actually preparing an embarkation for England, and when it is ready, which must be very soon, I hope the King of France will invite your Majesty hither. I think he ought to do it now, since the alarm of the Government is already as great as it can be. The French ministers all agree that the Duke should be at the head of the expedition, since it is your Majesty's pleasure, but they seem not to incline that His Royal Highness should come here till he is going to set out. Lord Clancarty is not yet come here, (Fontainebleau,) but



I believe he may be at Paris, where *the minister of the Sea affairs* is still indisposed.

*From the Same.*

2d November, 1745.

*Lord Marischal and Mr Lally assume the management of the expedition upon the lights received from Lord Clancarty, whom they hitherto engross. Lord Sempill, who desires nothing but the good of the service, does all he can with the French ministry to forward their proposals, by which means he hopes there will be no contradiction, whereas, should he propose a scheme, he is sure they would disparage it.*

*From the Same.*

15th November, 1745.

THE duke told me and Balhaldy, with some warmth, that he thought there were too many people meddling in your majesty's affairs with the French court at this juncture. Sempill said he was of the same opinion. The duke desired that we would give *the French court* no more informations or *memorials*, but that *we should send him* whatever accounts we should receive either from *England or Scotland*, and that he would consider with those gentlemen what should seem proper to be done. He insisted on this longer than was necessary, and in a tone that plainly showed he had received some bad impressions both of *Balhaldy* and me. None of us presumed to argue the case with him. I assured his royal highness that he should be obeyed; I did so without any reluctance or hesitation, because I have already done all that I think practicable with *the French ministry* for your majesty's service; and because things are brought *so near the execution*, that I hope they will need no *farther ones or management from England to make them proceed*. In another state of things I should have been much straitened and grieved, for though there are very important circumstances in the letters we have just received, and which *Balhaldy* encloses for your majesty's perusal and satisfaction; yet as far advanced as matters now are, I cannot, without forfeiting my honour engaged to *the king's friends in England*, discover the names either of *Sir Wathin Williams*, or *Barrymore*, or Moor to *Mr Kelly*, or the gentleman that is come over with him. The sentiments and inclinations of *Sir Wathin*, *Lord Barrymore*, and their friends, are known to all they intend they should and even use means to manifest them; but they, with great reason, make a vast distinction between the owning of their principles, and being engaged in any direct or indirect correspondence with your majesty and *the French court*, with an actual design of overturning the present government: the owning of their principles exposes them only to the hatred of an administration from which they neither expect nor desire any favour, but a correspondence of the nature I have mentioned, is an overt act of treason according to the present laws, the least suspicion of which would bring certain ruin upon them, and consequently render them insignificant and useless to your majesty's cause, whereas they have all along kept it awake, and can by their influence and example determine above two-thirds of the nation to act vigorously for it, as soon as they see a probability, nay, even a possibility, of success. For this reason, they have ever proceeded with such extreme caution as made it troublesome and disagreeable to deal with them; this made them venture to beg of your majesty not to mention

them to any but those they were themselves acquainted with, and of whose discretion and secrecy they had some experience. This engaged them to tie down *Balhaldy* and me to such strict rules, as obliged us to incur the envy or hatred of several pragmatistical people, and even to resist the prince when his royal highness desired us to disclose every thing to *Sir Thomas Sheridan*. This has been the source of all we have suffered in your majesty's service ; but when the prince comes to consider it in a true light, as his royal highness sooner or later certainly will, we shall not repine at it, since by our sufferings we have not only kept *the king's friends in England* as safe as they desired, but even in as good humour and good spirits as can be wished. I cannot part with this subject without making my humble request to your majesty, that you may be graciously pleased not to give the duke any hint of the account I have given above of his conversation with me, lest I should have the misfortune to draw his displeasure upon me, as I have unhappily done that of the prince, who gives me to understand, by the letter dated June 12th, which he left for me, that he particularly resents the complaints he supposes I made of him to your majesty, whereas, I never intended, and indeed never had any reason to make any on my own account, my grief only was to see his royal highness influenced to act in a way that I judged dangerous to his reputation, and prejudicial to your majesty's service.

Your majesty will be pleased to remark what Mr Moor says of *Alderman Heathcot* : he is one of the *City Members in the House of Commons*, and has been long a vigorous and bold opposer of the measures of the Hanoverian Court, by which means he has been reckoned, especially since the base defection of Pulteney, the chief leader of the Patriot Whigs, not *in the City of London only, but in the nation*. He opened himself above 2 months ago, to *Sir John Hind Cotton*, and did what he could without formally despising the established laws to force the Court to persecute him, by which he hoped to drive things to the utmost extremity, but the ministers knew both his abilities and his influence so well, that they durst not meddle with him. At the time of the embarkation of Dunkirk, he allowed *Sir John Hind Cotton* to answer for him to *Sir Watkins* and *Lord Barrymore*, and has been ever since in their counsels and confidence.

Tho' *the King of France* was determined, and *the French ministry* seemed all to incline both that *the Prince should be well supplied in Scotland, and that an embarkation should be prepared for England* ; yet there are such jealousies amongst them, and each has such measures to keep with *the rest* that there never was greater occasion for assiduity and application. I found *Lord Marischal* pretending to dictate upon the credit of *his high commission from your Majesty, his orders from the Prince, and his connexion with Lord Clancarty*. I resolved not to interfere with him, and, therefore, to avoid making any particular proposal, but to press the execution of what should be proposed for the good of the service ; *the minister of the war*, who has always the chief influence, observed that *Clancarty* was not in the secret of *the expedition of Dunkirk*, nor of *the King's friends in England's* correspondence since that time ; whereof, he desired I should draw up a memorial upon which *his brother might proceed with me as Mr Anelot* has done, because by that means he said the foundation would be clearer, and the secret less exposed. I promised to think of it, but returned and represented that the secret was not now of such a delicate nature, and that sufficient informations and assurances had been often given, whereof I chose to avoid a manner of proceeding that would create new heart-burnings : he seemed satisfied ; and *Mr Lally*, who acts in concert with *Lord Marischal* by *Sir Thomas Sheridan's* desire, got orders to provide

*transport ships with 12,000 men*, and the thing seemed to be in a fair way ; but doubts and difficulties were started from time to time, and the *minister of the sea* still fears the *transportation will be impossible*, because the secret is already, or will be too publicly known. However, there are no more objections against the *execution, but the difficulty of transportation*, and since the *Duc de Richelieu has obtained the command*, he does all he can to hasten it. I advised *Lord John* to ask some heavy cannon and some engineers, because it was evident they were extremely wanted ; but I made no proposal in writing save that of sending the regiment of Horse, which I first consulted *Cardinal Tencin* upon, and had also Mr O'Bryen's approbation. But notwithstanding all my caution, I find my stay near the *French Court* has been matter of jealousy to *Lord Marischal*, who has got *Mr Kelly* to represent what he pleased to the Duke against it. My comfort is, that they did not meet to do it sooner, and that I was allowed to remain at *Court* as long as I could do any service there. They blame me for saying the Prince's followers were more numerous than they say they really are, whereas, tho' I gave the extract of a letter from London, which mentioned that 30,000 men were in motion, or willing to join His Royal Highness, yet I said I did not think he could have arms for above one-half of them. Instead of representing the Prince's situation to be such, as with proper support gives ground to hope for a glorious issue, they are for moving the compassion of our friends,—a method which may succeed with some private men of great humanity, but will hardly determine any State to assist us.

*From the Same.*

22d November, 1745.

*If that minister (Marquis D'Argenson) were as wise, as I took him to be honest and zealous for your cause*, we should not at this time have any remaining apprehensions about the success of the Prince's enterprize. But *tho' his weakness made the French Court* lose the opportunity of restoring your Majesty without hazard or difficulty, before the Elector recalled the troops from the Low Countries ; yet I hope, and firmly believe, the result will not be the less happy, since it must prove more glorious to the Prince, and more decisive in favor of your Majesty's faithful subjects. *The French Court* is using all the diligence his present circumstances permit, to get a *body of troops transported into England, that will do the work* with a high hand. *Mr Maurepas hopes to have the vessels ready about the end of this month*, and *Lord Clancarty and Mr Walsh* make little doubt of getting *safely over*. . . . Lord Tyreconnel is returned from the army by the permission of the Court. There is a very advantageous marriage proposed to him ; but he assures me nothing shall retard his going, where he can be of any use to your Majesty's service. *The minister of the war intends to employ him in the English expedition*. . . . I had the day before yesterday a visit from Mr Kelly, who told me the Prince had done me the great honor to write to me, but that he had burnt that letter with all the rest.

*From the Same.*

29th November, 1745.

He says that the Duke had prohibited him and Balhaldy in the most peremptory manner, from giving any information to the French Court, till he, with

Kelly, had first considered whether it might be proper to give such information. —The Duke of Ormond's death is a very sensible loss at this critical juncture, and will be particularly regretted by *Lord Barrymore*, in as much as the Duke's age and rank set him above all jealousies and envy, an advantage that no other subject can pretend to.

*From the Chevalier de St George.*

4th April, 1746.

I AM sensible I cannot send you any particular directions for your present conduct, without falling into some inconveniences which I would willingly avoid. Should I encourage you treating with Count D'Argenson, exclusive of the other ministers, I might run the risk of disgusting these last, and especially his brother, with whom I have all reason to be satisfied. Should I authorize you to act independent of the Duke, I should fail to him, or rather to myself, and might authorize a conduct which might be liable to great inconveniences on many occasions; and should I, on t'other side, send you any directions which might anyways cool and disgust the Count D'Argenson and the Duc de Richelieu, whom I look upon to be both my friends, and for whom I have a particular value, it might be of very ill consequence at a time it is our business to do all in our power to unite that ministry in our favor, and to induce them to give each of them their helping hand towards what we want in giving them all the lights and encouragements we can for that effect.

*From the Same.*

25th April, 1746.

THE letter from England, of which you send me a copy, tho' good in the main, will, I fear, be far from hastening an expedition into England from France, and on that you know all depends, tho' I make little doubt now of the Prince's being able to maintain himself in Scotland at least for sometime longer; and till the expedition into England can be undertaken, the more the Prince can be assisted in Scotland the better.

*From the Same.*

23d May, 1746.

THE Prince's affairs in Scotland certainly go better than could have been expected, and should encourage the French not to delay doing all in their power to assist him, especially in the case of his marching a second time into England. It is natural for my friends, in the present juncture, to wish I were near at hand; but tho' I were, I dont see what great influence that would have either in relation to the French Court or my own subjects, except I were to be publicly at the Court of France, in a situation of treating personally with the King, and all those ministers, and I see no appearance of that being allowed till the Prince's affairs should be much more advanced than they are at present. Whether I am in Italy or in France, the French will, to be sure, equally pursue their own interest, which is now so closely united to mine, and it would be, I hope, wronging my own subjects, to suppose they would have more zeal and deference for me when near than at a distance; but it is very useless to enlarge



on this point at present, the situation of this country being, as yet, such as makes it impossible for me to go out of it.

\* No. IV.

*Letter from Cameron, younger of Lochiel, under the signature of "Dan," to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,—I had the honor to write to *your Royal Highness* sometime ago in a passport sent by Mr Barclay, which, could an opportunity have been got, would have gone much sooner, and now may, to the manner of conveyance, prove more tedious than we imagined. I lay hold on the present occasion, to assure your Royal Highness of my steady adherence to whatever may conduce to the interest of your *family*, and at the same time to observe, that as the *season* is now *fast* advancing, and we (two words torn away) as yet no return from *our neighbour*, (two words torn away,) *the so of England*, I humbly beg leave to propose to *your Royal Highness* how far it is not necessary that we be informed of what is to be expected *from the French*, and *in how soon*, from which we may have it in our power to settle matters so, as will enable us to *make that assistance to your Royal Highness* our duty and inclination direct. It may seem unnecessary, as Mr Barclay is to write, to give your Royal Highness the trouble of this letter; but as we are all cast to any, (word here illegible,) I could not get by it.

I am, &c.

(Signed)

DAN

February 22d, 1745.

No. V.

*The Chevalier de St George to the King of France.*

à ROME, 11th Août, 1745.

CE n'est que depuis peu de jours que J'ai appris à mon grand étonnement que mon fils est actuellement parti des côtes de France, pour se rendre en Eccosse. Il a pris et executé cette résolution sans me consulter, sachant bien, que je n'aurois jamais approuvé qu'il fit une telle démarche, sur tout, à l'insu de votre Majesté. Je l'ai donc ignoré absolument, mais étant faite, je vous avoue sincèrement que je ne scaurai m'empêcher de l'admirer. Il me mande d'avoir écrit lui même a votre Majesté en partant, et quoique je ne prétende point excuser son silence envers votre Majesté auparavant, je m'assure qu'elle force moins d'attention à un pareil manquement qu'au courage et aux sentiments qui le font agir: et qu'elle voudra bien le croire d'autant plus digne de son amitié et de sa protection qu'il tache d'imiter son exemple, et de suivre ses traces en affrontant les plus grands perils pour arriver à l'accomplissements de ses justes desseins. Il est certain que sa conduite présente fera une grande impression sur l'esprit de ses compatriotes, et que je ne regarderois pas comme tout a fait impossible qu'il puisse réussir sans secours étrangers. Mais cela seroit de ses événements extraordinaires sur lesquelles il ne faut pas conter: et je croyerois tenter la provi

dence, si dans la presente conjoncture je n'emploirois avec toute l'instance possible l'aide et l'assistance de votre Majesté sans lesquels il est bien difficile que le present tentative puisse réussir. Votre Majesté a fait venir mon fils en France, et comme il y a demeuré une année et demie elle n'aura pas certainement perdu de vue l'objet pour lequel elle l'a fait venir. C'est a present ou jamais a mettre les mains à l'œuvre ; les moindres delais pourront etre dangereux ; et avec plus de risques et de frais elle pourra achever l'ouvrage que mon fils et mes fideles sujets ont commencé tout seuls. Quel regret n'auroit point le cœur généreux de votre Majesté s'ils venoient tous a périr faute d'un petit secours ? et d'autre part quelle gloire et consolation pour elle de se rendre ma famille et ma patrie redevables de leurs libertés et de leur bonheur ? Enfin apres Dieu toute ma confiance est en votre Majesté : et apres lui aussi notre sort est entre ses mains. Je ne mettrai donc point, de bornes à mes espérances. L'exemple de mons fils aîné assure comme de raison mon cadet : il ne scauroit souffrir patiemment de se voir à Rome, tandis que son frère est en Eccosse. Et quoique les dangers et les difficultés de sortir de ce pais-ci sont plus grandes que jamais, il fera cependant plutot l'impossible que de ne pas se rendre au plutot à Avignon pour y attendre les ordres de votre Majesté.

A l'égard de moi même personnellement, il y a long temps que votre Majesté est instruite des reflexions est de mes vucs par rapport à une renonciation de mes droits en faveur de mon fils. Je persiste toujours dans les mêmes sentimens avec cette différence cependant que ce que je croyais autre fois avoir etre avantageux à ma famille me paroît devenir à present indispensable et necessaire même pour mon honneur ; mes infirmités augment avec mes années et je croirais agir avec temerité et je puis même dire avec peu de bonne fois si je prétendais de me charger du poids du gouvernement lorsque je suis absolument incapable d'aucune fatigue soit de corps soit d'esprit, et par consequent nullement en etat de remplir les devoirs d'un Prince sur la trône ; tandis que j'ai la consolation d'avoir un fils en etat de travailler avec assiduité et success au bien de son peuple, et qui a déjà en occasion de montrer qu'il est digne de les gouverner. D'ailleurs votre Majesté sentira bien l'impression que fera sur la public de voir mons fils exposé à mille risques et dangers en Eccosse, et combattant pour sa famille et sa patrie pendant qu'on me verroit immobile dans la ville de Rome ; le public ne scauroit juger que des apparances exterieures et s'en tiendrait au simple fait, sans faire trop d'attention à l'impossibilite absolue ou je suis de sortir a present de l'Italie, a cause de ma santé et de la guere, qui empeche un libre commerce dan ce pais-ci. Dieu seul scait quand les chemins seront libres et voila encore un nouveau motif pour ne pas différer davantage ma renonciation. Le vrai tems de la publier seroit quand je scauroit mon fils hercusement débarqué en quelque partie de la Grande Bretagne. Mais cependant quelque convenable et necessaire que je trouve cette démarche je ne veux pas prendre sur moi de la publier que de consentement et avec l'agrément de Votre Majesté et je la supplie de ne pas tarder à me faire savoir ce qu'elle en pense desirant en cela et en toute autre chose etre dirigé par ses conseils. Votre Majesté excusera j'espere la longueur de cette lettre, mais dans cette importante occasion je ne pouvais me dispenser de lui ouvrir mon cœur sans reserve, sur ce qui regarde ma propre personne et ce de mes infants. Nous lui serions tous trois inviolablement attachés, et j'ose repondre qu'elle ne nous trouvera jamais indignes de son amitié et de sa bienveillance.

## No. VI.

*Extract of a Letter from the Chevalier de St George to Colonel O'Bryen.*

à ROME, 11th Août, 1745.

CE n'était que jeudi passé que J'ai sçu la résolution qu'a pris le Prince dont J'ai reçu la lettre qu'il m'avoit promis par une main sûres, et je conte aura mis à le voile le 12 Juillet. Il me mande avoir écrit au Roy de France, et je conte qu'il aura aussi écrit au Cardinal de Tenein. Je vous avoue que ma surprise et mon agitation étoient grandes en apprennant cette nouvelle, car je le croyas chose impossible que mon Fils pût prendre une telle résolution absolument de son chef, mais apres m'être remis un peu, je ne pouvais qu'admirer ce que je n'aurois jamais conseillé, quoiqu'il en soit il est vrai aussi que le Prince n'a pas laissé d'avoir de grands motifs pour le determiner a une action aussi hardie. Depuis quil étoit en France, il a été tenu guère moins que prisonier, on ne lui a pas permis d'aller à l'armée, et il n'a meme jamais vu le Roy, on l'amusoit sans cesse d'espérances qui n'aboutiss<sup>t</sup> à rien, et il sentoît bien que si la paix se faisoit jamais il seroit obligé de retourner en Italie, apres avoir fait une figure vile et ignomenieuse en France, depuis si long tems. De sorte qu'il n'est pas étonnant qu'un jeune homme, vif et ardent, et qui a Dieu merci des sentiments nobles et généreux, se soit laissé importer à des resolutions extrêmes et violentes, les-quelles pourtant une fois prises et executés, ne scauroient que faire honneur à son caractère personel. Vous aurez sçu dans doute qu'il n'a que tres peu de personnes aux lui quelque peu d'arms et 4000 Louis d'or qu'il a sceu trouver à Paris, et partout ce que j'ai appris de cet petit projet il l'a véritablement conduit avec grand secret et adresse : Enfin, il a fait voir en cette maison tout jeune qu'il est également homme de cœur et de tête, ce que me donne une consolation, qui ne laisse pas de ne soutenir un peu parmi les peines et les inquiétudes, dont je suis pénétré et environné de toute part. Je ne scai pas de détails de son projet par rapport à l'Ecosse, ni les noms de ceux, qui doivent le joindre quand il y sera arrive. Je ne scai que trop qu'il n'a personne comme il faut aux lui et Dieu scait qu'il trouvera en Ecosse pour l'aider et assister dans une situation aussi dangereuse et délicate, mais quoiqu'il en soit sa résolution étant une fois prise et executé ce qui importe à present est de le soutenir. Dans l'eloignement ou je suis je sens bien que je lui suis quasi absolument inutile, et avant que vous recevrez cette lettre le Roy de France aura probablement pris son parte sur ce qu'il veut faire on ne point faire dans cette occasion. Cependant il convenoit port toutes sortes de raisons que je fis ce qui peut defendre de moy pour le porter à secourir mon Fils, Je lui ecris donc à présent et aux deux Frères D'Argenson sous l'enveloppe du Cardinal de Tencin, vous trouverez cy—joint mon paquet au Cardinal vous le lui rendrez au plutot, et il vous en communiquera le contenu, je vous envoie aussi des lettres pour le Maréchal de Noailles et Messrs Maurepas et Orry, vous écrivez au Maréchal en lui envoyent ma lettre, et vous tâcherez de rendre en mains propres celles pour les deux autres ministres, en représentant à tous trois tout ce que votre gele et votre bon esprit peuvent vous sugérer en cette occasion.

## No. VII.

*The Chevalier de St George to the Duke of Ormond, 11th August, 1745.*

I HAVE now by me your letters of the 14th July and of the 27th, which last came by the Courier, which brought me an account of the resolution the Prince had taken and executed, without consulting me, for he was very sure I would not have approved it, tho' I cannot but say that the courage and sentiments he shows on this occasion, will always do him honor; but enfin, since the step is taken, it is certainly incumbent on all of us to do our best to support it, and I am very sure nothing will be wanting on your side for that effect. My darkness, my anxiety, and the multiplicity of my reflections on this occasion, are so great, that I shall not pretend to enlarge on this subject at present. In the meantime, I now write to Lord Marischal by the way of Paris, and write also directly to the King of France and all the ministers, for without a landing in England is soon made, humanly speaking, it will be impossible for the Prince to succeed.

## No. VIII.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Colonel O'Bryen.*

16th August, 1745.

J'AI envoyé la semaine passée 200,000 Francs à Paris pour payer ce que le Prince avoit emprunté avant que de partir, et j'espère en cas de besoin pouvoir lever quelque argent sur quelques petits fonds qui restant icy, et sur les piergeries du Prince même, mais tout cela n'ira pas fort loin et à moins que la France ne le secours largement je ne scai ce qui arrivera.

*Note*—James also sent 50,000 francs, same post, to Waters, junr. to be at the disposal of O'Bryen.

## \* No. IX.

*Extract of a Letter, Sir James Stuart to Mr James Edgar, Secretary to the Chevalier de St George, dated Ghent, 16th August, 1745.*

As I am to part in a few minutes to follow my dearest Prince, whom, through God's grace, I'll join or perish in the attempt, I have only time, &c. I was distracted a little time ago, upon a letter His Royal Highness honoured me with, full of his wonted goodness; but telling that he was gone to the Highlands, and giving reasons why people dissuaded him from sending for me, and desiring I should follow him, &c. but I am now pleased, finding that I have been able to be of some use here, and like to be of much more, by carrying to my Prince and country the glorious resolutions of the Kings of France and Spain, who have charged me by their ministers to acquaint His Royal Highness and Nobles of Scotland, that they shall support him and the King his father's cause, with all their force by sea and land; that money and arms are actually ready to be sent upon the first sure account of his landing; and that troops



shall be sent to both countries as soon as possible, and from time to time supplied, if occasion required. This I had from the mouths of both the Argensons, and from Noailles, who told me it was by order of the King. Lord Sempill was present. The Spanish ambassador with whom I dined gave me a letter to the Prince, the strongest I ever heard, for he read it to Lord S. and me. The Duke of Bouillon gave me the prettiest and most tender letter I ever saw to the Prince. For God's sake let that worthy man be thanked in a particular manner. There are not words strong enough to express his good heart towards the cause. He went on his knees to the King, with tears in his eyes, to beg his assistance to the Prince, and the King most graciously desired him to assure the Prince of it. He gave me a hundred kisses at parting, and melted in tears, as I could not resist doing too: he desired me to tell his dear Prince that he would sacrifice all his fortune, all his family, and all his blood for him. I'll love him as long as I live, for the force of love he so lively expresses for my King and Prince. I was two hours with M. of Sax, who desired me say the strongest things from him to the Prince, and really told certain dispositions he is to make to favor the thing. In short, all the world express themselves in favor of it. God Almighty give it grace; I am sure it will succeed. I have not time to be so particular as I could wish; but no doubt you will be well informed by others, and if they do me justice they will say I have not been idle, nor wanting in my duty; every moment since I received the Prince's letter I gave them little rest, and when it pleases God I arrive in Scotland with the commissions I have from here, and the credit and influence I know I have there, I hope I shall be able to do good service. God grant I may, if I should not live one hour after: there are some of my relations, officers of the English army, prisoners here, upon hearing the departure of the Prince, have offered me 700 men, for his service, of their prisoners. I applied to M. D'Argenson by Colles Lally for leave, and he has promised not only leave but many arms and ships to transport them. I leave the care of that to Mr Lally, and 14 officers that will follow me anywhere; but whether they can bring them or not, I shall make a good regiment in the country to serve my King, and I hope do better service there than I hope in God there will be an invitation to the King soon to come to this country upon good grounds. I have been always pressing that; I know his presence would be more than all his subjects put together. I hope poor Scotland will once more prove their loyalty, by asserting their King's cause like true Scotsmen. I die every moment till I join my Prince, and then I leave my poor wife and little family at Boulogne. I hope my gracious master will order Mr Waters to pay my pension to her, till we see what turn affairs will take. If I die in the good cause, I beg His Majesty's protection for her and my little child, &c.

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## No. X.

### *The Chevalier de St George to the Duke of Ormond.*

30th August, 1745.

I FIND the resolution he (the Prince) has taken is much applauded by the French Court, as it is universally by the publick at large. The King and the ministers seem inclined to assist and support him; but they will do nothing till they know of his arrival and reception in Scotland, and then I think myself

sure that they will assist him with arms and money. What further they will do I don't yet know, but I own I hope the best, now that the affair is begun, and that they will be once engaged in it. You will easily comprehend that it would be very unadvisable that the Duke should attempt to cross the sea at this time. But if ever the French should determine to send troops into England, it will be highly necessary that they should have both him and you at their head ; and I have therefore allowed him to go as far as Avignon, there to wait for any further directions, or for a call from the French Court in case of an expedition into England, in which case they will never refuse to enable both of you to join it, by supplying you with what money is necessary for your expences ; for I am so drained with the remittances I am making to the Prince, that I shall scarce have wherewithal to subsist the Duke at Avignon and myself here.

## No. XI.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Same to Colonel O'Bryen.*

30th August, 1745.

JE croye qu'il est nécessaire qu'il (Graham) soit informé de certaines choses qui le regardent mais j'aime mieux vous les écrire pour lui être communiqués, que de les lui mander en droitiere, à cause qu'il les comprendra mieux en discourant avec vous sur ces matieres. Il faut donc savoir que depuis quelques années il y a eu parmi nos messieurs de certaines manœuvres et manèges qui me chocquoient et me painoient beaucoup, sans que J'ai pu en bien comprendre la source ou l'objet ; mais après quelques années en combinant plusieurs circonstances ensemble il me parassoit voir trop clairement que l'estoit une union des gens qui s'estoient mis en tete de se faire un mérite et popularité en Angleterre, et par là de faire leur fortune dans la suite en faisant profession d'un certain esprit d'irréligion et en tachant d'engager mes enfans dans les mêmes sentiments. Toutes les manœuvres repondoient manifestement à cette fin, mais les suites et les effets altèrent encore plus loin. La grande vivacité du Prince, son penchant pour toutes sortes de divertissemens, et un peu trop de gout qu'il sembloit alors avoir pour le vin, leur ont faire croire faussement qu'ils avoient gagné quelque chose sur son esprit et il devint bientôt par là leur Heros, mais son Frère qui est d'un caractère plus sérieux, et dont la santé ne lui permit pas même de faire des excès d'aucune sorte ne pouvant ni ne voulant entrer dans toutes leurs idées a tiré bientôt sur lui toute leur rage et toute leur malice. Ce n'estoit qu'une critique sur toutes ses actions qui ne lui donnoit point de repos ; on a eu même recours à la fausseté et à la calomnie, et on n'a rien négligé pour lui faire du tort dans mon esprit, et dans celui de son Frère : Je scai qu'on a taché de le dénigrer auprès des Messieurs Anglois qui voyaçoient icy au commencement je l'année et j'ai lieu de croire qu'on en a fait autant auprès des officiers Espagnols, qui estoient icy en grand nombre l'hyver dernier. Je scai aussi que Mr Strickland a fait tout ce qu'il falloit pour brouiller mes enfans ensemble et les circonstances qui ont précédé et accompagné son voyage en Ecosse, avec le Prince seroient plusque suffisantes pour brouiller ensemble aucun Pere et Fils qui se connoitroient moins, et qui se rendroient moins de justice l'un à l'autre que le Prince et moy ; car si on de luy n'avoit pas dit mille faussetés et mensonges, je ne veux jamais croire que le Prince eût mené Strickland avec lui : Enfin il est vrai qu'on a traité le Duc et moy indignement, car

on vouloit en ma propre maison et sous mes yeux faire agir mes Enfans à leur mode sans me consulter, et quasi en dépit de moy : Strickland étoit manifestement le chef de tout cecy tandis qu'il vouloit m'imposer par une hypocrisie que met la comble à son caractere, et qui fait bien voir combien il est un homme dangereux. Comme il a beaucoup d'art il a certainement imposé à bien des gens, mais je croye que quelqu'uns commencement déjà à le connoître je sui persuadé que le Prince ouvrira bientôt ses yeux sur son sujet. Townley étoit un des principaux instruments dont il se servoit ; il ne vaut rien, mais je ne la croye pas si mauvais que l'autre ; Je ne dois pas vous cacher dans cette conjoncture combien je suis peu content de milord Dumbar, il a eu dans la dernière intimité en apparence avec Strickland, mais j'ai bien decroyre que ce n'étoit qu'une liaison politique pour mieux arriver chacun à sa fin et quoiqu'il étoit certainement dans la cabale, je suis persuadé qu'il n'a point eu depart à bien des mauvaises manœuvres de Strickland, mais il est vrai aussi que plusieurs années il on a agé envers moy avec si peu d'ouverture et avec tant de détours et de politique qu'il a fallu une combinaison singuliere des circonstances pour m'engager à le regarder si long tems auprès de moy, Il m'a demande dernièrement d'aller trouver le Prince en Ecosse, mais je croye que ce n'étoit que pour se faire un (two or three words here not legible) le lui et dans la vue de se faire prier de rester icy ce qu'il m'a bien fallu faire partie par nécessité et encore plus pour l'empêcher d'être auprès de Prince, car après la grande experience que j'ai de lui je ne souffriray jamais qu'il soit auprès de mes enfans ; et pour dire la verité il est un nombre d'armes qu'il m'est bien à charge, quoique je prendrai un tems propre pour me de faire de lui ; et c'est bien mon intention de le favoriser dans l'éloignement pour mon propre *Decorum* et parceque je le croye veritablement incapable de trahir mes intérêts, mais à cela pres j'ai une assez mediocre opinion de lui. Il me semble qu'à present j'ai assez dit pour vous donner une idée generale de toutes ces mauvaises affaires qui ont été portées à un tel excès qu'il est difficile de comprendre comment celui qui a conduit en chef toute cette machine n'a pas vu un dessein prémédité de nous faire du tort. Il étoit nécessaire que le Chevalier Græme et vous seriez informés de tout ceci pour mieux regler vos conduites, mais du reste ce n'est pas mon intention de faire aucun éclat par rapport à milord Dumbar et à Townley. Desorte que vous pouvez continuer d'ecrire à milord Dumbar, et d'agir envers l'un et l'autre à l'ordinaire. Le Chevalier Græme peut aussi ecrire à milord Dumbar, mais le moins qu'il lui dise le Duc le mieux. Vous etez à present quasi le seul de nos gens en de ca de la mer d'un certain sphere dont j'ai lieu d'être content. Je m'assure que le Chevalier Græme suivra votre exemple et qu'il entera aussi soin de suivre les mauvais exemples que trop de gens lui ont donnés.

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\* No. XII.

*Mr Smart, called by the Chevalier de St George and his Agents their "Post-office Correspondent," to Mr Drummond of Bochaldy, enclosed in a letter from Drummond to the Chevalier, 26th October, 1745.*

1st October, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I CANNOT express the concern I am under for want of the Dutch mails that are due.

We are here under the greatest consternation to learn the rebels are under march in 3 divisions. Our troops are not a third of the way to hinder them, and when they get there, they will not amount to above 10,000 regular troops, which are thought very deficient to oppose them; for which reason orders were sent some time ago to the Duke of Cumberland, to send over immediately 8 battalions and 9 squadrons more of British troops, but the messenger was unfortunately detained at Harwich a week by contrary winds, and sailed but last Saturday. We think ourselves in so imminent danger that orders are gone this night for 6000 more, which will amount to 14,000 men, and in case the Duke has not so many troops the Hessians are demanded, for it is suspected that Count Saxe may have delayed the suffering our prisoners to join the Duke according to the cartel, for our principals declare they have positive advices of France and Spain assisting the rebels, and apprehend ——— in different parts of the kingdom. This has a bloody aspect. I wish you was here to watch the concerns of our trade. I am in great haste, &c.

(No Signature.)

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\* No XIII.

*Mr Moor, another correspondent, under the signature of S. Curry, to Mr Drummond of Bochaldu.*

October 21, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE wrote you twice, and would have done it before, but that I understood by you that I was not to write till I heard from you. I hope you know me too well to imagine that I could ever neglect the affairs of your house, which I have extremely at heart.

I have had the pleasure of yours of the 16th and 20th instant, the contents of which, as well as of your former letters, I have communicated to your partner, Mr *Watkin Williams*: he was transported with it, and ordered me to assure you, as many of *the king's friends in England* as possible could, would join the Prince when he gave them an opportunity. He likewise says he and *the king's friends*, immediately upon the landing, would join the troops, and that he does not make the least doubt of bringing them to a very good market. *Alderman Heathcot*, and several more, have been with *Sir Watkins*, to assure him that they will rise in the city of London at the same time. He begs that arms and ammunition be brought with the troops, because they have need of that commodity. *Lord Barrymore* is to be here from Bath soon. I shall take care inform her of any thing. Mr *Cockburn* will take care of your orders. All friends salute you, and *Lord Sempill* and I beg you will make my comp<sup>ts</sup> to him. I am, with the greatest esteem,

Dear Sir,

Yours most faithfully,

S. CURRY



## \* No. XIV.

*The Same, under the signature of S. Ball, to the Same.*

October 23d, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

As the demand for the stuffs is at this juncture so very great, you can't take it amiss if I entreat you again to forward them without delay, for *the king's friends in England* assures me they will be disposed off to the greatest advantage. Favorable opportunities in trade are always to be layed hold of and improved; and as we are sensible of your care and attention to every thing that may tend to the good of our house, we are convinced you will use your best endeavours to procure us the merchandizes so impatiently expected by our partners.

As for news, I have little to entertain you with. The troubles in Scotland alarm us greatly; though the Government have done everything in their power to render such attempts fruitless, yet it is much apprehended that those steps, the army assembled in the north, with the assistance of all our associations, will not be able to put a stop to the progress of the rebels, who have received, (as the Town have it,) officers, arms, money, and ammunition. 'Tis confidently said their numbers dayly increase, and that they are already become formidable. As to our associations every reasonable man laughs at them. Our counsels are diffident of one another. The Habeas Corpus act is suspended for six months; but as every thing is quiet here, they know not whom to lay hold of. My Compliments wait upon Mr Blois, and I am, with my best wishes for your happiness, and success in all your undertakings,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient and faithful Servant,  
S. BALL.

## No. XV.

*Copie de la requisition donné par Mr Obryen.*

à FOUNTAINBLEAU, 23d Octobre, 1745.

LES heureux succès du Prince Charles Edouard Stuart in Ecosse, ayant été suivis de la proclamation a Edimbourg, en qualité de Regent de ce royaume, ce Prince a recours a I. M. T. C. l'assurer de son appuis, et assistance contre les ennemys, qui sont aussi ceux de sa Majesté T. C. il propose pour cet effet à sa Majesté de lui envoyer des troupes auxilliaires, et d'unir leurs intérêt par un traité d'alliance.

Etoit signé D'OBRYEN.

## No. XVI.

*Copie du Traité signé a Fountainbleau, le 24<sup>e</sup> Octobre, 1745, par Monsieur le Marquis D'Argenson et Mr D'Obryen.*

LE Prince Charles Edouard de la maison royale de Stuart ayant été proclamé dans Edimbourg en qualité de Regent du Royaume d'Ecosse, et etans ainsi que

sa Majesté très Chrétienne en guerre avec le roy George Electeur d'Hanover auroit fait proposer à sa Majesté très-Chrétienne, de luy envoyer des troupes auxiliaires pour être employé contre leur ennemi commun et d'unir leurs intérêts par un traité d'alliance sa Majesté très Chrétienne ayant agréées cette proposition, les ministres sousignés dûment autorises de part et d'autres sont convenus des articles suivans.

## ARTICLE 1.

Il y aura entre la couronne de France et les États qui sont ou seront soumis à la Régence du Prince Royal Charles Edouard Stuart ou par la suite à sa domination, amitié bon voisinage et alliance, en sorte que de part et d'autres en s'attaché à fortifier et aceroitre de plus en plus cette bonne intelligence pour l'avantage commun des deux parties.

## ARTICLE 2.

Sa Majesté très Chrétienne désirant contribuer au succès du Prince Royal Charles Edouard Stuart, et le mettre d'autant plus en état de se soutenir et d'agir contre leur ennemi commun, sa Majesté s'engagé à l'aider pour cet effet en tout ce qui sera practicable.

## ARTICLE 3.

Dans cette vue sa Majesté accorde dès à présent du Prince Royal Charles Edouard Stuart un corps des troupes, tiré de ces regiments Irlandois qu'autres pour agir sous les ordres du dit Prince, défendre les Etats qui sont ou seront soumis à la Régence contre quiconque entre prendroit de luy troubler, attaquer l'ennemi commun et suivre toutes les diversions qui seront jugés utiles ou nécessaires.

## ARTICLE 4.

En considération de l'alliance contractée entre le Roy très-Chrétien, et la maison royalle de Stuart le roy et le Prince royal promettent et l'engagent de ne fournir aucuns secours à leurs ennemis respectifs d'empêcher autant qu'il sera en leur pouvoir, tout dommage et prejudice qu'on voudroit causer aux Etats et sujets de part et d'autres, et de travailler d'union et de concert, au rétablissement de la paix sur un pied qui puisse être à l'avantage réciproque des deux nations.

## ARTICLE 5.

Pour écémenter de plus en plus l'union et l'intelligence entre la couronne de France et les Etats qui sont ou seront soumis à la régence du Prince Royal Prince Charles Edouard Stuart ou par la suite à sa domination, ou travaillera aussitot que la tranquillité sera rétabli, à un traité de commerce entre les sujets de part et d'autres, pour le procurer tous les avantages mutuels qui peuvent tendre au bien réciproque des deux nations.

## ARTICLE 6.

La présent traité sera ratifié de part et d'autre, et les ratifications en seront échangés à Paris dans le temps de deux mois ou plutôt si faire ce peut. Fait à Fontainbleau, le 24 Octobre, 1745.

Signé DERoyer D'ARGENSON,  
D'OBRYEN.

Je certifie que cette copie est conformée à l'original du traité qui j'ay entre les mains.

D'OBRYEN.

## ARTICLE SECRET.

D'autant que le Roy très-Chrétien fournit au Prince Royal Charles Edouard un corps des troupes tiré de les regiments Ecossois, et Irlandois, et qu'il est de l'intérêt commun de recruter les dites troupes, et peut être de les augmenter,

le Prince Royal en consideration de ce secours donnera toutes les facilites qui seront en son pouvoir aux officiers des dites troupes, pour faire des levées et recrues dans les Etats qui sont ou seront soumis à sa domination—le present article aura la même force que s'il étoit dans la traité signé ce jourdhuy.

Fait à Fountainbleau, le 24 Octobre, 1745.

Signé DERoyer D'ARGENSON,  
D'OBRYEN.

Je certifie que cette copie est conformée à l'original que j'ay entre mes mains.  
D'OBRYEN.

\* No. XVII.

*Mr Moor, under the signature of "S. Ball," to Drummond of Bochal dy.*

25th October.

DEAR SIR,

I HAVE the favor of yours of the 24th, and shall take care to inform your partners of every thing you observe to me concerning your house. *The king's friends* is willing to do every thing in his power to support your credit, which is a very great advantage at a time there is a total stagnation of trade, occasioned by the troubles in Scotland and the apprehensions we are under for other places. I have this day seen a letter from Scotland, by Glasgow, which mentions the arrival of troops and a great number of officers. The letter says Lord John Drummond is with them. What credit is to be given to such letters I can't say; your cousin, *Sir Watkins*, longs much to see you, and hopes you will soon bring him the goods you advised him of. *Lord Barrymore* and *Lord Traquair* are not in town. The former is very soon expected. We have various reports concerning our army. Some say a great number have declared they would not fight against their countrymen, and particularly the troops lately come from Ireland. If this be true, as it is believed, we shall be undone; for the rebels are a very brave people, determined to conquer or die. My compliments wait upon Mr Blois, and may the affairs of your house always prosper shall ever be the most ardent wish of,

Dear Sir,

Your most devoted and humble servant,  
S. BALL.

\* No XVIII.

*Mr Smart, the "Post-office Correspondent," under the signature of  
"J. Holford," to Drummond of Bochal dy.*

28th October, 1745.

DEAR SIR,

Yours of the 27th ult<sup>o</sup> I received this day, and I sent the inclosed by our old friend to Mr Curry. It gave me great pleasure to see by it that you intended soon to be with us, in order to settle our little matters of trade, which are in a great stagnation.

As to news, tho' I deal little in it, yet I can tell you that the transports are arrived at Shields and Newcastle, with 8 batallions of foot, from Flanders, which

gives great joy. I must further add, that we are sure of the 6000 Hessians that are in our pay in Flanders, on the first call. All this raises our spirits to such a degree, that we think, with foundation, the danger is over, unless the French play us some trick. That is what I own we dread. I am, most faithfully, ever,

Dear Sir,

Your most devoted humble servant,

J. HOLFORD.

Pray present my most humble services to Mr Blois.

*(Addressed to Mr Bertie.)*

## No. XIX.

Instructions du Roy du S<sup>r</sup> Comte de Drummond Brigadier d'Infanterie, Colonel du Regiment Royal Ecossois allant commander les troupes de sa Majesté qui doivent passer dans la Grande Bretagne, pour y faire la guerre au Roy d'Angleterre, Electeur d'Hanover.

L'ETAT cy joint fera connoître au Comte de Drummond en quoi les dites troupes doivent consister, il se rendra incessamment à Ostende pour s'embarquer avec elles sur les vaisseaux destinés pour leur transport, dont le Commandant a ordre et les débarquer autant qu'il sera possible sur la coste entre Edimbourg et Berwick.

Il remettra au S<sup>r</sup> Stapleton Brigadier d'infanterie, Lieutenant-Colonel du regiment de Berwick, la lettre de service joint pour être employé sous ses ordres, Et cependant il luy laisseroit le commandement particulier et le detail des six piquets tirée des regiments Irlandois.

Desque le Comte de Drummond aura débarqué en Ecosse avec les troupes l'artillerie et les munitions que sa Majesté a destinée pour cette expedition, Il n'aura rien de plus pressé que le donner avis de son arrivée au Prince Edouard et de luy faire scavoir que les secours qu'il luy amene est entièrement à ses ordres auxquels il se conformera en tout, soit pour aller joindre son armée, ou pour agir séparément selon ses veues.

Lorsqu'il aura pris connoissance de l'endroit ou se trouveront les troupes Hollandoises qui ont passés en Angleterre il leur fera notifier son arrivée au reste des troupes du Roy en les sommant de s'abstenir de tout service de guerre conformément aux capitulations de Tournay et de Dendermonde, Et de luy donner sur cela un response prompte et cathégorique, ce qu'ils peuvent faire sans envoyer à la Haye attendu que les Etats generaux ont déclaré a L'abbe de la Ville qu'ils avoient donné des ordres positifs aux chefs des dites troupes de ne point enfreindre la dit capitulation et si nonobstant cette sommation les dites troupes Hollandoises en venoient a des acts d'hostilité contre celles de sa Majeste le Comte de Drummond fera resserer etroitement les prisoniers qu'il pour a faire sur elles, et il ne se prestera à aucun accommodement pour les rendre la violation des capitulations dispensant sa Majesté de l'engagement qu'elle avoit pris avec les Hollandois au sujet de l'échange des prisoniers de guerre.

Si le Comte de Drummond trouve des facilites dans le pays pour recruter ses troupes sa Majesté luy permet de les augmenter jusqu'à concurrence d'un second battalion en dedoublant les officiers du premier.

Elle a accordé les fonds necessaires pour l'entretien des dites troupes pendant trois mois, et comme il ne seroit pas practicable de faire passer dans la suite de



l'argent en Ecosse il est indispensable que le Comte de Drummond prenne de bonne heure des mesures auprès du Prince Edouard afin que quand se fine sera consommé il pourvoir à la paye et la subsistance de les dites troupes qui n'agirent que pour son service.

Le Comte de Drummond profitera de toutes les occasions favorables pour informer le secretaire d'Etat ayant le département de la guerre, de l'état de ces affaires en Ecosse et en Angleterre, et generalement de tout ce qui aura relation à l'objet de sa mission, on luy remet un chiffre pour cet effet, et ce sera à luy de chercher les moyens de faire passer ses lettres sans qu'elles soient interceptées, et d'indiquer par quelles voyez on pourra luy faire tenir pareillement les ordres que le Roy aura à luy donner.

Fait à Fontainebleau, le 28 Octobre, 1745,

A été signé Louis,

Pour copie,

M. DERoyer D'ARGENSON.

## No. XX.

SA Majesté ayant resolu faire passer dans la Grande Bretagne un corps de troupes pour y faire la guerre au roy d'Angleterre, Electeur d'Hanover, avec laquelle sa Majesté est en guerre ouverte et déclaré, Elle a jetté les yeux sur le comte de Drummond, Brigadier en son Infanterie et Colonel de son Regiment Royal Ecossois, pour commander les dites troupes, Et en consequence sa Majesté mande et ordonne au dit Comte de Drummond se conduire les dites troupes dans la Grande Bretagne et les employer contre ses ennemies en conformité de ses intentions. En joint pareillement Sa Majesté aux officiers et soldats des dites troupes de reconnoître le dit comte de Drummond en qualité de leur commandant et de luy obeir et l'entendre en tout ce qu'il leur ordonnera pour le bien de son service comme ils seroient à la propre personne de sa Majesté à peine de disobeissance.

Fait à Fontaenbleau, le 28 Octobre, 1745,

A été signé Louis,

Pour copie,

M. DERoyer D'ARGENSON.

## \* No. XXI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Henry, under the name of "Monsieur Jamieson."*

ALBANO, November 8th, 1745.

At the sametime I received yours of the 20th October I was much pleased to hear you were better in your health, which I heartily wish you may long continue to enjoy perfect. I have nothing directly from the Prince; but after what the public prints say of him, there can be no doubt of his having beat General Cope, and of his being in the town of Edinburgh. But his surprising progress and success do not make me the less solicitous for his being powerfully

assisted by Durham,\* who is actually sending some small succours to him, which is so far good ; but it is not a small matter that will, I fear, suffice to make him withstand the forces the Government is gathering against him. I know Norbert is thinking seriously of giving him a powerful assistance, tho' they find difficulties in the execution, which I easily comprehend, but I hope they may be surmounted at last. The danger is that the Prince may be overwhelmed in the meantime ; but Providence, who has hitherto visibly assisted him, will, I hope, one way or another, finish the work. Nathaniel in general are well disposed. C——l T——n is indefatigable in his solicitations, and Titus does his part, and has free access to all the Nathaniels. I have not writ these many weeks to Lord Marischal, supposing he might be going every day to joyn the Prince ; but I have now received a letter from him, in which he says nothing of it ; and I can see he has himself no great hopes in the project, tho', to be sure, he is doing what he can to determine them to act vigorously and speedily for the Prince's support. I shall return to town in a few days. In all places I am equally full of the most sincere and cordial kindness for you.

JAMES R.

\* No. XXII.

*“ Lord Clancarty” to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I shou'd before this have paid my most humble duty to your Majesty had I any thing worth troubling you with, and all that I can now say is, that, in my opinion, things have a very favorable aspect. I hope and believe the French are in earnest, his Royal Highness the Duke dispatched (four days since) the same person that was in England in May last, by whom I have, in concert with my Lord Marischal, wrote to the people attached to your Majesty's cause (as was the desire of the French Ministry.)

We have sent for a person, who is a gentleman of estate and worth, and entirely devoted to your Majesty, and of great weight and interest with the party. I expect him in three weeks, and so soon as he arrives I hope we shall embarque, and by what I know of the dispositions of the people, I make no doubt, if it please God, that we debarque the troops in safety (of which, I think, there is no great hazard), but that His Royal Highness will carry his point.

I most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, that nothing shall ever be wanting on my part to manifest how profoundly and zealously I shall ever be,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most dutiful, most loyal, and most devoted subject and servant,

PARIS, November 8th.

*Note.*—This letter is not signed, but is thus marked on the outside by Mr Edgar,—  
“ Lord Clancarty, 8 Nov. 1745.”

\* The king of France.

## \* No. XXIII.

*Mr Drummond of Bochaldy to the Chevalier de St George.*

15th November, 1745.

SIR,

I HAD the honour to put myself at His Royal Highness, the Duke's feet, along with *Lord Sempil* last evening. We were both extremely happy to find him so well recovered, and in so much spirits, among a number of his friends of the Bouillon family. His Royal Highness has had the condescension to allow us to make our court to him from time to time, and at the same time *has given us orders to give no more information or memorials to the French Ministers concerning your Majesty's friends in England.* The two gentlemen now come over, having powers from the Prince, who must know his Royal Highness's intentions much better than we. *Lord Sempil* informs your Majesty particularly of this, for which reason I shall not give you the trouble of a repetition. I inclosed Mr Moor's letters in his own hand, of which I was accustomed to send copys, the originals being then necessarily kept *here, both lest the French ministers should call for the originals which Mr Amelot and the minister of Marine were sometimes accustomed to do, and because of the danger of the packets being taken,—a danger* our correspondent did not incline to risk. Now that that danger is much less, if there be any; I have sent the originals, and kept copies to be sent *the P.* by the first opportunity, hoping they may be of some use and satisfaction. I have likewise a letter from Mr Smart of the 22d; but it bears nothing save that the rebels, (as he names them,) manage so secretly, that the longest sighted ministers cannot penetrate their designs.

## \* No. XXIV.

*The Rev. Alexander Gordon to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIRE,

J'AI osé me flatter qu'ayant l'honneur de présenter à votre Majesté une copie du memoire que j'ai remis à Son Altesse Royale Monseigneur le duc d'York, il me seroit permis d'y joindre des assurances de mon zèle sincère et de mon respectueux dévouement pour votre Personne sacrée. J'expose dans cet écrit la situation dans laquelle se trouvait Son Altesse Roiale Monseigneur le Prince de Galles lors de mon depart de l'Ecosse, et comme je n'agis alors que par ses ordres, aussi ne me suis je conduit ici depuis que par ceux de Son Altesse Roiale Monseigneur le Duc d'York et de Monsieur O'bryen, votre ministre; heureux si en continuant à suivre leurs directions je pouvois être effectivement de quelque utilité. Mais Sire, quelqu'ardent que soit mon zèle, et quelqu'envi que j'aie de servir les interets de Votre Majesté aussi-bien que ceux de Messeigneurs les Princes, je ne puis m'y employer qu'avec le consentement du General de la compagnie dont je suis membre. Il les a trop à cœur lui-même ces interets, pour ne point donner volontiers les mains à tout ce qui peut y contribuer sur tout si votre Majesté daignoit s'expliquer à lui là-dessus: et afin qu'il puisse me distinguer d'un autre qui porte le même nom que moi il s'agit ici de celui dont le frère, Père Jacques Gordon est allé par ses ordres demeurer à Rome depuis

quelque mois. Monsieur D'Obryen s'est chargé d'informer votre majesté de ce qu'on exige de moi présentement ; de quelque façon qu'Elle veuille me faire employer, je tâcherai toujours de donner des preuves de l'entier dévouement et du profond respect avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Sire,

De Votre Majesté,  
Le très humble et très obéissant,  
Serviteur et fidèle sujet,

ALEXANDRE GORDON JESUITE.

*A Paris, 26 de Novembre, 1745.*

## No. XXV.

### *Report alluded to in the preceding Letter*

SON ALTESSE ROIALE Monseigneur le Prince de Galles aiant ordonné au Sieur Gordon de venir à la Cour de France pour y rendre compte de l'état actuel des affaires de Son Altesse Roiale en Ecosse il a l'honneur de joindre ici un extrait de tout ce qu'on lui a ordonné de dire et de tout ce qu'il a vû.

Il a reçu les derniers ordres de Son Altesse Roiale le 28 d'Octobre à son camp près d'Edimbourg, et s'est embarqué le 1<sup>er</sup> du présent mois de Novembre au port de Dumfries vis-à-vis l'isle de Man.

Lorsqu'il quitta le Prince, on comptoit environ 12,000 hommes de troupes, soit dans le camp, soit dans la ville : les differens corps que plusieurs Seigneurs amenoient à Son armée faisoient 4000 de plus, suivant le rapport que l'on ont fit à Edimbourg ; il y avoit plus de mille chevaux déjà rassemblez et grand nombres d'autres en chemin. Presque toutes ces troupes se trouvoient bien armées, et pourvûes de tout ce qui leur étoit nécessaire d'allieurs, les habitans de tous les Cantons où le Prince s'etoit montré, et surtout ceux d'Edimbourg et de Glasgow, leur aiant fourni des Tentes, des Habits, des Boucliers, et de l'argent autant qu'il fut en leur pouvoir.

Outre les chefs des Montaignards et les autres Seigneurs de diverses provinces, qui s'etoient déclarez en faveur du Prince avant la Bataille contre le General Cope, grand nombre de personnes, distinguées par le rang qu'elles tiennent en Ecosse, sont venues de joindre à Lui depuis qu'il est à Edimbourg : Parmi ces derniers l'on compte Milord Maxwell Seigneur de Nithsdale, Milord Kenmure, Beaufrère du Marquis de Seaforth, Kirkounel, un du nom de Hamilton, &c. D'ailleurs il y en a plusieurs qui étant hors d'état de Lui rendre service en personne Lui ont envoyé des chevaux, des Armes, et de l'argent ; et depuis qu'il a été proclamé dans la Capital et dans les villes les plus considérables du Roïaume, ceux-memes qui paroisoient le moins disposés à Le reconnoître, se sont montréz dans les dispositions plus favorables à ses intérêts, les uns aiant été charméz de ses manières, et les autres rassurez par ses manifestes et par ses proclamations. En un mot la victoire surprenante qu'il a remportée aiant achevé de Lui soumettre ceux qui croioient devoir encore ménager la cour de Londres, ou peut dire qu'il est présentement Maître absolu de l'Ecosse.

Au moment de l'embarquement du Sieur Gordon l'on disoit à Dumfries que le château d'Edimbourg s'étoit rendu : Ce qui est certain c'est que le 27 Son Altesse Roiale avoit des assurances positives que la mésintelligence regnoit parmi les Chefs, et que l'on y manquoit des choses les plus nécessaires.



Quant à l'Angleterre, on y est prêt à Le recevoir à bras ouverts et à se déclarer ouvertement pour Lui dèsqu'il y paroitra en force et soutenu par la France. Indépendamment du mécontentement général de la Nation contre le présent Gouvernement qui est assez connu de toute l'Europe, voici encore des assurances que l'on a de leurs dispositions à cet égard ; Il a déjà reçu plus de cent invitations de la part de la Noblesse de différentes provinces d'Angleterre et des sommes considérables d'argent, ce qui a beaucoup servi pour la paiement de ses troupes ; Le Sieur Gordon entendit même le rapport de deux courriers qui venoient de la part des Milords Fairfax, Langdale et plusieurs autres qu'ils nommèrent : tout ce qu'ils dirent à Son Altesse Roiale prouvoit assez qu'on n'y attendoit que Sa présence soutenue par la Cour de France, pour se ranger ouvertement sous ses étendarts ; Le Gouvernement n'a pas même cru qu'il fut sûr d'accepter les offres que quelques Provinces ont faites d'assembler leur milices en corps, de peur qu'elles ne se servoient de ce prétexte pour agir plutôt pour Le Prince. Enfin telle est la disposition des esprits dans toute la grande Bretagne que la crainte se de ne pas se voir soutenu par les secours étrangers dont la Cour de Londres est si fort alarmée, les empêche encore de se déclarer, et que tout le monde y est persuadé que pour chaque millier d'étrangers qui y abonderont, l'armée de Son Altesse se verra renforcer de plus de quatre mille hommes du pais puisqu'ils ne demandent que cet encouragement.

Au reste les secours d'armes et d'argent seront d'autant plus utiles qui quoique jusqu'ici Le Prince ait payé ses troupes très ponctuellement, le nombre en augmentera tous les jours et ses Finances s'épuiseront à mesure : mais comme des secours d'hommes font une bien plus grande sensation dans la pais, l'unique moien de faire réussir cette glorieuse entreprise, et même d'en assurer le succès, seroit de faire une descente en Angleterre. Car ce que l'on a déjà fait passer en Ecosse, et ce que l'on y fait encore passer tous les jours, ne pourra jamais mettre Le Prince en état de se soutenir pour long-temps à moins qu'on n'envoie promptement le secours désiré en Angleterre, sans lequel nos amis dans ce pais-là n'oseront pas se déclarer ; comme ils l'ont témoigné en plusieurs occasions. Les Partisans de l'Electeur de Hanover cachent si peu l'apprehension qu'ils en ont, que nonobstant les addresses flatteuses qu'ils lui présentent, et ce qu'ils font courrir dans leur Gazettes pour contenir les peuples les conversations secrètes ne roulent que sur la révolution prochaine, qu'on regarde comme inévitable, supposé que la Cour de France fasse faire cette descente, laquelle non seulement empêchera les forces du Gouvernement de marcher vers le nord contre le Prince, mais aussi deviendra comme le signal du soulèvement de la plus grande partie de l'Angleterre.

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## No. XXVI.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Prince Henry.*

ROME, 1st February, 1746.

I suppose you took all proper precautions that your letter to Sir Watkins Williams might come safely to his hands ; but I don't see how it is possible for our friends in England to order what you therein propose to them, for how can they, without arms, without regular troops, without, enfin, any support, pretend to rise in arms, and much less to seize on any seaport, while the government have so many regular troops in the island, and at present, even a considerable

body of men near London. I have often blamed the indolence and timidity of our friends in England ; but, in the present moment, I own I think they would act imprudently and even rashly not to ly quiet still.

## No. XXVII.

*Sir Thomas Sheridan to ———.*

CHATEAU DE BLAIR D'ATHOL, 8th Fevr. 1746.

MR,

Vous serez sans doute surpris que quinze jours apres une victoire comme celle que j'eus l'honneur de vous mander dans ma derniere, nous aions sitôt pris le parti de la retraite ; mais la mauvaise réüssite du siège du chateau de Stirling a mis du changement dans nos desseins. Le gain d'une autre bataille ne nous auroit pas mis en état de le recommencer. Les meilleures pieces de notre artillerie avoient été mis hors de service, pendant que nous n'avions pas de quoi les échanger, L'armée enemie avoit reçu du renfort, et en attendoit continuellement d'autres. On a donc cru qu'il valoit mieux conserver nos troupes, de nous retirer vers le nord, de nous en rendre entièrement maitres, et de nous mettre par là en état de descendre une autre fois dans la plaine avec une meilleure armée que nous n'avions encore eu. Quand même nous eussions risqué une autre bataille nous n'avions rien de meilleure à faire. Mais nous voyons bien Mr que c'est ici la seconde fois que le retardement de l'invasion projetée nous a obligés de rebrousser chemin au beau milieu de notre carrière. Pour l'amour de Dieu a quoi pense-t-on ? regarde-t-on la réüssite de nos desseins comme une chose indifférente à la France ? ou veut-on, a quelque prix que ce soit, que nous périssions ? Si ce ne sont pas là les intentions de la Cour, qu'on mette sérieusement la main à l'œuvre et cela sans perte de temps : S'il se fait tout ira bien. S'il ne se fait pas, nous nous soutiendrons le plus long-temps que nous pourrons, mais nous avons besoin de secours de toute espèce, de l'artillerie avec tout ce qui y appartient, mortiers, bombes, ingénieurs, &c. mais sur tout de quelques troupes et d'une bonne somme d'argent. Si nous avions eu deux mille hommes de troupes réglées à la derniere bataille l'enemi n'auroit jamais pu se retirer avec l'apparence d'une armée. Pour l'artillerie et du baggage il y aura toujours de quoi les remplacer. Leur perte n'a donc consisté qu'en mille hommes qui constamment sont restés sur le champ de bataille, et qui sont plus que je n'avois dit dans ma derniere lettre autant apparamment de blessés et mille autres pris ou désertés. Mais le fonds de leur armée s'est conservé, et c'est ce qui nos arrivera toujours quand ils songerent de bonne heure à la retraite, et que nous n'aurons pas des troupes réglées pour profiter de la victoire. Pour de l'argent, il nous est absolument nécessaire pour nous mettre en état d'entretenir nos troupes, et pour en lever d'autres. Mais je vous ai tant parlé de tout cela, et Mr D'aiguilles en écrit tant, qu'il est inutile de vous en dire d'avantage. Permettez-moi seulement de vous dire que parmi des papiers pris à Falkirk, il s'est trouvé une lettre du general Cope à un de ses amis, dans laquelle il l'assure positivement qu'on n'appréhendoit plus à Londres une descente de la part de la France. Cela seroit bien désolant pour nous et bien deshonorant pour la France après ce qui s'est passé aux yeux de toute l'Europe, et je me flatte qu'il n'en est rien. Cependant cette idée commence à prévaloir, et n'augmente guerre, comme vous le pouvez croire, la valeur de nos troupes. Il faut donc des faits

réels, et des secours considérables pour nous soutenir, et non des promesses vagues et des miettes de pain. Représentez bien tout ceci M<sup>r</sup> aussi bien que ce que vous dira de bouche de personne chargée de ces dépeches. Vous la connoissez ainsi il n'est pas nécessaire de vous dire la confiance que le Prince y mit non plus que celle que vous y devez prendre.

Monseigneur le Prince a reçu une lettre très obligeante de Madame la Duchesse d'Aiguillon et il vous charge M<sup>r</sup> de lui en bienfaire, &c.

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\* No. XXVIII.

*Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

HIS Royal Highness the Prince of Wales having been pleased to send me to His Most Christian Majesty with the happy news of a complete victory and entire defeat of the army in Southerland, commanded by Lord London, I should have informed your Majesty, on my landing at Dunkerque, of this event, had it not been that I was told the King was to part from Versailles the 1st instant for Flanders, so I could not hasten too soon to the Court, that I might be timely admitted to the King's audience, and wait on the minister, both those that are parted with His Majesty, and those that remain, in order to reason our situation with them, which prevented my being in time to write your Majesty last post. I called on my way coming upon the Duke of York at Arras, and delivered his Highness' letter I had from the Prince to your Majesty. The first minutes I have at my disposal, I employ them in informing you, Sir, with the blessing it has pleased divine Providence to bestow on y<sup>e</sup> Prince and your loyal subjects by this last happy success, the particular account of which I shall inclose to Mr Edgar.

Mr Browne, doubtless, gave your Majesty a detail of what occurred down to the battle of Falkirk, and Mr Townley done the same of our retreat from Stirling, with the reasons which induced the Council, or rather the advisers, to be of opinion 'twas necessary, so I shall only state what intervened since Mr Townley's leaving us at Blair Castle; but that I must say so unexpected a proposal to his Highness, who at that time thought of nothing less, (an order of battle having been made ready a few hours before, and a firm resolution of waiting for the enemy,) was bore with that constancy and greatness of soul, the Prince at once is master of: however severe and unnecessary it might appear to him, he generally waved his own opinion, and paid a deference to that of some of the chiefs as in reward of their services, and a mark of his condescension to what they judged for the good of your Royal cause and their happiness, which he gave proof was more to him than any other satisfaction he could propose, even to life itself. So that they could not but admire his spirit, heart, and conduct, he has taught them how to bear the inconveniencies (of) adversity, or a misstepp commonly drawn on by looking forward, providing for the time to come, and taking lesson by what (is) past; and all this with such prudence, dignity, caution, and dexterity, that really show him to be born a General. I am sure there never was one so universally beloved by his army, or more deserving of it. Your Majesty may judge the great consternation the army was in, when His Royal Highness fell sick at Elgin, and was in danger for two days: a timely bleeding hindered the cold turning into a fluxion de poitrine, and caused a joy in every heart not to be expressed.

When I arrived here I found by the Duc de Richelieu, that the King expected a letter from the Prince by every person he sends to Court, so I told His Majesty I was to have been the bearer of one to him, but that I had not time to receive it, having been obliged to sail the first night that happened to be dark for to avoid being taken by two English men-of-war that waited my coming out. I was introduced to the King by the Marquis D'Argenson, minister of foreign affairs. His Majesty received me with all bounty, and said the most kind things relating to the Prince. I should have wished to have had a letter to Count D'Argenson, minister of war, as 'twas he formerly gave me the cannon for His Royal Highness.

His most Christian Majesty has been pleased to give me the rank of a Colonel, and to make me knight of the order of St Louis. These favours, with many others, I owe to the honour the Prince has done me, to send me with the news of the defeat of Lord Loudon, and to the sincere desire the King has to promote his cause. If I find these favours have been acceptable to your Majesty, I shall be entirely satisfied with my voyage, tho' infinitely more should I succeed in the demand I am to make of succours to the army from the King, where he ordered me to follow him, my greatest ambition being to be of some use to your Majesty.

I am, with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient,  
Servant, and most dutiful subject,

RP. WARREN.

PARIS, 9th May, 1746.

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## NO. XXIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Sir Thomas Sheridan.*

ROME, July 25th, 1746.

THIS to require of you to come and joyn me here with all convenient speed. Your silence since your return from Scotland has been a matter of surprize to me, when you could not but have given me many satisfactory, tho' not agreeable informations. When you went from hence, you know how much reason you had to be perswaded both of my confidence and good opinion. Mr Strickland, you know, left Rome sometime after, and I have reason to believe he was not idle the short time he stayed in France. I look upon him to be the worst of men, and it would appear he has been introducing amongst us a spirit which I never knew before, and will root it out if I can. It is not easy to explain oneself on such intricate matters by writing, and I think it of absolute necessity for mine and the Prince's service, that I should have some free discourse with you, and so give you occasion of explaining many things to me, for I am unwilling to think that you are altered toward me, and should be sorry to have reason to be it towards you, after all the pains you have taken in the service of a son dear to me, and to whom I shall write about your coming here, that he may not wonder to find you in France, and when you go back to him, I am sure both he and you will thank me for having sent for you. Waters has my orders to give you 1300 livres for your journey when you call for it.



## \* No. XXX.

*Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I HAVE compassed at last what in the present circumstances I could desire. I part for Port Louis in a day or two, thence I sail off with a frigate and two more from Morlaix under my command, in order to join his Royal Highness the Prince, and bring him back to France. These are my orders which I hope in God I shall effectuate; none could be more suitable to my zeal and attachment—my joy will be complete if I find the choice made of my person for so honourable a commission is agreeable to your Majesty. I part with the firm hopes of rescuing so great and so good a Prince from the imminent dangers he may run at present, he has gained great reputation, and has acquired great experience with this double advantage, he will be soon, I hope, in a way of retrieving the present misfortune, which certainly nobody lays, nor can lay, to his charge. This is not the time to enter into a strict examination of the second causes of the event; but to submit with resignation to the first, whom I hope will render effectual our next undertakings.

The present orders were intimated to me just as I was to part for Navarre there to make my court to His Royal Highness the Duke, and receive from him due instructions relating to the present circumstances; it's wonderful how capable he is of giving so good ones tho' so young. The pleasure of having two such sons is a blessing that must be agreeable to your Majesty beyond expression. I hope to be a witness very soon of their tender interview, and to give your Majesty an account of the particulars of our happy return. I shall be impatient till I acquitt myself of so incumbent a duty, and do remain with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble and most obedient servant,  
And most dutiful subject,

R. WARREN.

PARIS, *p<sup>mo</sup>* August, 1746.

## \* No. XXXI.

*The same to Mr Edgar.*

SIR,

I AM just ready to depart, being appointed by the Court to bring back to France His Royal Highness the Prince, having, for this purpose, a frigate under my orders at Morlaix, and two at Port Louis, where I go to embark. I begg the favour of you to deliver these two letters, one to the King, the other to My Lord Dumbar, and to believe me with respect,—Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

R. WARREN.

PARIS, *p<sup>mo</sup>* August, 1746.

## \* No. XXXII.

*The same to Colonel O'Bryen.*

DEAR SIR,

I DID myself the honour to advise you the 27th, my intending for this place in order to embark and meet Mr Butler, who, to my great surprise and concern, tells me, that instead of a frigate, I have but two (a word here not legible) which I must sail, as the others could not be got ready for the sea this month to come. I little expected this disappointment after all the delay already given, and having jaunted us up and down, and I should have thought they might give us the Sirene and the Durseley : however, we must take patience, half loaf is better than no bread, and since we can't be our own carvers we must be resigned. I trust in God I shall succeed in bringing back our Hero safe and sound as if I had ten frigates. 'Tis the height of my ambition, and I shall always look upon it as the happiest action of my life, and I have great confidence that Providence has this blessing in store for me.

Since there are but a frigate, I take Mr O'Beirne with me on board l'Heureux 36 guns, and 275 men, Messrs Lynch and Sheridan, the Prince of Conty, 30 guns, and 225 men. We shall go aboard this evening, and propose sailing to-morrow. I shall write you from aboard the ship, and give it to Mr Butler to put in the post-office, (Wednesday,) which will probably reach you as soon as this, that I send by my servant to the post-office of Lambale, and to take up my letters. Perhaps I shall have one from you in answer to mine of 22d from Gervan. We are not to separate, and we go round Ireland. I shall write to-day to y<sup>e</sup> Marquis and Count D'Argenson, to the Cardinal, and to Mr Maurepas, and sign and seal them to-morrow aboard, dating from the Cape, as we are going under sail, which Mr Butler will put into the post-office.

I begg my most hearty respects to Madame O'Bryen, and a thousand kind things to your lovely son, and believe me always most heartily,

Dear Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient Servant,

R WARREN.

MATIGNON, 29th August, 1746.

## No. XXXIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, September 12th, 1746.

IF what the Gazettes say, my dearest Carluccio, of your being again at the head of some of the Highlanders be true, I should hope, in that situation you might be for sometime at least in a less unsafe way than if you had continued hiding, and that you will be the more easily found out by those who are gone to look out for you, and bring you into France ; but with all that we know of you is so uncertain, and the dangers you are exposed to so manifest, that my pain and anxiety for you put me in a condition I can't well express. While I am all alone here without satisfaction or comfort of any kind, and without knowing when I can have that of seeing you again, for were you now in France, I

cannot go to you, and you could not come here without abandoning all our affairs. But your Brother is not in the same case, and I even writ to him not very long ago, upon the subject of his coming to make me a visit here after your arrival in France. But with all this, I thank God my health is not worse, and has even been rather better than usual this summer. Adieu my dear child! for till I know you are in a place of safety, I can scarce think, or write of any thing but what relates to you.

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## No. XXXIV.

*The same to Sir James Stewart.*

ROME, September 12th, 1746.

I RECEIVED last week yours of the 21st August, and saw what you writ to Edgar in sending the accompt, by which I remark, that, with the money which was brought back from Scotland, you will have a good deal of the Spanish money still in your hands. Since that money cannot be now applied towards supporting the Prince's undertaking, a better use cannot certainly be made of it, than for the support and maintenance of those who acted in our cause, and now suffer for it; and I think I may safely take upon me to direct it should be applied to such uses, without fearing that such a destination will be disapproved by the Court of Spain, and much less by the Prince, whose money properly it is, and when he comes into France he may dispose of the remain of it as he thinks fit.

If you can have fallen on a sure way of sending some money to Lord Ogilvy and his companions, you will have done well to have sent them a supply, to facilitate their coming into France. But I think it would be subject to a great many inconveniences and abuses, should young Waters have authority to write to his correspondents abroad, to give undetermined supplies to such of our people as might come over. Those that do will undoubtedly write into France, and till they get an answer can never fail of getting some credit in the place from which they write: it will be then proper time to supply them, and that can then be done with a due regard and proportion to their merit, their rank, and their wants, and I hope Providence will always enable me, one way or another, not to be wanting in that respect to those who deserve well of us: but in my present situation, we must at the sametime be good managers, and not, out of an ill-understood generosity at the beginning, find ourselves unable at last to maintain those who have no other resource but us. The object now, alas! being not to recompence their merit but to supply their wants. Nobody can judge better than yourself of the proper method and rule to be observed in such matters; for I am at too great a distance to send you particular orders, in cases which will not admit of delay, and as the sum now in young Waters' hands will probably be applied to no other use but to the relief of your countrymen, I see no use in your troubling the Duke, or consulting Mr O'Bryen, hereafter, about the particular payments you make out of it.

I entirely approve of your re-imbursing yourself out of the Spanish money of what you had advanced to Mr Carnegie. Would to God I were in a condition to put you both as much at your ease as I could wish; but if I cannot do what I would, I shall at least do all I can, for those who deserve so well of me. I am very glad to find you have some hopes that the attainders against both of

you may be delayed, and not pass at last ; for I am sensible of what you have already done and suffered for the cause, not to be desirous that those sufferings should at last encrease no more. The Prince's situation, and the cruel scenes that are passing in our own country, are subjects of too great grief and concern to me to enter upon them here ; and, therefore, with my kind compliments to Lady Francis, I shall conclude with the assurance of my constant kindness.

\* No. XXXV.

*Colonel Warren to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I HAVE the happiness to advise your Majesty of my wished for success in meeting his Royal Highness the Prince on the continent of Scotland, and bringing him safe back to France, having landed this moment here at Roscoff, in Lower Britany, within 4 leagues of Morlaix, at half an hour past two the afternoon, Monday 10th October, 1746 ; 'tis scarce to be imagined what a crowd of dangers run thro' by sea and land, but Providence has been visibly in special care, and will doubtless in time complete his wishes.

His Highness intends sending me forward with the account of his arrival to the Duke of York and the French Court, and this I intend to be forwarded to your Majesty by Cardinal Tencin, as the most speedy way of reaching your hands.

I congratulate your Majesty on this happy event, and think this is the happiest day of my life to see our great Hero delivered so miraculously from his enemys.

I shall send your Majesty next week a journal, or more particular account. I found meanwhile I was at *Logh nonoua*,\* (where I took the Prince on board,) to lay hold of Barastel, who wanted to betray him, and have brought him and his son prisoners here.

I am, with the most profound respect,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble, most loyal, and most faithful subject,

RD. WARREN.

ROSCOFF, 10th October, 1746.

\* No. XXXVI.

*Prince Charles to his brother Henry.*

MORLAY, 10th October, N.S. 1746.

DEAR BROTHER,

As I am certain of your great concern for me, I cannot express the joy I have (on your account) of my safe arrival in this country. I send here inclosed to lines to my master, just to shew him I am alive and safe (being fatigued not a little, as you may imagine). It is my oppinion you

\* Sic in orig.



should write immediately to y<sup>e</sup> French king, giving him notice of my safe arrival, and at the same time excusing my not writing to him myself immediately being so much fatigued, and hoping soon to have y<sup>e</sup> pleasure of seeing him. I leave it to your prudence the wording of this letter, and would be glad no time should be lost in writing and dispatching it, as also that you should consult nobody without exception upon it, but Sir John Grems and Sir Thomas, the reasons of which I will tell you on meeting. *Note bene*—It is an absolute necessity I must see the French king as soon as possible, for to bring things to a write head. Warren, y<sup>e</sup> bearer, will instruct you of the way I would wish you should meet me at Paris. I embrace you with all my heart, and remain,  
Your moste loving brother,

CHARLES, P. R.

\* No. XXXVII.

*Prince Henry to the Chevalier de St George.*

CLICHY, October ye 14th, 1746.

SIR,

Your Majesty may judge how happy I am with the news I send you. I long much to have the Courier arrive that you may be well ridd of all the pains and anxietye you have been under for so long. I am very impatient, as you may believe, to see my dearest brother. I am in hopes it will be tomorrow. Sir John is just gone to meet him, for the reasons that Obryen mentions. *The Duke* will make use of all his endeavours to put in practice the advice *the king* has been so good as give him. How is *the Duke* to act if *the Prince* should not care that he should not communicate certain things to *Mr Obryen*? Your Majesty will see the reason of that question by *the Prince's* letter to *the Duke*. As I have slept but three hours last night, my head does not permit me to write long; but next post I shall probably make it upp. Most humbly begging your Majesty's blessing, I remain, with the utmost respect,  
Your most dutiful Son,

HENRY.

\* No. XXXVIII.

*The Marquis D'Argenson to Colonel O'Bryen.*

à FOUNTAINBLEAU, le 16 Octobre, 1746.

J'AY rendu compte au Roy Monsieur de la triste situation dans la quelle se trouvent les officiers Ecossois arrivées depuis peu en France, et je n'ay oublié aucun des motifs agréables à leur faire éprouvéz les effets de la libéralité de sa Majesté. Elle a bien voulu leurs accorde une gratification de la somme de 34,000 livres. J'en fais expedier 1<sup>re</sup> ord<sup>re</sup> au Portezu suivans les ordres qu'elle m'en a donné et je l'envoye en finance. Sitost qu'elle sera revenue je vous la ferai adresser vous voudriez bien alors Monsieur en toucher la montant et en faire la distribution à ces officiers Ecossois conformément à l'état sous joint.

Je suis très véritablement Monsieur entièrement a vous.

D'ARGENSON.

## \* No. XXXIX.

Etat des Gratifications que le Roy a bien voulu accorder aux Gentils hommes Ecossois arrives depuis pue en France.

	Livres.
Milord Ogilvie, Briagdier et Colonel, . . . . .	4000
Henry Patullo Marischal, General de logis de l'armée, . . . . .	4000
Jean Hey, rang de Colonel, . . . . .	3000
Jacques Carnegy de Boissac rang de Colonel, . . . . .	3000
Jacques Maxwell de Kirkonell, Lieutenant des Gardes du Corps, avec Commission de Lieut.-Colonel, . . . . .	1800
David Hunter de Burnside, id., . . . . .	1800
Thomas Blair, Lieutenant-Colonel d'un Regiment, . . . . .	1800
Jacques Gordon, Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . . .	1800
Robert Fottringham de Bandgam grade de Lieut.-Colonel, . . . . .	1800
David Fottringham, Commandant a Dondee, avec grade de Lieutenant- Colonel, . . . . .	1800
Robert Fletcher, Major, . . . . .	1200
CAPITAINES.	
Jean Ogilvie de Inshuan, . . . . .	1000
Jacques Ogilvie, . . . . .	1000
Guillaume Campbell, . . . . .	1000
David Gardyn de Lawton, . . . . .	1000
Bartholome de Sandilands, . . . . .	1000
Jean Ridle de Grange, . . . . .	1000
Thomas Fottringham, . . . . .	1000
Alexander Johnston, . . . . .	1000
Total, . . . . .	34.000

## No. XL.

*Prince Henry to the Chevalier de St George.*

CLICHY, October ye 17th, 1746.

SIR,

THE very morning after I writ you my last I had the happiness of meeting with my dearest brother. He did not know me at first sight; but I am sure I knew him very well, for he is not in the least altered since I saw him, except grown somewhat broader and fatter, which is incomprehensible after all the fatigues he has endured. Your Majesty may conceive it better than I can express in writing, the tenderness of our first meeting—those that were present said they never saw the like in their lives, and indeed I defy the whole world another brother so kind and so loving as he is to me. For my part, I can safely say that all my endeavours tend, and shall tend as long as I live, to no other end but that of deserving so much goodness as he has for me. As *Mr Obryen* is with the *Court of France*, I suppose he will inform the king of all he does here; so that it is needless for me to say anything on that, only that I really cannot comprehend what *that Court* would be at, in the secrecy he seems

to desire in regard of *the Prince's* being come to *Paris*. The Prince sees and will scarce see anybody but myself for a few days, that he may have a little time to rest before he is plagued by all the world, as to be sure he will when once he sees company. I go every day to dine with him; yesterday I brought him privately to see my house, and I perceive he has as much *gou*\* for the chace as ever he had. Most humbly begging your Majesty's blessing, I remain, with the utmost respect,

Your most dutiful Son,

HENRY.

P. S. (by Mr John Græme.)—The Duke not having time, I add this postscript to inform your Majesty that Warren is just arrived from Fountainbleau. There was, as he says, at first difficulties as to the *King of France* seeing *the Prince*; but at last he consented to it, but not in a publick manner; and likewise that *the Duke* might accompany him, and that they would be lodged either in or near the castle. I believe likewise they won't oppose their going with their orders; but as we expect *Mr Obryen* to-night, we shall be then fully informed of that affair.

\* No. XLI.

*Colonel O'Bryen to the Same.*

à FONTAINEBLEAU, ce *Lundis*, 17th Oct., 1746.

MONSIEUR,

JE vois *Le Cour de France* plus disposé à chercher la paix, que vouloir tenter une nouvelle expédition en *Ecosse* j'ay demandé de la part de *Prince* qu'il put incessamment voir *le Roy de France et la Famille Royale* ce qui est accordé, ce sera — Je crois après demain. *Le Duc* viendra avec luy, ou demande une sorte incognito, cependant j'espère que l'on logera *Le Prince* dans la propre maison de *Roy de France*: mais ce point n'est pas encore entièrement décidé, je la scauray demain.

On ma donne une ordonnance de 34,000<sup>l</sup> pour les officiers d'*Ecosse*, &c.

No. XLII.

*Prince Charles to the King of France.*

MONSIEUR MON FRERE ET COUSIN,

Je prends la liberté d'écrire à votre Majesté pour lui dire la raison que Je ne parlais point de mes affaires hier au soir; c'est parce que mon frère étoit present, et qu'en même tems je voudrois écrire de lui donner aucune jalousie, comme je l'aime tendrement. Oserois je supplier votre Majesté (comme sa prudence est au nombre de ses grandes qualités) d'avoir la bonté, la

\* Sic in orig.

première fois qu'elle voudroit, que je lui parle d'affaire, qu'elle soit en particulier, et de la faire en sorte éviter cet inconvenient la.

J'ay l'honneur d'être

Monsieur, mon frère et Cousin,  
de votre Majesté

Le bon frère et Cousin,

CHARLES P.

à FOUNTAINBLEAU, }  
le 22d Octobre, 1746. }

### No. XLIII.

*The Same to the Same.*

25<sup>me</sup> Octobre, 1746.

J'AI fini un petit memoir de mes affaires, c'est qui me faire désirer d'avoir le plaisir de la lui remettre entre ses propres mains et le plutôt sera le meilleur j'attenderez avec impatience les ordres de votre Majesté pour le jour et la manière qu'elle veut que je vienne, si elle veut que je ne ramene point mon Frère avec moi en ce en la il me paret qu'il sera necessaire pour ne point donner de jalousie que je fasse en sort de m'evanir et de n'echapper avec un seule personne ton droit a l'appartement du Compte d'Argenson sans personne otre ou la ou Isile sache que cause que votre Majesté vandra. Comme je me flat d'avoir l'amitié d'un si grand Roy je ne veut rien fair sans prendre la liberté de remander son avi en tout et partant.

### No. XLIV.

*The Same to the King of Spain.*

Mon arrivée dans ce pays-ci me fournit l'occasion de faire mes complimens de condolence à votre Majesté sur la mort du feu Roy mon oncle. Il n'y-a personne qui a plus de raison de plaindre cette perte que moi, puisque qu'il a eu la bonté de me donner toujours de marques essentielles de son amitié, et particulièrement pendant mon séjour en Ecosse. Je me flatte que son amitié sera héréditaire et que votre Majesté aura la bonté de continuer les mêmes bonnes intentions pour moi et de vouloir bien m'aider du secours que votre Majesté jugera a-propos pour recouvrir les justes droits de ma famille, et rétablir une firme alliance entre les deux couronnes. Permettre-moi de vous assurer que votre Majesté n'aura jamais rien à me reprocher de mon côté, et que je conserverai une reconnaissance eternelle de toutes vos bontés pour moi.

*Ecrit à Clichy, le 26th Octobre, 1746.*



## No. XLV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ALBANO, Nov. 3d, 1746.

I CANNOT express to you, my dearest Carluccio, the joy and comfort I felt in receiving your letter from Morlaix of the 10th October, after all I have suffered on your account for so many months past. Till I hear from you after your arrival at Paris it is useless to enter into any particular business with you from hence, especially considering the informations you may have had from the Duke and Obryen, who will show you what I now write to him for to be communicated to you and to Cardinal Tencin on some particulars on which I need not therefore enlarge here. I am afraid you will have little reason to be satisfied with the Court of France, and that you will not have less need of courage and fortitude in bearing and suffering in that country than you had in acting in Britain, and let me recommend in the most earnest manner to you patience and prudence; for by a contrary conduct you would make things worse and never better. You have a sure friend in Cardinal Tencin, and as sure and trusty a servant in Obryen. Nobody can advise you better than they two, and they will, I am sure, do all they can to serve you. I need say nothing of the Duke, in whom you will find a great alteration in all respects since you saw him, and you will soon see he deserves to be your friend as he is your brother. I had promised Mr Warren, that if he brought you back safe from Scotland I would make him a Knight Baronet, and accordingly you will find here inclosed a warrant for that effect, which you will give him from me, and I am sure I can never forget the service he has now rendered us. I wish, however, that he would keep this warrant secret; because I am absolutely resolved to give no more such or any commissions as long as our affairs remain in the situation they now are. Sir Thomas is here with me, and better in his health than I have seen him these many years. When I hear further from you, I shall say more on this subject. At present I shall add nothing else but to beseech the Almighty to bless, prosper, and direct you, after having delivered you from so many dangers, of which I am very impatient to have a distinct detail. I thank God my health has been pretty tolerable all this summer, and is so yet, tho' we have a mighty bad season of it here.

## \* No. XLVI.

*Prince Charles to Mr James Edgar.*

CLICHY, ye 6th Nov., 1746.

I ENCLOSE you here a letter for y<sup>e</sup> King. My kind compliments to Lord Dumbar and all my friends there. I say nothing to Sir Thomas, because I am in hopes he is already set out for to join me. My wanting of him gives me a great deal of trouble, for tho' I have a very good opinion of Kelly, and must do him the justice of saying I am very well pleased with him; yet neither he or any body else much less I would absolutely trust in my secrets as I would in Sir Thomas, which occasions in me a great deal of toil and labour. I remain at present, assuring you of my constant friendship,

CHARLES P.

## \* No. XLVII.

L'état des officiers Ecossois de barques en Bretagne à la Suite du P<sup>ce</sup> Edouard, à qui Sa Ma<sup>te</sup> a bien voulu accorder gratifications.\*

	Livres.
De Lochiel, chef de Camerons, Brigadier et Colonel, . . . . .	4000
Cameron, Colonel, . . . . .	3000
Lochgary, Colonel, . . . . .	3000
De Lochiel l'ainé, commission de Colonel, . . . . .	3000
Stuart, Colonel, . . . . .	3000
Sheridan, Premier Ecuyer et Ayde-de-camp du Prince, rang de Lieutenant-Colonel, . . . . .	2000
D'Hongarg, rang de Lieut.-Colonel, . . . . .	1500
Juen Cameron, Capitaine, . . . . .	1000
Donald Cameron, Id. . . . .	1000
Allan Macdonald, Id. . . . .	1000
Alex <sup>r</sup> . Macdonald, Id. . . . .	1000
Niel Macdonald, Id. . . . .	1000
Thomas Ogilvie, Id. . . . .	1000
Linch, s'employe en plusieurs occasions par le Prince, . . . . .	1000
Allan Cameron l'ainé, Lieutenant, . . . . .	600
Allan Cameron le jeune, Id. . . . .	600
Alex <sup>r</sup> . Cameron, Id. . . . .	600
Macdonald, Id. . . . .	600
Total, . . . . .	28,900

## No. XLVIII.

*Ancien Projet de Memoire.*

LA situation dans laquelle Le Prince a laissé L'Ecosse a son depart merite toute l'attention du Roy de France ; ce Royaume est à la veille de ce voir anéantir, et le Gouvernement d'Angleterre est resolu de confondre les sujets qui lui restent fidèles, avec ceux qui ont pris les armes pour le Prince, d'ou il est aisé à conclure que le mécontentement de cette nation est général, et que le Prince y trouveroit aujourduy trois partisans pour un qu'il a trouvez en bebarquant. Se sera tromper le Roy de France que de le flatter que le Prince pourroit encore soutenir L'Ecosse, si le Parlement a le tems cet Hiver d'y mettre les lois penales en exécution, et le Roy de France doit renoncer pour jamais au secours d'une révolution dans ce pays là et le Prince n'aura de ressource que dans les cœurs des sujets de son Roy quand il plaira à la Providence de la rappeler. Le nombre des sujets aguerris de lui a jamais manqué en Ecosse. Il y a manque dont à la fois d'argent, de vivres, et d'une poignée de troupes régulières. Avec un seul de ses armes secours, il seroit encore aujourduy maitre de l'Ecosse, et vraisemblablement de toute l'Angleterre. Avec trois milles troupes régulières il a pénétre en Angleterre, apres avoir vaincu le Sieur

\* The above state was sent by the Marquis D'Argenson in a letter to Colonel O'Bryen, dated 17th Nov., 1716, almost in the same words as that of 16th Oct.

Cope, et rien ne l'opposoit alors à son arrivée à Londres, puisque L'Electeur étoit absent, et que les troupes Angloises n'avoient pas encore repassés avec des vivres ; il eut été en état de poursuivre le General Hawley à la bataille de Falkirque et de détruire son armée qui étoit la fleur des troupes Angloise : Si il eut reçu deux moi plutôt la moitié seulement de l'argent que le Roy de France lui avoit envoyez il eut combattre le Prince Guillaume, avec un nombre égal et il eux surement battu puisque avec quatre mille hommes contre douze il a long tems fait pencher la victoire, et que douze cens hommes de troupes régulières l'eut décidé en sa faveur au vu et eu de toute l'armée. Ses contretens peuvent encore se reparer ; si le Roy de France veut lui confier un corps de 18 ou 20 mille hommes c'est dans son sein seul qu'il déposera l'usage qu'il en veut fair ; il l'employra utilement pour les intérêts de Roy de France, et pour les siens ces intérêts sont inseparables et doivent être regardé comme telle par tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'approcher le Roy de France, et qui ont la gloire et l'avantage de son Royaume a cœur.

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### No. XLIX.

*Another entitled, in Charles's own hand-writing, "Memoir to ye French King from me, of 10th November, 1746."*

La situation dans laquelle J'ay laissé l'Ecosse, à mon depart mérite toute l'attention de votre Majesté ; ce Royaume est à la veille de se voir anéantir et le Gouvernement d'Angleterre est resolu de confondre les sujets qui lui ont restez fidèles avec ceux qui ont pris les armes pour moi ; d'ou il est aisé de conclure, que le mécontentement de cette nation est général, et que J'y trouverois aujourduy trois partisans pour un que J'y ay trouvé en débarquant.

Ce sera tromper votre Majesté que de la flatter que je pourrois encore soulever l'Ecosse si le Parlement a le temps cet Hyver d'y mettre les lois penales en exécution et votre Majesté doit renoncer pour jamais au secours d'une Révolution dans pays-là, et moi je n'aurai de ressource que dans les cœurs de sujets de mon Père quant il plaira à la Providence de la rappeler.

Le nombre de sujets aguerris ne m'a jamais manqué en Ecosse ; J'ay manqué tout à la fois, d'argent, de vivres, et d'une poignée de troupes régulières, avec un seul de ces trois secours, Je serois encore aujourduy maitre de l'Ecosse et vraisemblablement de toute l'Angleterre.

Avec trois mille hommes de troupes régulières Je penetrais en Angleterre immédiatement après avoir defeat le Sieur Cope, et rien ne s'opposoit alors à mon arrivée à Londres, puisque l'Electeur étoit absent, et que les troupes Angloises n'avoient pas encore repassés.

Avec de vivres J'eus été en état de poursuivre le General Hawley à la bataille de Falkirque et de détruire toute son armée qui étoit la fleur des troupes Angloises.

Si J'eus reçu deux mois plutôt la moitié seulement de l'argent que vôte Majesté m'a envoyé j'eus combattre le Duc de Cumberland avec un nombre égal et je l'eus surement battu puisque avec quatre mille hommes contre douze, J'ay long tems fait pencher la victoire, et que douze cens hommes de troupes réglés Peurent décidé en ma faveur, au vu et su de toute mon armée. Ces contretemps peuvent encore se reparer si vôte Majesté veut me confier un corps de dix huit ou vingt mille hommes ; c'est dans son sein seul que je deposeray l'usage que j'en veux faire. Je l'employerai utilement pour ses intérêts

et pour les miens ; ces intérêts sont inséparables et doivent être regardez comme tels par tous ceux qui ont l'honneur d'approcher de vôtre Majesté et qui ont sa gloire et l'avantage de son Royaume a cœur.

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### No. L.

*Colonel O'Bryen to Count D'Argenson (from a draught in Prince Charles's hand-writing).*

25th Nov., 1746.

JA'Y rendu conte à Sa R. Monsieur de ces que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me dire touchant les prisonniers et elle m'a repandue, qu'elle ne consentira jamais à leur relachement ; mais s'ils venoient de faire quelque offre d'échange quand S. A. R. aura vues les propositions il vous dira les sentimens la dessus. Il m'a dit qu'elle étoit très surprise et même choqué de la manière dont on a relachée Madame Morton sans son contentement d'autant plus qu'on lui avoit assuré qu'on ne relachera jamais aucune sans sa permission ; elle a ajouté aussi qui si dorenavant l'on agissoit de même avec lui, qu'elle n'ouvriroit jamais la bouche a l'égard de ces affaires-là.

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### \* No. LI.

*John Hay to Prince Charles Edward.*

SIR,

I HAD the misfortune to be charged with the guilt of sundry very criminal actions while I had the honor to be in the service of your Royal Highness in Scotland. I am accused of having behaved to your Royal Highness with great disrespect and even insolence on many occasions. That I abused the constant access I had to Your Royal Highness to the wicked purpose of misrepresenting and insinuating into Your Royal Highness' mind unjust impressions of many worthy gentlemen in the army. That by my gross neglect and mismanagements, the body of troops which attacked Fort William, and afterward the whole army, were starved, to which in great measure is imputed the misgiving of that attack, and also the unhappy catastrophe at Culloden, and that to me are owing the fatal consequences of the then defeat, and the measure so dangerous to Your Royal Highness when you first quitted the continent. These several things having been reported with abundance of industry, at the same time that my person and character were treated with contempt and ridicule, occasioned my taking the liberty to represent my melancholy situation to Your Royal Highness verbally, and as you have done me the honor to declare in a general manner in writting your satisfaction with my conduct, it is with great reluctance I now presume to offer your Royal Highness further trouble. But I depend on your goodness for pardon of my anxiety in what so nearly concerns me and my family, and that Your Highness will permit me to make it my humble request that Your Highness will do me the honor to signify in writting for my justification to mankind, as you have been pleased already to tell me that I am not guilty in any respect as to any of those things



which are laid to my charge. I have the honor to be, with the greatest truth and the highest respect,

Your Royal Highness's  
Most humble and entirely devoted subject and servant,  
JOHN HAY.

PARIS,  
5th December, 1746. }

## No. LII.

*The Chevalier de St George to the Prince.*

ROME, December 16th, 1746.

I RECEIVED on Monday, my dearest Carluccio, yours of the 21st Nov<sup>r</sup>. I heartily wish you may succeed in your manner of acting towards the Court of France; but I am affrayd you will disgust them quite, and that by the way you are taking, not only yourself, but even those who suffer for you and have no other resource but the French, will feel the effects of them while I am now in a condition to supply either them or you, for it is not a small matter that will suffice for either of you. It must be very obvious to every body that it is for the interest of our family that at least you and your brother should marry, but I don't see neither such haste in the matter. This is a very critical juncture, and if our great affairs should yet go well, you might both of you have the first Princesses of Europe, whereas perhaps now you could not have the last; and besides, naturally speaking, on all accounts methinks you should think of marrying yourself before your brother. When you explain your idea to me I shall be better able to judge of it, and it is useless till then to say any more on the subject. I here send you a letter I had from Mr Nugent of Westmeath, who formerly was Query to the Queen my mother and before to myself. You can best judge whether the favor he asks is reasonable in itself, and whether there is any liklyhood in its being obtained, for were We to importune the Court of France too much, and multiply our recommendations to them, it would be lyable to inconveniences. After all, Mr Nugent certainly deserves well of us, and his son's case is particular, so that I should be very glad favor could be shewn him without wronging others. I don't remember I have anything else to say to you at present, and so shall conclude.

## No. LIII.

*"A Copy of Sir James Stewart's powers," Dec. 29, 1746.*

Nous Charles Prince de Galles Regent des Royaumes d'Angleterre, d'Ecosse, &c. jugeant qu'il est notre service dans la conjoncture presente de charger de nos affaires aupres de Sa Majesté très-chretienne une personne instruite de nos intentions nous avons choisi le Chevalier Baronet Stuart auquel nous avons donné et donnons pouvoir, commission, et mandement special de traitter et negotier avec les ministres de Sa Majesté arrester, conclure et signer avec eux tous les articles ou conventions qu'il avisera bon être; révoquant par ces presents

tous autres pouvoirs par nous cy devant donnees ; promettant en foy et parole de Prince d'avoir pour agréable, tenir ferme et stable, tout ce qui aura été arrêté, conclu et signe en notre nom par le dit Chevalier Baronet Stuart en vertu du present pouvoir, même d'en fournir la ratification dans le temps qui aura été convenu ; en temoin de quoy nous avons signé ces presents de notre main, et y nous opposé nos armes. Fait a Paris ce 29 Decembre 1746.

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No. LIV.

*Mr James Edgar to Prince Charles Edward.*

SIR,

As nothing is more agreeable to me than to be taken up in obeying your Royal Highness's commands, or in contributing to what may tend to your service, I do myself the honor to send your Royal Highness here inclosed a cypher, which I think a very good one, and easy to be used. I made it 4 years ago, and it was designed for the Dutchess of Buckingham's correspondence when she should come into France ; but it never having been sent thither, nor ever in any body's hands but mine, it is a virgin cypher, and I have modernized it, and made additions to it by which I fit it for your Royal Highness's use. If I had been to make a new one, I could not have made it better, and that new one would have taken me 3 or 4 weeks to compose it, so that I might serve you with the more dispatch, is the reason I send this cypher as it is. I shall give a copy of it to nobody, and I don't doubt but your Royal Highness will be very sure of the persons to whom you may think it proper to give a copy of it, by which means it will continue (longer than you will have occasion I hope for cyphers) a good and secure one for your use. Your Royal Highness will remark that the figures are pretty much diversified. The centuries 200, 500, and 800, compose the alphabet, and those of 1200, 1300, and 1400, are joyned with the cant names as to which, as there occur always occasions to add names to all cyphers, in this one there is room for such additions from No. 1293 to 1400 for all persons who are subjects, and for foreigners from No. 1495 as far as one pleases. I divide the cypher in those two classes to make it the more methodical and the more easy for use. It is for this end to be observed, that in the addition of subjects, the cant names beginning with B. of which there are a great many ones English not yet set down, and all those of the letter C. will serve for those additions, and as for the Foreigners G to O there is latitude enough. Only it is to be wished for the more ease that the progression of the letters from one to another should be regularly observed.

There is a Jesuit here, one Father de la Valla, a Suisse for whom the King has an esteem, and who has been useful to his Majesty ; he has a nephew, an officer going to Paris, and applies that your Royal Highness may be writ to about him. All the uncle wants is that his nephew may be kindly received by you, and the King directs me to mention this particular to you.

The King writing to your Royal Highness upon Mr Kelly's letter to me leaves me nothing to say upon it. As this is the first vespers of the joyful day of to-morrow, which I shall celebrate in the best manner I can, I beg to lay myself most dutifully at your Royal Highness's feet on that happy occasion, with my most fervent wishes that all that is good, great, and glorious, may ever attend you.

Mr Kelly says that Cap<sup>n</sup> Bellew was executed. I did not hear of it before, neither has it been mentioned in the English newspapers, so I should be glad he informed me where and when that gentleman suffered, and also if he has heard any thing of Mr St Clair in the Neapolitan service, who was taken prisoner with Colonel Browne, for at Naples there is no persuading them that he is alive, and his wife is like to be reduced to misery on that account.

ROME, *December 30th, 1746.*

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No. LV.

*Prince Charles to the King of France.*

LES grâces que V. M. vient d'accorder aux sujets de mon Père qu'ont partagé mes malheurs en Ecosse sont une nouvelle preuve de la générosité envers ma Famille dont je suis pénétré au-delà de ce que je puis exprimer je ne puis imputer la mauvais succès de mon entreprize qu'à l'opinion qu'on avoit icy de ma vray situation en le regardant toujours comme infaillible, quoique tout le monde est convaincu present comme j'é l'étois alors qu'avec uniquement des malheurs des mes fidèles amis. Je me transporte à la Cour de Roy de France afin de lui proposer moi-meme les moyens de faire une expédition beaucoup plus avantageuse pour le Roy de France et pour le Prince que celle de l'armée: cette objet seul occupe mon esprit et toute autre demarche auprès de Roy de France pour mes intérêts personelles a toujours été fait sans mon aven comme j'ai en l'honneur de remettre V. M. une idée en gros d'une relle expédition et n'en ayant pas eu de response. Je serai obligé pour ma justification envers mes amis de leur communiquer que je n'ay pas manqué de faire tout ce que dépendoit de moi pour leur service. Je n'ai à presenter à V. M. dans ce moment qu'une reconnoissance impuissante pour les bienfaits que j'ai reçu de lui: un jour peut-être serai-je en état d'en temoigner ma reconnoissance comme je le dois. J'attendrai ce jour avec impatience; mai malgré mes malheurs je croirois manqué à ce que de dois aux fidèle sujets du Roy, si, occupé icy d'un traitement personnelle, je les flattais de l'espérance vaine et éloigné "to see me again at their head." Je n'ai de ressource à esperer que dans leur cœurs et puisque j'ai eu le bonheur d'éprouver leur zèle et leur affection je tâcherais de me le conserver en pendant jamais de se en leur intérêt et en me prestant a roulle les demarches they shall exact pour les soustraire du joug. Je ne puis pas me dispenser d'informer V. M. de combien il est flatteur pour moi après le mauvais succès de mon entreprize de recevoir des compliments de condoléance plein d'affection et de conseilles le plus desintéressés de la part de les amis en Angleterre par une person de distinction que vient d'arriver de ce pays pour cet effet n'étant chargé de rien auprès des ministres du Roy de France et comme la situation presente on. Je me vois dans Paris ne paroît pas repondre, à la bonté et l'acqueille avec laquelle j'en suis persuadé de bonne raisons connoissant son bon cœur envers moy. Je me flatte qu'elle ne désapprouvera pas la résolution que je crois devoir prendre de me retirer en quelque lieux ou ma condition ne sera pas a consequence et ou le Prince seroit toujours prêt à concourir avec le Roy de France dans toutes les demarches qui rendront à sa gloire et au retour de ma Famille dans ses justes droits. Si pendant absence il conviendrait aux intérêts du Roy de France de penser sérieusement à une expédition pour ces effets aussitot que

sa volonté me sera communiqué je reviendrai moy-meme à sa Cour. Si V. M. le juge a-propos ou je nommerai une personne qui seul aura ma confiance et qui sera uniquement en droit de traiter pour le Prince auprès du Roy de France et de ses ministres.

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## No. LVI.

### *The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

ROME, 13th January, 1747.

MY dearest Carluccio's of the 19th December was more than ordinarily welcome to me by the sentiments of deference and affection expressed for me, and love and kindness for the Duke ; and I may say with truth and without vanity, that we both deserve such sentiments from you ; but as love and affection is seldom without some jealousy, we must be upon our guard not to be too delicate and suspicious in relation to one another, especially considering the malice, the weakness, and indiscretion of many of our people, for I think it is far from want of confidence and friendship to conceal certain things from the best friend one has, where the telling of them can be of no use, and may possibly create unquietness and tracasseries. This is at least my way of thinking, and I should think it would be wrong in a friend to ground a difference or suspicion against him upon even knowing that he should have such sort of reserves, and I am sure I can answer for the Duke as for myself, that you will never have any just reason to complain of us. I shall expect with impatience the person and the dispatches you have thought of sending here, for as for the cypher you want, it was sent to you three weeks ago, and I hope I shall be then better able than I am at present to judge of the motives of your present conduct in France ; but in the mean time I own freely to you I cannot conceive what motives there can be sufficient to authorize a conduct by which, as matters yet appear to me, you venture disgusting the Court of France, and wanting one day bread yourself ; and according to my way of thinking, it is on all accounts of the greatest importance for us to cultivate the friendship of both France and Spain, and in that view I am now taking measures with the last to obtain leave for the Duke to go there, for I think it would be much for our interest both in appearance and effect, that one of you should be in France and t'other in Spain ; and that the advantages that may accrue from such a situation, largely recompense the displeasures you will both naturally have in not being together. Lord Sempil has writ to me expressing a desire I would send for him, having many things of importance to impart to me. I now write to him a civil letter ; but tell him at the same time very plainly, that such a journey would be very useless, since when I heard from him I could only refer him to you. Balhady has also writ a long letter of a project which was on foot before you returned from Scotland, and of which he pretends O'Sullivan was informed, and that it may be yet renewed. What foundation there is for all this, I suppose you know not, and all the return I have made was to refer him, as well as Sempil, to you, for I feel every day more and more how useless it is for me to meddle and direct at present in such matters, except in as far as you may consult me about them, and I give you my thoughts upon them betwixt you and me ; besides other motives, my health grows so crazy, that I am no more able to apply to business as I formerly could,



and for some weeks past I have scarce been able to read myself the letters I have signed. I have also really seen some odd things amongst our people of late, that I feel the less I have to do with them the better on all accounts, and if you dont care, I am afraid their politicks and passions will soon put your affairs in a desperate situation. I dont say all this out of laziness or peevishness, but merely to unburden my heart freely to you, that you may know sincerely what I think, for as long as I have life in me I shall certainly do you what little service I can, of which you can have no doubt, when you consider that when I had a near prospect of recovering my own, my greatest desire was to leave it to you, and if that was not executed, it was on the only motive of the greater good of your service ; so that I have equally sacrificed to you any ambition I might have had on one side, and my desire of passing my old days in quiet on t'other. As for Kelly, if you suppose ill offices may have been done him with me, you cannot take it amiss if I should suppose other people may have had ill offices done them with you ; but whatever may be in such matters, I shall be always lothe to constrain you, or to make use of my authority, and when I have told you what I think, I shall leave you to determine what you may think proper for you to do. If you remarked well what I writ about Kelly, you will find that what I said attacked more his discretion than his honesty, and, therefore, all I will require of you as to him is never to shew him any of my letters, or to employ him in writing here about business. I dont remark any thing more in your letter that requires any answer from me, and so, my dear child, I shall bid you adieu, beseeching God to bless and direct you.

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\* No. LVII.

*Donald Cameron, commonly called " Young Lochiel," to the  
Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I most humbly beg leave to renew my duty and respect to your Majesty in the beginning of the year, which I pray God may prove more prosperous to your Royall Family and cause than the present face of things give reason to expect. By what I took the liberty to write on the twenty-sixth of last month, and what Y<sup>r</sup>. M. must have from other hands, it will appear that the present misfortunes *tho' very great are not irretrievable* ; but at such a distance I fear Y<sup>r</sup>. M. cannot be so fully informed as would be necessary to form a judgement of the reall state of affairs, and the true disposition of Y<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>'s</sup> friends both here and Britain, for which reason I am grieved it is not in my power to enable Lord Sempil to waite on Y<sup>r</sup>. M. at this critical juncture, because I am persuaded *his informations would determine Y<sup>r</sup>. M. to accept of the succours that can be obtained, rather than expose your faithful Highlanders to utter destruction, and your whole kingdom of Scotland to the slavery with which it is threatened.* I even flatter myself that upon such lights as we are now able to transmitt in this manner, Y<sup>r</sup>. M. *may be graciously pleased to send instructions and directions,* since it is visible *that the ruin of Y<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>'s</sup> friends in Scotland would very much discourage,* and perhaps totally disspirit your friends in England, by which means *the Restoration would become impracticable, at least so difficult that it could only be effected with an army superior to all the forces of the Government, whereas the landing ten Régiments in Scotland*

*before the Highlands are depopulated, will not only unite all the Highlanders but all other Scotsmen of spirit in Y<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>ty</sup>. cause, and give so much employment to the troops of the Government, that Y<sup>r</sup>. M<sup>ty</sup>. loyal subjects in England may with small assistance be in a condition to shake off the yoke, and compleat their own deliverance and ours by a happy restoration.* If it were in my power to represent those circumstances in as clear a light as they appear to me, I am sure that the result of your Royall wisdom would be conformable to my wishes, which will always have the honour and happiness of your Majesty and your Royall Family for their chief object. In whatever situation I may be, of this I have given proofs that I now apprehend may prove fatal to my country; but my comfort is to have acted upon a principle that I am sure is right in preferring the honour of the Royall Family and the publick good, which I consider as inseparable to all private considerations whatsoever. According to this principle, from which I shall never deviate, when the Prince, soon after our arryvall here, did me the honour to tell me of Lord Ogilby's application for a Regiment, I represented to H. R. H. that such applications might make *the Court of France look on our affairs to be more desperate than they really are, and hinder them from granting the body of troops which they would otherwise be willing to transport into Scotland*, because it is not natural that men of any interest or consideration should propose to *engage their people in a foreign service*, while they can *employ them to recover their losses in their own country*, for which reason I beg'd, that H. R. H.'s *only application* might be to obtain *the necessary assistance*. The Prince seemed to think in the same manner, and I was persuaded there would be no more mention of *Regiments for us in this country* untill there should be *no hopes of relieving our own*. But H. R. H. told me, about ten days ago, that there was a grant obtained of a Regiment for Lord Ogilby, under your M<sup>ty</sup>. aprobation, before the Prince came over, as being then the only method thought of to gett bread for a great many poor gentleman. H. R. H. at the same time assured me that all endeavours should be immediately used to obtain one other for me, and was pleased on the occasion to use many gracious and kind expressions, of which I shall ever retain a most gratefull remembrance, as likewise of the singular marks of favour and probation H. R. H., the Duke of York, continues to honour me with. But the more I am sensible of their goodness, the more inconsolable I should be to find designing people suggesting projects that will never be executed, and by these inducing the Prince to lose the glorious opportunity of relieving his distressed friends. I told H. R. H. that Lord Ogilby or others might incline to make a figure in France; but my ambition was to serve the Crown and serve my country, or perish with itt. H. R. H. say'd he was doing all he cou'd, but persisted in his resolution to procure me a Regiment. If it is obtained I shall accept of it out of respect to the Prince; but I hope Y<sup>r</sup>. M. will approve of the resolution I have taken to share in the fate of the people I have undone, and, if they must be sacrificed, to fall along with them. It is the only way I can free myself from the reproach of their blood, and shew the disinterested zeal with which I have lived and shall dye.

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble, most obedient, and most faithfull

Subject and servant,

DONALD CAMERON.

PARIS, January 16th, 1747.

## No. LVIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to young Lochiel.*

ROME, January 20th, 1747

I RECEIVED some days ago your letter of the 26th December, and take very well of your having writt so fully and freely to me. Your great zeal for us and singular attachment to the Prince, joyned to your universal good character, will always make what comes from you both acceptable and of weight with me, as it renders me yet more sensible of your losses and sufferings on our account. The honor and reputation the Prince has gained can no doubt be a satisfaction to me, but I don't feel the less the hardships and sufferings of my Scots subjects, and the ruin to which the whole kingdom is now exposed. I thank God I had neither hand in, nor knowledge of, the unfortunate undertaking, and whoever encouraged it have much to answer for, but there is no remedy for what is past, and the best way to repair it is to turn our thoughts towards the undertaking some solid expedition, which may have a reasonable prospect of success, and whatever tends to that I shall certainly approve, promote, and encourage as much as depends on me. But as the Prince is now in France and myself at so great a distance, it is he that must naturally, and indeed necessarily, examine such matters, act, and decide on them. It is not possible I can at present direct in them myself, and should I do it, it might be subject to great inconveniences; tho' I shall certainly give the Prince the best advice I can betwixt him and me, for advice is the only authority I am inclined to employ with my children; and I now write to the Prince about his giving a hearing to Lord Sempil and Balhady, tho' I do not think it proper to mention to him your having now writ to me, which I am persuaded you will approve, and not be surprised nor take it amiss if I don't ever enter into more particulars. It is a pleasure to me to think that the Prince has in you so honest and worthy a man about him, and who will, I am persuaded, allways act towards him not only with zeal but with a candour and freedom suitable to your character, and the kindness he has for you, while mine for you is as sincere as it will be constant.

## No. LIX.

*Extract of a letter,—The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles Edward.*

27th January, 1747.

I AM persuaded Col. Bret is a very honest man, but I doubt whether he may be in the confidence of many people of a certain weight and character. You can best judge of that when you have discoursed fully with him; for it is fit you should hear every body, and then endeavour to take the good and leave the rest; for you know that almost all our people, more or less, mix their own little politicks with our great ones. I wish Mr Bret may remain as privately in Paris as he desires, but I cannot but tell you that I have already heard that Sir James Harrington was arrived at Paris with a person lately come from England.

## No. LX.

*The same to Lady Derwentwater.*

ROME, January 27th, 1747.

YOU will, I am sure, be easily persuaded of the great share I take in your present affliction, and of the deep concern I feel for the motive of it. The sentiments in which Lord Derwentwater dyed, and in which he had always lived, do honor to him, and ought to be a solid comfort to you, while they will be a new motive to me to be attentive in doing all that lyes in my power for your own satisfaction and advantage, and those of a Family whose sufferings and merits in my cause have been so great and singular.

## No. LXI.

*The same to Prince Charles Edward.*

ROME, February 3d, 1747.

MY love and concern for you, and all that relates to you, my dearest Carluccio, can never be altered, whatever others, or even yourself, may do which might naturally diminish those sentiments in me; and therefore I cannot but always write to you whatever I think can tend to your real good and advantage. When I consider your present situation, it is a subject of no small grief to me, because I see you are misled and deluded to your great and universal prejudice, by the craft of ill and designing men, and as I have too good an opinion of you to think that any other remedy is necessary for so great an evil, but to lay before you the origine, the progress, and the consequences of it, I think myself obliged to write to you this letter on that subject. I cannot indeed write it so as to answer the end I propose, but by doing it with candour and freedom; and therefore you must not take by way of reproach many expressions which I could not omit, without being defective in my present design of putting before your eyes every thing I thought might contribute to open them. Neither can you, I am sure, attribute any thing I shall say to any spirit of jealousy of my own authority, or to any ambition or desire of governing and directing in all particulars, after what you know of my earnest and constant desire of leaving you master of all, whenever I may think such a step can be taken without your and your Brother's prejudice. No, my dear child, I neither have, nor ever will have, any thing in view but to contribute as much as in me lyes, and at all times, to your temporal and eternal welfare.

To put the matters I am now writing about in their true light before you, I must begin with what passed in this country in the year 1742, because that is the foundation, and I may say the key, of all that has followed. You cannot forget how you were prevailed upon to speak to your brother on very nice and delicate subjects, and that without saying the least thing to me, tho' we lived in the same house. I am fully persuaded you did not feel the consequences of such a step; you were then much younger than you are now, and therefore could be more easily misled with specious arguments and pretences; but those who misled you knew to be sure what they were doing, and it has since appeared very plain by all their conduct, that their object was to draw you from your



duty to God, in the first place, and to me in the second: they thought they had gained a great point in making you take the step you did to your brother, and from that time he became the chief object of their malice, and all inventions, I may say, were used to persecute and misrepresent him. It cannot be wondered at, my dear child, that you should be deceived at first, for I was, I own, in some degree, myself; because it was hard to think there could be such wicked men in the world, and that those who were eating my bread and living under my roof should be acting such a part towards us all three: but my eyes were opened when I considered that it was impossible for those who wished us well to be stirring and meddling in religious matters, when there was not the least necessity for it; and instead of employing their thoughts and discourse to convince my protestant subjects by a number of facts and circumstances they might have alleged of mine and my children's real sentiments on such matters, no stone was left unturned, and all art and malice employed, to calumniate and misrepresent the Duke in that respect. Can such people be our real friends? You were indeed spared because they thought to be sure to have gained you more or less, but I cannot say that I was it myself, because I would not interpose my authority to force the Duke as much as lay in me to lead an unchristian life, for as it appeared by their way of thinking and acting while Quakers and all sorts of sects are tolerated in our country. This seems monstrous, but it is not less true for that.

In the beginning of the year 1744 you left Rome, and I cannot forget what passed betwixt us the last time I saw you, and all your expressions of affection and duty towards me, but I cannot forget neither that it was easy for me to see by your discourse at that time, that pains had been taken with you to prevent you against your brother, and by some of your expressions in one of your late letters, I have reason to fear that those impressions are not removed. From the time you left me till Sir Thomas Sheridan came to you, I had all reason to be satisfied with your conduct towards me. You writ with freedom, and you opened your heart to me. After all the kindness and confidence I showed Sir Thomas when he went from hence, I had reason to expect and believe, that he would have rather encouraged you, if need had been, to have continued in the same free correspondence with me; but instead of that, from the time he was about you, I was informed but very imperfectly of what related to you, and it could not but be a particular motive of surprise and reflexion to me to remark, that you never would enter freely with me into what I have writ to you from that time till now, in relation to your brother and the old proceedings against him,—since I could not attribute your silence on that subject on which I have writ to you so often either to forgetfulness, laziness, or want of love and affection for him. It was in the spring before you went to Scotland that Strickland went from hence, as he knew himself to be in my disgrace, and you know that I informed you of it. I could not to be sure take well your carrying him over with you without my yet seeing any necessity or particular motive you had to do so, and that without asking my previous permission and approbation. You know how often, and how strongly, I writ to you against him, and he really deserved all I could say. 'Tis true you writ me word from Scotland that you would send him away, but still, in fact, you never parted with him till he could follow you no longer.

When you were at Edinburgh you may remember you sent over Sir James Stewart into France, as a person in your entire trust and confidence, and soon after happened the Boulogne expedition and the payment of the subsidies which the king of Spain granted you; as to which last particular, and in relation to some officers who were come to France with a view of joyning you in Scotland,

I cannot but say he acted in an odd and mysterious manner towards me; but as his conduct on that occasion was of no other consequence but to shew his little regard towards me, and considering the part he had acted in these late affairs, and the favour you had shown him, I took the party to look over it, and even to leave to him the management of that money, that your service might not suffer by any stir I might make in an affair of so small importance in itself.

You cannot forget that your late unhappy expedition was undertaken without my approbation or even knowledge. Who approved and encouraged that step I know not, tho' I have reason to believe those were very few in Scotland who did so, and you cannot but be sensible of the dismal consequences which have ensued from it. When Sir Thomas landed in France last summer, instead of informing me what related to your person and affairs, or of what passed at the Court of France betwixt him and those ministers, he did not write to me at all; but, instead of that, he writes to a person who he knew was, and is still, more disagreeable to me, without so much as naming me in his letter. I was in hopes to have got some lights from him when I sent for him to come here, but I found him little disposed to open to me, and had certainly much reason to be dissatisfied with him; tho' still both living and dead, I showed him on your account all regard and consideration.

When you returned yourself into France, you know that the first thing you did was to exclude from your confidence all those whom you found there in mine, and who had been doing you all the service they could while you were in Scotland, without representing to me your motives for so doing, much less expecting my answer; and I cannot but remark in general the favor and countenance you have shewed to many who have failed to me, and on t'other side your little regard for those whom I favored and esteemed. Tho' it be now more than three months since you are in France, yet I remain still in the dark as to all that relates to you, and am not so blind as not to see, that, whatever motives you bring to justify your silence, the chief and true reason is, that you will not open yourself to me. As to your conduct in relation to the Court of France, you know I cannot comprehend it; but in the light I see it, it appears to me destructive of your interest. Your not accepting the pension which was offered to you, has occasioned your and your brother living in separate houses, which has no good appearance, and will naturally give matter for talk and speculation, and I am affrayed you make but a very indifferent figure at Paris on the footing you put yourself, and are like to make one yet worse if you have not resources which I am ignorant of, for you enter with me into no details of what relates to your personal or public concerns; and I must say that the silent and mysterious conduct of all those whom I have had reason to complain of, is a clear demonstration that they had some very wicked design which they endeavoured to conceal with so much care. What can I think, and what can I make of all this, my dear child? What I know is, that it is most grievous to me to have been forced to say thus much to you, but I cannot cure the wound without laying it open, and I am convinced you are not sensible yourself how deep it is. You are not, I am sure, sensible of the great disregard and diffidence shewed to me in so many particulars, and blinded with lyes, false notions, and maxims, you act with security without thinking that you fail to me or ruin yourself, while you are in reality doing both the one and the other. You see I don't ground my opinion on suspicions, but on facts which are mostly known to yourself, and cannot be denied. One cannot see into other people's hearts, but there must be some view and object in so extraordinary a conduct of so many of our people, and if it be not a real design of betraying our interest, it is in effect sacrificing

of it. You cannot to be sure mean your own ruin ; I therefore must conclude that you have been prevailed upon to serve their private views under specious pretences and appearances, by which you have been deceived. It will probably have been represented to you that our chief interest lyes in the hearts of our people at home and not abroad, that foreign powers will always pursue their own interest, and never attend to ours but where they can find their own account in it, and that therefore it is useless, as it would be mean, to solicit and court them. It will to be sure have been represented to you that our religion is a great prejudice to our interest, but that it may in some measure be remedied by a certain free way of thinking and acting, and in general they will have prevented you against anything that comes from me, as not being in their, and according to them, the only right, way of thinking. By these maxims and such insinuations they think, I suppose, to make themselves popular in England ; formidable to you ; and to take the most effectual method to engage you to exclude from your confidence whoever does not think like them ; and so remain sole master of your person and your affairs, by flattering and imposing upon you. But, my dear child, had you a little more experience, you would soon see the fallaciousness of such a system, the pursuing of which may serve other people's turn, but can never end but in your own ruin in all respects. You know that nobody is a truer, and, to make use of an Italian phrase, a *greater* Englishman than myself, and you know my conduct and way of thinking as to religious matters ; but every thing has its measure, its bounds, and its limits, from conscience and honour in the first place, and even from prudence and necessity on many occasions ; and if one examines seriously that system of religion, it is not only unchristian and wicked in itself, but even manifestly contrary to your honour and interest ; for were you never so irreligious and libertine, the name of Catholic would still stick by you, and be equally made use of against you by our enemies, while by such a conduct you would lose the esteem, and deservedly acquire the contempt, of all honest men of what religion soever. As for the other article, in relation to foreign powers, as matters now stand and are like to continue, who can be without them ? either to subsist abroad or to obtain means of returning home, since we see, by a long experience, that cannot be effected without their assistance ; but I need say no more on this last article, after all I have writ to you of late on such matters.

I have now unburthened my heart to you, my dear child. I might have enlarged much more on the subject I have now writ upon, tho' I have said few things but what you have found, and perhaps more fully, in my former letters. But I was desirous to lay before your eyes all at once an abridgement of the whole, that you might the better see the true state of the question ; and that it might make the stronger impression upon you, I have indeed been obliged to write with great freedom : but what I have said of particular persons was merely with a view to inform and enlighten you ; for the question is not now to accuse or to punish anybody, but to tell you in confidence betwixt you and me what I know and think, to enable you the better to provide for your own service. For God's sake, my dear child, make the most serious reflexions on what I have here said. Can you look upon anybody to have been your friend who would have alienated you from your brother and me ? or can you think that such people can ever give you wholesome advice on any matter whatsoever ? A strict and firm union and confidence betwixt us three, as I have said before to you, will render the weaknesses and passions of our friends of much less evil consequences to us ; and it is only by that union that we can hope to escape the snares of our false friends and get the better of our real enemies,—but the

least disunion, or appearance of disunion amongst us, cannot but be destructive to us in all respects, and will at last fall heaviest upon yourself, by way of honour as well as interest, without speaking of duty, and in reality I cannot comprehend what temptation you can have, or what arguments can be used, to induce you not to continue in the strictest friendship and confidence with us. You cannot suspect either of us to be sure of wishing you ill, and you would do wrong, both to yourself and to us, if you thought you could have better friends in the world than we. After all you know of myself, you can't, I am sure, have any jealousy or apprehension of my abusing of my authority over you, or forget how averse you formerly were to my resigning my right to you. Every body has indeed their own way of thinking and the free-will God has given them, and I don't see why difference of opinion should disunite friends and relations while due subordination is otherwise observed amongst them; and in effect, amidst my present afflictions and anxieties, I have the comfort to remark, from both your own and your brother's letters, the great love and tenderness you have for one another. Enfin, my dear child, I must tell you very plainly, that, if you don't alter your ways, I see you lost in all respects. I am obliged on all accounts to use my best endeavours to draw you out of the dangerous situation you are in, and if you obstinately remain in it you will be only to blame. When you read this, consider that it comes from the most tender and loving of fathers, whose only temporal concern is yours and your brother's welfare, and who will wait with impatience your return, since by it I shall be able to judge of what I may have to expect for the future, and to take my measures accordingly, for your service and my own quiet; for I have been already too long in hott water on your occasion, and that without profit or advantage to any of us.

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\* No. LXII.

*Prince Henry to Prince Charles.*

PARIS, February 3d, 1747.

DEAR BROTHER,

I AM infinitely obliged to you for having been so good as to write to me from Lyons. I send you enclos'd the King's letter to you and the copy of his to me, by which you'll see he has a project of sending me into Spain. In that, as in every thing else, you know my province is obedience. I shall be sorry, if that takes place, to be so far from my dear brother; but provided we can meet in a right place at last, that is the essentiall. In the meanwhile, wherever I am, you may be sure my thoughts will be full of nothing but of you and all that can tend to your service. As I am sure you are convinced of my way of thinking in that regard, and that I have nothing particular to mention more than what is in Sir John's letter I remain, with the utmost respect and tenderness, &c.



## \* No. LXIII.

*Answer to the foregoing.*AVIGNON, *y<sup>e</sup> 9th February, 1747.*

DEAR BROTHER,

I NEVER WAS more astonished than at y<sup>e</sup> recete of your letter of y<sup>e</sup> 3d February, and little expected that any transaction with the King wou'd have been made a secret to me. I must now tell you in plaine terms, dear brother, that, even in Scotland, I formed a project of going myself to the Court of Spain. I left Paris with that intention, which I am resolved to pursue, and had I ever mentioned to the King wou'd have made no secret of it to you. I wou'd not ask leve for fier of being refused, and proposed to go and return, iff necessary, with all the privacy imaginable. I shall dispatch Sullivan to inform the King of it and of every step I have taken since my coming to France. He is to return with his orders to me, which I wou'd have you keep as the strictest secret from every body whatsoever. I now send to intrete you by all the tyes of brotherly affection, and of your regard to the case, that you will not think of starting from thence, tho' you shou'd get leve, untill you see the event of my journey. It is true the King's orders are pretty positive, but when he knows of my going, he will, I am persuaded, approve of your stay, and think it perfectly right. As to the Court of Spain, you may contrive many excuses—my arrivall will plainly shew them the reason of it. I foresee many inconveniencies in your acting otherwise, and one particularly that must be attended with inconceivable mischief, which is, that everybody will imagin we do not act in concert, and consequently have no confidence in eche other. This alone would be sufficient to destroy all our affairs; besides, what will all our unhappy followers think and say? Why, very naturally, that I left them in a bad way; and shou'd you go, will look upon you themselves as entirely abandoned, the consequence of which must be fatall. I cou'd suggest many other resons to you, but these are so plain and convincing, that I am sure they cannot fail of bringing you into my oppinion. I must therefore once more conjure you to lay aside all thoughts of this journey at present. You will certainly be of more service where you are, and iff my going has no effect, I dare say yourself wou'd have the same fate. Shou'd the King of France have any occasion for me, you may assure him I shall be always redy to return on the first notice of what is to be done for me, and you may confide my journey, as the greatest secret, to him, on the receipt of my next letter, and represent it as a resolution I had sudenly taken since my coming hither. You may see how unnesy I am by sending this express to you, so I hope will arrive in time to prevent the bad consequences that might otherwise happen; he, Sheridan, knows nothing of my journey, and is only directed to return to this place, when I will leve orders for him to follow me with your answer, and desier you may dispatch him with your utmost expedition.

Your most loving brother,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—You may impart this letter to Sir John Græme, but to nobody else

## No. LXIV.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

10th February, 1747.

THO' I have had many subjects of affliction of late, my dearest Carluccio, yet your letter of the 16th January was no small addition to them, for I own it strikes me to the heart to see there should be any difference or variance betwixt you and your brother. You seem to be highly dissatisfied with him; but as you enter into no particular subjects of complaint, I cannot form any judgement in the matter, and by consequence am unable either to admonish the Duke how to behave so as to please you, or to give you any particular advice which might contribute to preserve you in union and peace together. You complain that the Duke does not mind what you say to him, and that he contradicts you in the least trifle. This is really a riddle to me without it be explained, for I cannot comprehend what great matters you can have to admonish the Duke about, or in what he either would or indeed could be of any constraint to you, for as for his and your being of different opinions on some particular points, I cannot conceive why that should be a subject of such concern to you, much less of any variance betwixt you. You are his brother and not his father, and if you consider my own conduct for so many years towards yourself, you will be soon convinced of the complaisance you should have for him, and besides, were friends to fall out because they dont all think and act alike, there would be an end of all friendship, and indeed of human society; and those cannot, I am sure, be your sentiments, especially in regard of your brother. After this I cannot but remark that you lately said you had an entire confidence in your brother, and now you as plainly say you have reserves with him, and then complain of him that he is uneasy because he remarks it, that he is of no help to you, and that he has no confidence in you. All this is unintelligible to me, for he has no secrets either to impart or conceal from you, nor meddles nor makes with nothing since your return from Scotland. The ill opinion you writ to me you had at last of Strickland, should naturally make me hope, and indeed conclude, that you are not governed by his maxims, for as for them, I am very sure the Duke will never enter into them, and I should be very sorry he did. Enfin, my dear child, the more I consider your letter the less I comprehend it. For God's sake open your heart once to me upon all subjects, and above all upon this, and I am sure it will be both of satisfaction and advantage to you, for all my care shall be that the Duke behave towards you as he ought on one side, and that you should do the like on the other in using him like your friend and your brother. I am persuaded that is the intention of both of you, which is some comfort to me in my present great anxiety, as well as the seeing very plainly, that what you now write to me is manifestly the product of Kelly's malice, for were he once no more about you your eyes would, I am persuaded, be soon opened, and we should be all good friends, and easy together; but as long as you are directed or influenced by him, depend upon it nothing will go well with you, and you will never have a moment's quiet yourself, for under the name and shadow of our friends in England he will think he can make you believe and do what he pleases, while they, perhaps, in reality, know nothing of the matter. It will not be the first time such tricks have been played; but in our present situation they must have more fatal consequences than in past times. Your having of-

ferred to the Duke to dismiss any of your servants he was displeased with, and his not accepting of it, is a mark of your good heart at bottom towards one another. But there should indeed never be occasion of such compliments passing betwixt you. After the long letter I writ to you last week, I was in hopes to have writ to you a short one this ; but if I have not, it is yourself that is the occasion of it. I thought I could not say less without being wanting to what I owe both to you and your brother, and that if I had been too short in relation to your last letter, you might have attributed it to my not making due attention to what came from you, or to my being in different sentiments from what I really am on such matters. You mention to Edgar your going soon out of Paris, but you don't say where. God bless and direct you wherever you go ; but really it is time that all these mysteries should end, as it is that I should finish this letter, while I shall never cease praying for you, that you may be as great and as good as I wish you.

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\* No. LXV

*Prince Henry to Prince Charles.*

PARIS, February 15th, 1747.

DEAR BROTHER,

FOR not to delay sending back Sheridan, all I shall say in answer to your letter is that as soon as I received the king's letter about that affair, I sent you the copy of it, and that my province in that as in any thing else is blind obedience ; but if the king could not foresee your resolution, and that by that the system he seem'd to propose to himself was entirely chang'd, you may be sure I would not make use of any leave I could get without receiving his further orders, which I am convinced will be to remain here now he sees your determination of going into Spain. I heartily wish you a good journey, attended with all the success and content you can desire. As soon as I get your next, I shall execute your orders, in regard to the King of France, instantly. I shall not write any more, dear brother, until I know from you where I can address to. I hope you will not be long of informing me of that, for you may judge what a comfort it is to me to hear from you. In the mean time, as I have nothing particular to say, I do best end to dispatch Sheridan without delay. So adieu my dearest brother. I remain with the utmost respect and tenderness, &c.

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No. LXVI.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

17th February, 1747.

I AM so struck and concerned at the resolution you have taken of going to Avignon, and so much at a loss to comprehend the meaning of it, that I shant enter with you into that subject till I hear from you from that place, from whence you say you will write fully to me, tho' I own I dont comprehend what can be said

to justify that step except you had been obliged to it by the King of France not allowing you to stay in France, which, by your letter, does not appear to have been the case, since you talk of your brother remaining at Paris, where he would not, to be sure, be allowed to stay, had you been sent away. I remark, with great satisfaction, the confidence you have in him; but in the obscurity I am in I cannot yet judge of the use or service he may be to you there, tho' he will, to be sure, at all times and in all places, do you what service he can. After all I have writ to you these two last posts, and in the cruel anxiety and obscurity I am in about this retreat of yours to Avignon, I will not write a long letter to you this post, tho' before I send this I must mention to you, that by this and the next post I shall send to Mr Obryen wherewithal to pay to your order the sum about which Obryen and young Waters write here, and which does not arrive quite to 15,000 livres, which, since I happen to have it at present, I send you with pleasure, because it may perhaps be of some use to you at this time; but you know that whatever my good will and tenderness for you can be, I am no ways able to provide for your subsistence; and as you cannot but know that I will not accept what the king of France offers you, it is natural for me to hope and suppose you have some other resource of which I am ignorant; and since I have been obliged to mention this small affair to you, I cant but make you remark that there must have been a great deal of officiousness, and I cannot but say little regard for me in those who have represented to you as if the sum in question had not been layd out for your service, and by consequence that I should have misapplied what I had myself designed for that use. This shews me what I am to expect from some people, and how cautiously I must proceed in every thing where they are concerned, and should, I think, shew you what pains is taken to breed jealousies amongst us even from the greatest trifles, for that is the present case.

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## No. LXVII.

*The same to the same.*

21st February, 1747.

I WILL not delay mentioning to you that I have received a letter, not from Lord Sempil, who is himself sick, but from a friend of his, in which it is proposed to authorise Lord S. to demand, in my name, the body of troops that it is supposed the King of France has already promised for Scotland; and I understand by what is writ to me, that O'Sullivan is au fait of all this affair: for my part, I am but little informed of it, and now write to the person who applied to me, that I did not think it advisable for me to enter into, and act in such matters without your knowledge and concurrence, and that the affair should be layd before you, who would best judge what was fit to be done in it. You may remember that I mentioned this affair to you some weeks ago, and tho' I know Lord S., and easily believe he has his own views in such proposals, yet it is very certain that he really had a correspondence with our friends in England and Scotland, and whatever opinion you may have of him, I think you owe it to yourself and the cause not only to hear him, but to encourage him to explain to you what he may have to say, and then you will be able to see what use can be made of it.



## No. LXVIII.

*The Chevalier de St George to young Lochiel.*

ROME, February 21st, 1747.

I RECEIVED last Saturday your letter of the 30th January, and take very well of you the freedom with which you write me. By what you say I am persuaded the Prince has not discovered to you all his motives for his going to Avignon, and I easily feel that that is a step which cannot be relished by those who are not in his secrets : he has delayed writing to me fully on this subject till his arrival at Avignon, on account of his being afraid that his letters might be opened at the post-office at Paris. When I hear from him I shall be better able to judge of the matter ; but whatever lights I may receive from him, you cannot but be sensible, that as long as the Prince is so much nearer the court of France than I am here, it can never be adviseable for me to cut with that Court but in concurrence with the Prince ; and my doing otherwise, would manifestly be subject to the greatest inconveniences in any case or supposition that can be made, since no project can ever be undertaken and executed without the Prince's approbation, and heading the expedition. I have already writ to the Prince to hear and examine the project in question, and I shall write to him again to the same purpose by this very post, but that is all I can in prudence do, and I should think I was diserving my subjects if I made any other step in that particular. In all this you must be sensible that I can have no other view but the real and the greater good of the cause, in which nobody being so much concerned as the Prince, none can suspect that he should neglect any thing that may be for its advantage. This is all I can say on the contents of your letter. I hope this will find Lord Sempil and Balhady well again. I shall be always glad to hear from you, for my constant good opinion and kindness will ever attend you.

## No. LXIX.

*Prince Charles to Don Joseph de Caravajal.*

MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,

COMME je suis persuadé de votre inclination au soutien des intérêts de ma famille puisque vous ne Sauriez y être indifférent j'espere que vous voudrez bien vous charger de présenter à S. M. C. une lettre dans laquelle j'ai intention de lui rendre conte de la situation des affaires du Roy mon Peré. Je ne doute pas que vous voudrez me faire ce plaisir d'employer votre credit auprès de sa Majesté pour lui faire agréer la résolution que J'ai prise de me rendre à Madrid pour avoir le plaisir de rendre mes respects à Sa M. Je suis très sûrement Mon Cousin, &c.

BARCELONA, 22d February, 1747.

## \* No. LXX.

*Young Lochiel to Prince Charles Edward.*

SIR,

As soon as your Royall Highness was pleased to lett me know your intention of moving from hence, my respectful and tender attachment to your person, as well as your cause, obliged me to represent some of the bad consequences that I apprehend might ensue upon your leaving the only country whence you could have a prospect of obtaining any assistance towards retrieving your affairs and relieving your distress'd friends. But since reasons that I cannot pretend to understand determined Y. R. H. to proceed, I am very glade to hear that your journey has proved agreeable, and that you are safely arrived at Avignon.

Tho' your going thither was, and still is, matter of the greatest affliction to all your true friends, and me in particular ; yet, upon considering that step in every shape, I persuade myself that Y. R. H. may give it such a turn, and make such use of it, as will not only make your apology to the King of France, but in the end effectually confute the disadvantageous opinion that the world has conceived of itt, and force the publick to admit Y. R. H.'s abilities in the Cabinet, as well as your courage and heroism in the field. To render what I would suggest in this view as clear and distinct as possible, I must beg Y. R. H. will be pleased to observe, that, since you left this place, the talk and expectation of peace is become more general and popular. It is said the Marshall de Belleisle, who is quickly expected here, will be sent as Plenipotentiary to the conference of Breda, and from thence into England ; so that, tho' the King's equipages are getting ready for the field, few people make any doubt but a peace will be soon concluded, and I remark such are the universall desire of it in this country, that there is reason to fear the Elector of Hanover and his allies will obtain any termes they please to ask in relation to Y. R. H., which the Court of France will think they can grant with a good grace, since Y. R. H. has, of your own accord, left their dominions. If this should be the case, the many dismall consequences of it are too plain : and if Y. R. H. be pleased to reflect on them, I am sure there is nothing practicable, nothing so dangerous or desperate, that you would not do to prevent them. But, Sir, I am far from proposing any thing of that kind to Y. R. Highness. I am persuaded it is still in your power to prevent a peace by means that are both wise and honourable. A cursory view of the present state of your affairs will demonstrate that, at leaste, there is a great probability of your succeeding, if you'll be graciously pleased to enter into the measures that are necessary for that great end.

Y. R. H. is not ignorant, that, both before and during the time of your last attempt, your English friends were ready and willing to declare for you, if you could either have furnished them arms, or brought a body of troops capable to protect them. There is great reason to believe their disposition is still the same, and it's only for Y. R. H. to get proofs of itt. As for the disposition of Scotland, if we could return to the Highlands with artillery, arms, and ammunition, and only 4 or 5 battallions of foot, we would not only relieve our distressed friends and save the remains of our country, but deliver the whole kingdom of Scotland from the slavery to which it is, or will soon be, reduced, and put in condition to act uniformly under Y. R. H., who is so justly become the object of the affections and desires of all ranks of people, even of many that

have hitherto appeared most active against your cause. Indeed I hear from all hands, and have great reason to believe, that all Scotsmen, not excepting those who are most distinguished in the Government's service, are so incensed at the inhumanity with which the Elector has proceeded, and the neglect they have met with since the unhappy action of Culloden, that they only want an opportunity to shew their resentment.

For heaven's sake, Sir, be pleased to consider these circumstances with the attention that their importance deserves, and that your honour, your essential interest, the preservation of the Royall cause, and the bleeding state of your suffering friends, require of you. Let me beg of your R. H. in the most humble and earnest manner, to reflect that your reputation must suffer in the opinion of all mankind, if there should be room to suppose that you had slighted or neglected any possible means of retrieving your affairs. Since you can't obtain such an embarkation of troops as would be necessary to land in England and overturn the Government with one blow, it is surely advisable to try if you can compass what may be sufficient for Scotland. If Y. R. H. were master of that kingdom you could assert your dignity with a high hand, and treat with foreign Courts upon equall footing, whereas till you acquire some degree of power, which you can only do by possessing some part of the three kingdoms, the reason of state and necessary policy will allways be adduced by every Court in Enrope, for the omissions of such respects and regards as are due to your Royall birth and just rights.

I hope, and cannot but persuade myself, upon the knowledge both of the goodness of your heart and the greatness of your spirit, that Y. R. H. will seriously enter into these important considerations, which I am sure will immediately determine you to apply for such succours as the King of France, in the present state of his marine, thinks himself in a condition to support. Y. R. H. knows that he had condescended, in March last, to embark six or seven battallions, with all other necessaries, for your assistance,—providing the secrett could have been kept within the limits he thought proper, and that, upon Mr Sullivan's return from Scotland, he actually ordered preparations for the embarking of 10 battallions. I hope H. M.'s good-will is still the same—at leaste it is fit to make tryall of itt in the most discreet and prudent manner that can be thought of; and, above all, to do it by hands that will not be disagreeable to him, or any of the ministers that are necessary for the execution. By this caution, Sir, I do not pretend to point out Lord Sempill or my cousin M'Gregor, because Y. R. H. has unhappily conceived a prejudice at those Gentlemen. Tho' I know the King and his ministers have a particular confidence in them, yet I doubt not but your business may be done without directly employing them, if Y. R. H. will be graciously pleased to enter into the following measure: which is to write a proper letter, with your own hand, to the King of France, in which you tell H. M. that you retýred to Avignon, in order to avoid observation and suspicion of the present Government, because you are sensible that, in the present state of H. M.'s marine, it is impossible to transport even a small body of troops into Brittain, unless the embarkation be made with the utmost secrecy. But as you have still the same confidence in H. M.'s friendship and generosity, you have therefore sent the bearer with orders to lay before his Majesty what you judge necessary for retrieving your affairs in Scotland. In my opinion, Sir, Mr Sullivan would be the properest bearer of this letter, because the Court of France has already trusted him, and because the King himself has ordered him to confine the seeret within the boundaries he was then pleased to prescribe. If Y. R. H. obtains an embarkation of a small body of French troops for Scotland,

the Court of France being once more engaged with Y. R. H. will not refuse to reinforce you by wafting your brave Irish regiments, as soon as you are master of the east coast of Scotland, and I am persuaded that they will also be willing to transport 3 or 4000 into Wales, or any place where your English friends shall desire; and I know your English friends will be glad of that small body as soon as they see Y. R. H. master of the field in Scotland. I ever remain, with the most profound respect,

Sir,  
Your Royall Highness's  
Most humble, most obedient,  
And most dutifull servant,  
DONALD CAMERON.

PARIS, February 23d, 1747.

### No. LXXI.

*"Lady Derwentwater" to the Chevalier de St George.*

SIR,

I RECEIV'D the honour of your Majesty's most gracious letter, and beg leave to return you my gratefull thanks. Your Majesty is very good in commending my dear Lord, who did but his duty: he gave his life most willingly for your Majesty's service, and I am persuaded that your Majesty never had a subject more attacht to his duty than he was. The Prince of Wales and the Duke of York have been so good to shew a great concern for my loss, and recommended most strongly to the King of France my family: His Majesty has been most extreemly good and gracious to them. My son that was Captain in Dillon's, has now the Brevet of Colonel reform'd, with apointments of 1800 livres a-year; his sisters have 150 livres a-year each of them, with his royal promis of his protection of the family for ever. The Marquise de Mezire, and her daughter the Princess de Monteban, have been most extreemly friendly to my family in this affair.

I am,  
Your Majesty's most dutyfull subject,  
CHARLOTT DARWENTWATER.

ST GERMAINS, }  
February, ye 26th, 1747. }

### No. LXXII.

*Memoir transmitted by Prince Charles to Don Joseph de Caravajal, on his arrival in Spain, from a draught in the Prince's hand-writing, titled "Memoire."*

Le 6 Mars, 1747.

1°. De savoir quelle secours S. M. C. peut me donner pour seconder une expedition avec la France. 2°. De mettre apart trent mille Fusils et dix mille sabres de dragons pour mon service dans un endroit commode, dessorte que quand l'occasion se presente on peut les avoir d'abord et sans bruit. 3°. De



faire avoir deux ou trois petits bâtimens s'il est possible chargé de blé pour envoyer en Ecosse sous la direction d'un gentilhomme que j'envoie avec eux. 4<sup>o</sup>. De me donner des commissions pour lever trois regiments Ecossois qui lorsque complets, formeront une brigade.

## No. LXXIII.

*Prince Charles to Caravejal.*

GUADALAXARA, le 9 Mars, 1747.

MON COUSIN,

COMME je suis persuadé de votre amitié j'ai jugé apropos de vous écrire celle-ci pour vous fair savoir que je suis arrivé ici hier en parfaite bonne santé et en même tems de vous prier de me faire savoir avant que je parté d'icy si S. M. C. vous a rien dit de particulier sur les articles que j'espère vous lui aurez deja communiqués a l'article quatrieme est m'extrêmement nécessaire d'avoir la response precise pour que je puisse dépêcher mon homme en Ecosse avec ses instructions et dépêches. Je vous prie de faire mes respects à sa Majesté, et si vous le juges àpropos, à la famille royale. Je ne doute pas que vous ne soiez persuadé que je désire ardemment d'avoir occasion de vous donner les preuves effectifs de mon estime et amitié.

Votre affectionné Cousin,

CHARLES P.

## No. LXXIV.

*The same to the same.*

GUADALAXARA, le 11 Mars, 1747.

MON COUSIN,

J'AI reçu avec plaisir la votre du 10 curt. et suis charmée de voir que leurs Majestés ont agréé ma visite. Plait à Dieu que j'eus l'occasion de demontrer plus effectivement mon attachm<sup>t</sup> à leur Majestés pour tous les bienfaits que notre maison a reçu de la roialle famille. Je vous pries de leur faire de nouveau mes respects. Comme je remarque que vous n'entrez en aucun, detail sur le premier de mes articles, au moins il me seroit très-nécessaire que je puisse dire positivement à S. M. T. C. que sa M. C. secondra avec toute ardeur aucune entreprise en ma faveur, et qu'elle est prête à entrer dans des mesures pour cet effet. Tournant ce que vous me dites sur l'article des Régimens, il sera impossible de les avoir de la maniere que vous propose, et en France on n'a jamais fait la moindre difficulté de leur permettre de recruter leur soldats d'aucune nation étrangère. Comme celle-ci est une grace que je demande à S. M. C. pour le secours de ces pauvres braves gens, j'espère même que S. M. C. voudra bien recevoir les officiers (en attendant que puisse completer le premiere Regim<sup>t</sup>) comme supernuméraire agrégé au Regiment Irlandois, et d'abord que le premier Regiment sera complet ils seront attachés à celle-là jusqu' à ce que la second sera de même. Je vous prie Mon<sup>r</sup> d'abord que vous aurez communiqué le contenu de cette lettre à S. M. C. de vouloir bien me rendre sa

response sur le champ pour que je puisse partir le plutôt et prendre tous mes arrangem<sup>ts</sup>. Je comte sur votre amitié, et vous pouvez toujours être de même sur la mienne.

Votre affectionné Cousin,

CHARLES P.

To Caravacalle y Lancaster.

## NO. LXXV.

*The same to the same.*

GUADALAXARA, le 13 Mars, 1747.

MON COUSIN,

COMME la situation de mes affaires ne me permettent de différer mon voyage je vous prie Mr instamm<sup>t</sup> de me faire avoir la response du Roy le plutôt—qu'il sera possible. Je difere d'accuser la réception de la vôtre du 11th attendant a chaque moment la volonté de sa Majesté. Je n'ai plus rien à ajouter comme vous savez déjà ma manière de penser à l'égard de vous.

Votre affectionné Cousin,

CHARLES P.

P. S.—Comme j'allais expedier celle-ci j'ai reçu la vôtre du 12th, et voyant qu'on vent rien me dire d'avantage; Je partirai mercredi au matin. Je vous prie de faire mon respects à Leur Majestés.

## NO. LXXVI.

*Prince Charles to the Queen Dowager of Spain.*

MADAME MA TANTE,

COMME mon principal objet en venant en Espagne étoit de rendre mes respects à la famille royale, et particulièrement à votre Majesté, pour pouvoir lui témoigner ma reconnoissance des obligations que je dois au feu Roy, et a votre Majesté, elle jugera aisément combien je dois être mortifié de n'avoir pas pu avoir cet honneur. Mais j'espère que votre Majesté me fera la justice de croire que j'ai le cœur rempli de tous les sentiments que me doivent inspirer tout ce que votre Majesté a fait pour me rendre service comme les liens du sang qui nous unissent. J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus respectueux attachement.

Madame ma Tante,

De votre Majesté les très affectionné,

NEVEU.

A GUADALAXARA, }  
le 14 Mars, 1747. }

## No. LXXVII.

*Prince Charles to Sir James Harrington.*Paris, 1<sup>st</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1747.

I AM arrived here, thank God, in perfect health, and intend to stay here some time, but absolutely in private, and if possible to make againe another attempt to bring these people to reason, at the same time to settle y<sup>e</sup> better our independence at home. If there is any thing that requires it, you know you have nothing else to do but continue as privately here as you can, addressing yourself to young Watson, who will no where so find me. I have nothing more particular to say at present, so remain, assuring you of my constant friendship.

CHARLES P.

## No. LXXVIII.

*The same to "Lord Glencairn."*Paris, 1<sup>st</sup> 21<sup>st</sup> March, 1747.

I THOUGHT it proper to come back again in this country, not intent to keep myself absolutely in private, as the season is now favorable to make another attempt to bring these people here to reason if possible. On your side we must leave no stone unturned, and leave the rest to Providence. If you have anything to let me know of, you have only to write to me under cover to young Watson, who will always know where to find me. At present I have nothing more particular to add, so remain, assuring you anew of my constant regard and friendship.

CHARLES P.

To Lord Glencairn.

## No. LXXIX.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles*Rome, April 1<sup>st</sup> 1747.

BURROGHS at last to dispatch O'Sullivan, my dearest Catholic, and after having conversed several times with him about your affairs, I have read again your letter of the 19<sup>th</sup> February, and shall endeavour to put down here in a few words as I can, my reflections on your present situation. And to begin with what relates to England, I am sorry to see that you are putting yourself entirely into B.'s and Kelly's hands, and that by the doing you are putting those matters upon you put it also in their power to apply the same and advice of the King's friends to to their own little views and purposes without its being possible for you to know whether the King's friends are really of the opinions they may represent. I don't say that B. deserves to be crucified, and

may be of some use to you ; but at the same time, whatever may be Lord Sempil's faults, or whatever you or I may think of him, by all I can see he has more to say with the King's friends than any body else, and I am afraid you will have done yourself no good by charging B. to say you had no confidence in him, for by that means you make yourself in reality a party against Sempil, and deprive yourself of the services he might be able to render you ; whereas, your business is to hear every body, direct every thing, and to endeavour to draw the best service you can from whoever is able or willing to render any to you. I see you proposed to B.'s friends to send over somebody of confidence to be a sort of agent with the Court of France, and another to be Secretary to yourself. One sufficiently authorised and empowered might no doubt do good with the Court of France at this time ; but as for yourself, whoever might be sent to you and other people, would probably have nothing to say to him ; whereas, by choosing a proper Secretary for yourself, there will be a greater appearance of his being agreeable, or at least not disagreeable to the generality of people in England, than any person who might be sent you from thence. I wish I had a proper person to propose to you myself, but that is not the case, tho' surely amongst the number of our countrymen who are now on this side of the sea it is impossible but that you must be able to find out some one person capable to serve you as Secretary ; for the wisest men, and much more those of your age, will always want both assistance and advice. To do all oneself is impossible, and to act always of one's own head is both presumptuous and dangerous. As for the opinion of the King's friends in relation to your conduct abroad, I really don't think them competent judges of it ; and as for the place of your abode, the question is not where it might be advisable to go, but where you may be allowed to stay. In general to be sure the nearer home the better, but for my part, I should prefer Rome either to Avignon or Switzerland. There are certain general maxims of politick and popularity, which it is both lawful and necessary to follow to support our interest in our own country ; but they must not be drove too far neither, and the notion of being directed in every thing as to your conduct abroad by advice from thence can, as matters stand, only end in making yourself a slave to a few designing men, and may be fatal to your interest at last.

I am much more concerned than surprised you had not a better reception in Spain, but I am in hopes your journey thither will be of no ill consequence, provided you manage your matters in a proper manner on your return to Paris, where I think you should have equally in your view the soliciting another expedition, and the endeavouring to make your situation as little bad as possible in case of a peace. I am afraid there is but little appearance of your succeeding in the first point. But in all cases it certainly behoves you to cultivate the good will of the King of France's ministry. You can never fail in making your applications to such of them as the king of France may direct, and I hope you will no longer refuse accepting the pension that was offered to you, and continue to remain either in or about Paris till an expedition or a peace sends you from thence. In the time of war your presence there will be necessary to solicit assistance, and in case of a peace you will make a much better bargain by letting yourself be sent from thence, than by retiring before of your own accord to Avignon, and with an appearance of discontent against the Court of France ; for should the peace find you in such a situation, the French would think themselves authorized in some measure to abandon you without acting against their honor ; whereas by continuing in France, that Court will be obliged, on all accounts, to soften as much as possible the step of sending you out



of it, and I am persuaded, on such an occasion, they would be willing to promote and facilitate a match betwixt you and one of the Duke of Modenas daughters, if you proposed it to them at such a time. As long as we are abroad, it would be a jest to think that you could have either a daughter of France or Spain ; and I should think, that during our misfortunes we may be very well satisfied if you can marry a Princess of the same family as my mother, and I doubt if you could have even one of them, except you nick the time in which the Court of France may be willing to do all in their power to soften the turning you out of France.

After this, my dear child, I cannot but say, that without you put your affairs on another footing than they now are, I take it to be next to impossible that any thing you go about can succeed. You must of necessity choose a person properly qualified to be your Secretary, and another to employ with the Court of France, for neither you nor your brother can be going backward and forward to those ministers, and tho' you could, you would be a very unequal match for such old and experienced men. As to the choice of two such persons as I propose, you must please yourself. All I can do for your service is to leave you master in that and in every thing else that relates to your own affairs, in which you will always find me ready and willing to give you what advice and assistance may depend on me. You must be sensible that I have had little occasion of late of giving you either one or t'other, I shall perhaps have less for the time to come. For my age and infirmities increase, I am really unfit to do any thing but pray for you, and I am even under the necessity of taking the party to live and dy in this country.

I could have enlarged much more on several particulars contained in this letter ; but considering what I have formerly writ to you, and what I have now said to O'Sullivan, I think what I have here writ to you is sufficient. I have made him a knight since you desire it, and he deserves it, tho' it be against my present rule ; but I have desired him not to say when he was knighted, so that that small mark of favor will be of no inconvenience. I must do him the justice to say, that by all I have heard or remarked of him myself, I am glad you have him about you, and I am persuaded he will serve you with diligence and fidelity, and never give you reason to be dissatisfied with him.

You have never mentioned any thing of many matters to me, tho I have done it often to you ; but that is a point you must not neglect, and which noways interferes with greater matters. Should you continue not to accept the pension now offered you by the king of France, you would run the risque, I am affrayd, of getting nothing from him after a peace ; and in that case, without you were to return to live with me at Rome ; you know I have not wherewithal to maintain you elsewhere, whereas, if you once accept that pension, I hope it would be continued to you wherever you may be.

I cannot end this without expressing to you my concern to remark from your own letters your uneasynesses and jealousies in relation to your brother, by which means it is impossible he can be of any service to you, and he will even become a constant subject of uneasyness to you, so that I own I am tempted to send for him back thither ; and tho' I don't order him to return to me, yet I now write to him that he may do so when he pleases ; and the truth is, as matters now stand, I think it would be more for your service that he should be here than remain where he is. It would be a comfort to me to have him here were it but for a few months, and were he to stay here he would be of the less expense to me, and I would be better able to supply you on a pinch. Enfin, my dear child, my whole thoughts are turned to provide as much as possible for the

real good and advantage of both of you. In this world it happens but too often that one has no good partys to take, in which cases one must venture to take the least bad. I think I have now said all that I think can be of any use and advantage to you, and this letter is long enough to put an end to it.

I had already writ what is above when I received my dearest Carluccio's of the 12th and 14th March, from Guadalaxara, and of the 26th from Paris, where I thank God you were arrived in good health after your journey. I take very well of you, my dear child, you giving me so particular an account of what happened to you in Spain, and which it is useless for me to enlarge here. You will certainly do very well to keep a correspondence with Caravajal, and I cannot always too much recommend to you to endeavour to keep well with that Court and that of France, whatever their behaviour towards you may be, for whether peace or war, they are equally our only resource. I shan't write to you by the Wednesday's post, having writ so fully to you now, but must not forget before I end to thank you for your kind token of the China box, which is really very pretty. God bless my dearest child, whom I tenderly embrace.

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### No. LXXX.

*The same to the same.*

25th April, 1747.

I HAVE received by the French Post my dearest Carluccio's of the 3d April. The chief article in it much surprized me; for what hopes can you have that a simple and a blount proposal of marriage to the Czarina, and of her undertaking an expedition in your favour, can succeed at a time she is linked with the Elector of Hanover that she would not so much as allow Lord Marischal to stay in her country? and all you could expect by making such an overture at present would be to make that Court, in the first place, and others who might know it, in the second, have but an indifferent opinion of the prudence and management of those who might direct your councils. Such a match, if it could really effect your Restoration, would, no doubt, be desirable, tho' it is not without its objections, even in respect to you as well as to her, were she otherwise well disposed towards us. But 'tis useless to enter into such discussion at present; and really, my dear child, as I said lately, in the way you manage matters, how can you hope to succeed in anything? for in publick matters especially great nicety and prudence is requisite to compass what one aims at. Your great object ought to be to manage France and Spain: From them, as long as the war lasts, we may still expect all that is great and good, and at all times we may be sure they will wish us well, and will still have it in their power more or less to befriend us; and it is certainly a very wrong politick to be seeking after chymical and empty projects, when we have a solid foundation to work upon in all events that may happen. Sir John has informed me of the affair of the 1000 pistoles, which I think you managed with dignity and civility at the same time, so that I don't see that either the minister of Spain or his master can reasonably take anything amiss of you on that affair. I am more concerned than surprized at Lochyel's not getting leave to raise a regiment, but there is no help for that.

I am truly sorry to find you in the way of thinking you are to Lord George Murray. I spoke very fully about him to O'Sullivan, who should be with you

before you get this, and by all he said to me I really cannot see any just reason to suspect his loyalty and fidelity. And I remark you do not now tax him with anything on those points. One who had been guilty in that respect would have rather exceeded in point of flattery than in want of respect, and the fact is, that he has lost what he had and the expectation of much more; that he does not pretend to be in our secrets or a charge to us, and that he has no other view at present but to get over his Lady from Scotland, and to live privately and quietly with her at Cleves, and all this does not, I am sure, denote any ill disposition or design. If he has been on several occasions of a different opinion from you or other people, I don't see what crime there is in that, and this would be a very unfit time to enter into such sort of discussions, and as to what he may have failed against you personally, he has owned his fault to me, and begged of me to make his submission to you for him; and I own this last part touched me, for tho' but too many people have failed towards me, yet I scarce ever remember that ever any one made such an act of submission as he has done. All he seeks is your forgiveness, and to be restored to your favor, which you are, I am sure, incapable of refusing him, especially when it is what I ask you for him, and which he proposes to do himself in person in a short time, and, after having made his Court to you and your brother for a few days, to go to Cleves. But as I find you are much exasperated against him, I shall endeavour to have it so contrived that he may stay here till I get your answer to this, for, whatever you may think, it would certainly be of disservice to you should he meet with an unkind reception from you; for, as for having him secured, I think in my conscience it would be an injustice, and tho' it were not such an act of despotism, would do us more hurt in our own country than any he could do us, were he the worst of men. The appearance he made in your service is publick as well as what he suffers by it, whereas his faults and mistakes are not, and I know he has amongst our own people his friends as well as his enemies, and he may, on another occasion, be of great service to you. So that all put together, any hard or unkind usage he might receive from you would be really unchristian, unprincely, and impolitick. You may think I have enlarged too much on this subject, but I have done so more on your own account than Lord George's, because I take your behaviour towards him on this occasion to be of some importance to you, by the inferences the public may draw from it of your personal qualities and character.

After all I writ to you last week by O'Sullivan, and said to him, I have nothing further to add here at present.

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\* No. LXXXI.

*Prince Henry to Prince Charles.*

PARIS, April ye 29th, 1747.

DEAR BROTHER,

I BEGIN by begging you 10,000 pardons for having gone away without acquainting you beforehand; I own I deserve your anger before you have time to consider on the motives that induced me to take that step at present and to conceal it from you. I have such confidence in your goodness that I am persuaded I shall have as kind and loving an answer to this letter as has been your custom to give me to so many. I have had the satisfaction to

write to you since we have had occasion to be separate. I own to you plainly I have had a great longing to pay a visit to our dear King and father, who has been nearly two years now without having seen any of us, and my desire would be so easily convinced, that I venture to say, were I only to stay with him one fortnight, it would be of inexplicable comfort to me. As far as that I am sure you would be the first to approve. Now as to the time, what better could I take than, after having also of my side asked to make the campaign, I saw and knew positively it was useless for me to expect it. I could by consequence be of no particular use, your being here being more than sufficient for the mean (main) point; so that all in reality consists to my spending that time which I would have done in running about Paris in the publick I am in, whilst all people are in campagne to spend it, and say, in making a journey, which, by the comfort and exercise it will give me, must naturally be of great use to my health, which you know is in a bad enough condition. You may be sure I have made my strict enquiries as to the road, and find it equally sure and equally easy both as to going and as to coming back. Finally, as to the motive of my concealing it from you, seek no other reason, but reflect on the tenderness you have for me. Have not I reason to conclude that you would not have allowed me to leave you without an expresse order from the King, at the same time my desire of seeing him is stronger than myself, and I had no time to loose not to travell just in the violence of the heats, but when once I have been with him, were he to think it necessary for your service, I should not stay till autome, but come back in the dog days. I would, I assure you, obey him very willingly. Having nothing more to add, I remain,

Dear Brother,

With the utmost respect and tenderness,

Your most loving Brother,

HENRY.

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## No. LXXXII.

*The Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

2d May, 1747.

I SHOULD have been glad to keep Lord George here untill I had your answer to what I writ to you last post about him, but he is impatient to go nearer home to be better able to look after his private affairs and bring over his Lady. I did not think it was fit to constrain him, and so he parts in a few days, but I don't believe he will be at Paris before the middle of June, for he goes by Venice and Switzerland. He has again spoke to me with much concern for lying under your displeasure, and if you could have seen how sincerely he owned his faults, and how penitent he was for them, I am sure you would have been touched with it. It is certainly a very great mistake to think he has any thing to do with John Murray. Nothing can be more different than their present situations and behaviour, and I hope you won't do yourself the wrong, nor give me the new mortification as not to give him a good reception, and make himself sensible that you have forgiven him, which I should think should cost you very little, since there is no question of his staying with you, or of your trusting and employing him.



You seem pleased with a note you had received from Count D'Argenson, in which he asked your address. So far is well; but I think that circumstance says very little, and I fear you will get little effectual good out of the Court of France, without you make use of more management and negotiation than you have hitherto appeared to me to do in your dealings with them. I look upon your hopes of the Czarina's being favourable to us to be without any foundation, and would say the same in relation to the King of Sweden personally, but as the Government there is not of the same sentiments as their king, and in good correspondence with France, it might not perhaps be impossible to obtain some assistance from that country, in case of a new expedition from France, and I think that is a point it would be very proper to speak of and consult Count D'Argenson about.

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### No. LXXXIII.

*Mr George Kelly, Secretary to Prince Charles, to Mr Macdonald of Barisdale, titled "A Copy of a Letter written by H. R. H. the Prince of Wales's order to Mr Macdonel of Barisdale, May 3d, 1747."*

SIR,

I AM ordered by his Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, to transmit you the inclosed queries, and he charges you upon your allegiance to make a direct and particular answer in writing to each of them. I am,

Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE KELLY.

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### No. LXXXIV.

*Queries inclosed in the above, taken from a copy, titled, in the Prince's hand-writing, thus, "Querise made to Macdonald of Barisdal, May ye 3d, 1747."*

*Primo*, Did not you own publicly, That upon his Royal Highnesses approach to Inverness, you advertised the Lord President and Lord Loudon of the same, and advised them for their safety to retire from thence, and that without acquainting his Royal Highness, or any person about him, of your having given such intelligence and advice to the enemy.

*2do*, After having entered into, and signed, a solemn resolution joyntly with severall other leading men belonging to his Royal Highnesses army, obliging yourself, in the strongest and most binding manner, neither to surrender your person, nor accept of any terms from the enemy without advising with, and having the consent of the whole who had subscribed the foresaid resolution, *Queritur*, Did not you (without asking their advice or approbation) surrender yourself to the enemy, and enter into certain articles with them some short time thereafter.

*3tio*, Whether, after receiving a protection from the enemy, you did not en-

gadge or promise to them to apprehend the person of His Royal Highness, and to deliver him up to them within a limited time.

4to, Whether, for that end, there were not a number of the enemy detached from Fort-Augustus, or elsewhere, under your direction.

5to, Whether you did not inform the enemy against the Chevalier Lansy and his companion, two French officers, and on your way to Fort-Augustus, carried to Donald Mack Alister Raill, alias Mack Donell, who had lodged them for some time, in order that he might assist you in giving the information upon which he got a protection, and a party were sent out with you and him in order to find them out and seize them.

6to, Whether or not did you impose on several gentlemen of Glengary's family by asserting that he had promised to deliver them up to the enemy, and that he was to receive £30 sterling premium for each gentleman he should put into their hands.

7mo, Did these gentlemen sign ane information against Glengary, and were his letters ordering them to take up arms for the Prince delivered to Lord Albemarle, upon which your cousin Glengary was apprehended, and all his papers seized in Lick's house.

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## No. LXXXV.

*Paper titled "Relation des crimes dont on accuse le Sieur Barisdal."*

1°. D'AVOIR donné avis au President Forbes et à my Lord Loudon de la march de S. H. vers Inverness leur conseillant des se retirer au plutôt s'ils voulaient éviter un grand malheur.

2°. Qu'après avoir signé une association avec plusieurs chefs de l'armée de S. H. R. de n'entrer en aucune traité avec l'ennemi sans le consentement de tous; il a traité dans son particulier, s'obligeant en consideration de pardon et de la protection qu'on lui accorderoit et de saisir la personne du Prince et de le livrer aux ennemis.

D'être mis a la tête de leurs troupes pour les guider dans les montagnes, de leur avoir montré tous les differents chemins des montagnes à eux ennemis, et d'avoir porté leur detachements dans les endroits les plus propres pour se saisir du Prince.

D'avoir informé contre le Chevalier Lansy et un autre officier Francois, et d'avoir mené avec lui le Sieur Donald Macalister chez qui estoiet logé ces messieurs et après d'avoir mené conjointment avec le dit Macallister en partu des ennemis pour se saisir.

D'avoir imposé en plusieurs gentilhommes du tribe de Glengary leur faisant accroire que leur chef étoit resolu de les livrer aux ennemis, Sur quoi on informa contre le dit Glengary, dont les lettres ordonnent à ces gentilhommes de prendre les armés en faveur du Prince estoient remisés au Lord Albemarle et le dit Glengary mis en prison on il reste encore.

## \* No. LXXXVI.

*The Rev. Myles Macdonnell to the Chevalier de St George.*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

THE easy, free, and frequent access your Majesty was graciously pleased to honor me with when at Rome, might make all apologies unnecessary for this trouble. Still I have not dared to entertain your Majesty with my little observations on men and things, till I had first obtained your gracious permission and indulgence by Mr Edgar. I am already secured of forgiveness and importunity. If what I advance shall appear trivial, because I am confident your Majesty will take it as the product of my unfeigned loyalty and conscience (conscientious) duty, especially as Mr George Kelly is my principal subject, for surely I shall never be suspected of spleen or ill nature against a person who is not only my very near kinsman, but a person for whom I exposed my life to release him out of the Tower of London, and for whose sake I am actually in exile from my little being and business, &c. As my great view to aid and assist him upon that occasion, when every body else declined it, I was to procure for your Majesty an able, enterprising, and faithful servant in his person; when I am convinced that this end is not in any shape answered, I think it my indispensable duty to remonstrate against his occupying the very important place he now fills, for the following reasons:

He is indolent, lazy, and careless, even to indifference; he has neither natural nor acquired parts, tho' he is somewhat showy in both; false and faithless in his promises, making nothing of disobliging your Majesty's faithful subjects adhering to your immortal son the Prince. The only talent I think, in my conscience, that Mr Kelly possesses in any proportion, is raillery and ridicule, which he is very fond of exerting against your sacred Majesty and his Royal Highness the Duke; \* in sneers and sarcasms he is downright scurrilous upon Mr O'Bryen, Lord Sempil, and others employed, or at least in the confidence of your Majesty. What need I, Sir, arraign his honesty and integrity, when I have added a sordid avarice to what I have said before. I tremble when I find myself forced to paint my countryman, my kinsman, and the object of my care in this manner. But if my own father had been in his place, and acted as he does, I sho'd do the same.

There have been several great and useful projects sent in, but never more heard of till the publick had 'em by way of ridicule upon the very valuable people that gave birth to them,—a base return. One of them tended to make your Majesty, your royal children and unhappy adherents, not only perfectly independent in point of expense of all the powers in Europe, but wo'd also furnish effectual means for a very speedy restoration. I suppose they have sent a copy of this to your Majesty, with reasons justifying the miscarriage; but your Majesty has too quick a discernment to be imposed upon: the affair miscarried for want of being well supported, as can be evinced clearly: another relating to Cumberland's hateful person was handled in the same manner, and the authors of both shamefully treated. If I dare imagine that your Majesty had not been made acquainted with these things, I would endeavour to find a copy of them, and send them to you.

\* A Father Cruise, in writing to the Chevalier de St George from Paris, 26th June, 1747, says, that Secretary Kelly told him at Guadalaxara, "that the vapours had hurted your Majesty's judgment."

I know very little of O'Brien or Lord Sempil, but am told that the latter is an honest, ingenuous man, very capable of business ; and I beg leave to think, that my Lord Marshall's unrelenting aversion to him ought not to serve as an objection to his principles and parts.

'Tis wonderful that Colonel Goring, from the Hungarian service, is not employed about the Prince ; he is of a rich, popular, noble, and hereditary loyal family in Sussex, a man of good sense, fine education, and proper age ; noble, generous, and unprejudiced in his sentiments, and a Protestant,—qualities very necessary at this juncture.

If His Royal Highness the Duke is not popular, it is not owing to his wanting any virtues to make him so. I humbly apprehend, that if the first man about him wou'd moderate his cups and revelling, (I am told he portraits to thirty or forty hours at a sitting,) and conceal his aversion to your Majesty's English and Irish subjects ; at least, while he is with the Duke, it would save his Royal master from many undeserved reflections. The temper and dispositions of Masters are too frequently drawn from the behaviour of servants, and its great pity there should be the least possibility of such a fatal mistake in regard to our Princes, who are every way entitled to crowns even not their own, were they to be allotted as a reward for royal virtue : in one word, they were begot and reared by your Majesty, which is the completion of their virtues.

The scheme relating to Cumberland was proposed by honest warrantable people who came on purpose from London to offer their service without either fee or reward : the most trifling effect this proposal could produce, would be to prevent the late inhuman murders and slaughter of your Majesty's best subjects at home. Still it was rejected on a scruple, not only the worse grounded, but must certainly have been raised in hearts virulently averse to your Majesty's interest. I suspect not only Parson Kelly, but trial Kelly for making a scruple of an action the most meritorious that could possibly be committed. I declare in the sight of God and your Majesty, that I believe neither the above-mentioned Parson or Priest have either much religion or loyalty. I mentioned to your Majesty in Rome the inseparable intimacy that father Kelly had with Mr Domville for 20 years at Paris, and my scruple thereupon is hugely swelled since. I have been assured that said Domville was a spy at the time, and employed all his gathered discoveries abroad, as well as his credit, influence, and substance, in favour of the Government at home, ever since the Prince's attempt. I humbly beg leave not to think it unworthy your Majesty's knowledge, I mean the scruple raised against securing Cumberland's person, and the grounds thereafter, for this very trifle may seem to explode other matters. In short, if George Kelly has not some noble scheme in hand, his late behaviour is certainly not only unjustifiable, but highly criminal in every particular. I never presumed to propose any thing, or even mention any business to their Royal Highnesses, or those about 'em, much less have I applied to them for any favour, so that I am not moved to this by any disappointment I have met with. I have not even made use of the hearty offers of service both His Holiness and Cardinal Secretary Valenci made me, thinking it a very improper juncture, when I supposed they were wholly bent upon supporting the Royal cause. I humbly beg leave to observe also, that I am in every sense disqualified to be employed about their Royal Highnesses in their present situation, so that it can't be imagined I am actuated by any ambition that way. I have no greater ambition just now than to have the honor of being some hours at your Majesty's feet, in order to unbosom myself amply upon them, and many other anecdotes relating to your Majesty's interests, and that, paper is not a proper vehicle for. If in any time



there sho'd be occasion to send any body from here to your Majesty, I sho'd think it the greatest happyness to have that occasion to convince you that I am,

Most gracious sovereign,

Your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subject,

MYLES MAC DONNELL.

I beg leave to observe, that it would be very fatal to me in my present distressed situation, to incur the wrath and resentment of those who make the subject of this paper, which I most dutifully submit to your Majesty's incomparable judgment, and only presume to entreat a line acknowledging its coming safe to your hands.

I dare not presume to ask for a recommendation to the Bishop of Mirepoix, or the new Cardinal for a mite of succour, least it should be improper, tho' there are numbers importuning dayly who are not otherwise known to your Majesty or your royal children.

ST GERMAINS, *May the 4th, 1747.*

## No. LXXXVII.

*Extract of a Letter,—the Chevalier de St George to Prince Charles.*

*9th May, 1747.*

I PRAY God your negociations at the Court of France may meet with success; but I am affrayd, whatever the good will may be, the ill state of the French nation will render it very difficult for them to make so considerable an embarkation as is requisite. . . . Lord George Murray parted from hence last Sunday. I beg of you when you see him to receive his submissions with goodness, and since he owns so frankly that he has been in the wrong towards you, don't put yourself in the wrong by an unkind, and by consequence even impolitick behaviour towards him for the few days he proposes to stay at Paris. I thought what he had said to me at first was not by way of message from Lord Elcho; but I perceive now I mistook him, for he told me t'other day that Lord Elcho had charged him to assure me of his duty, &c., and that he hoped I would excuse him, as the matter pressed, if he had taken certain steps for the recovery of his estate without my previous knowledge and permission; but that he looked upon that to be a particular which might be of personal advantage to himself, and could be of no disservice to me. In return to which, I bid Lord George tell him, that tho' I could not give my approbation to certain steps, yet, that I was very sensible of the zeal he had already shewed for our service, and was persuaded he would always continue in the same sentiments. Lord George is persuaded he will get no favor from the Government, and I understand he thinks of passing some time at Bologna. Persons like him may do both good and hurt, and it is prudent to manage them, and would manifestly be of prejudice could they be able to say that their former services had been disregarded.

END OF VOL. III.

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